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PREM 19/1632

SECRET

MT

Confidential Filing

Bomb Explosion at the Grand Hotel,
Brighton during the Conservative
Party Conference

SECURITY

OCTOBER 1984

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
16.10.84							
18.10.84							
21.10.84							
22.10.84							
27.11.84							
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16.5.85							
24.6.85							

PREM 19/1632



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

MR. HATFIELD

CABINET OFFICE

The Chief Whip received at his Hampshire home over the weekend a telephone call from somebody who wished to tell him that the Brighton bomb was the work of a conspiracy of crypto-Communists including many of his colleagues in Government, among them the Prime Minister herself.

Paragraphs deleted and temporarily retained.

12 June 2014

Wayland

F.E.R.B.

24 June 1985

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JLH
14

PRIME MINISTER

MEETING WITH SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG: 0930 HOURS, 17 MAY

Three items for the agenda.

1. Business - see note below. No obvious problems, except that the Secretary of State for Social Services is going to minute you before the weekend on whether he wants to go ahead with the Top Salaries Review Body reports for Cabinet next Thursday and announcement before the Whitsun recess.

*Paragraph 2 deleted and temporarily
retained.*

12 June 2014

(Wayland)

3. Projects for the millenium. Sir Robert Armstrong is thinking about people and terms of reference for a small group to recommend projects for the millenium; and it would be helpful to him if you had a word with him about it.

FRLB

16 May 1985



VC

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

11 March 1985

Many thanks for your letter of 6 March about the formal inquest for the five people who died as a result of the Brighton bomb. We have noted that this inquest will be on 17 April.

May I kill two birds with one stone by also saying that I have got in hand your letter about the invitation to the Chief Whip to address the Backbench Constitutional Committee on the honours system and am arranging for some briefing to be provided by Sir Robert Armstrong's office.

E. E. R. BUTLER

Miss Alison Ward, MBE,
Chief Whip's Office.

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Prime Minister ²
To be aware



Government Chief Whip
12 Downing Street, London SW1

mt

6 March 1985

Dear Bob

This is just to let you know that the Brighton Coroner will hold the formal inquest for the five people who died as a result of the Brighton bomb on Wednesday 17th April, in Brighton. It is now hoped that the proceedings will be concluded in one day; and luckily the police are proposing that very little detail will be released at the time in view of the fact that no-one has yet been detained.

Yours sincerely
Alison.

Alison Ward

F E R Butler Esq
10 Downing Street

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Minute from Hartley Booth to Butler dated 25 January 1985</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 W. Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

Mr. Speaker]

hon. and learned Member for Aberavon—I am surprised that he does not know this with regard to private notice questions and I will reaffirm the position for the benefit of the House—it is not part of our conventions that the refusal of, or even application for, a private notice question is mentioned in the Chamber. And if it is not mentioned in the Chamber, it is certainly not mentioned on the radio. I hope, therefore, that what occurred will not happen again.

Regarding the sub judice rule, I take careful advice on what matters are sub judice, and the position is absolutely clear. The rule is designed to ensure that those who may be before the courts have their rights protected. It would be wrong—I am sure that the whole House accepts that it would be wrong—if anything said here prejudiced a trial. The House would not want that and we should not allow it.

Brighton Bombing (Hoddinott Report)

3.38 pm

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Leon Brittan): With permission, Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a statement about the conclusions of the inquiry into security arrangements for last year's Conservative party conference.

On 22 October last year, I made a statement about the explosion at Brighton. Police investigations into that crime are still continuing. The evidence so far obtained suggests that the explosion was caused by a device containing between 20 and 30lb of explosive placed behind a bath panel in room 629 on the sixth floor of the Grand Hotel. It was almost certainly detonated by a long delay timer.

The police have made exhaustive inquiries about staff and guests at the hotel. They have established that someone who stayed in room 629 for three days about three weeks before the explosion had given a false address. Inquiries to trace him and other inquiries related to electronic devices recovered from the debris are continuing. The House will not expect me to go into further details about them.

In my statement last year, I told the House that the chief constable of Sussex had asked Mr. Hoddinott, the deputy chief constable of Hampshire, to investigate the security arrangements in place at the time of the conference. I have now received and studied a copy of his report. It cannot, for reasons of security, be published, but I have placed in the Library of the House a summary, which Mr. Hoddinott has confirmed gives a fair and accurate account of his findings. Copies are also available in the Vote Office. I understand that the Sussex police authority is meeting to discuss the report with the chief constable tomorrow.

Mr. Hoddinott has conducted a comprehensive and detailed inquiry into the plans and arrangements made for security at the conference and the efficiency with which they were carried out. The House will see from the summary that he has judged the performance of the Sussex police against the information which was available to them and the level of precautions which were then regarded as usual and acceptable to those concerned.

Mr. Hoddinott's general conclusion against that background is that the Sussex police made proper and reasonable plans and implemented them competently and professionally. He finds that they had access to all the relevant intelligence information up to the time of the explosion, and took proper account of it. He makes a number of detailed criticisms of the arrangements for communications within the Sussex force both of threat levels and the requirements for searches. He also criticises the adequacy of the co-operation between hotel management and the police.

Mr. Hoddinott paid particular attention to search procedures. He did not criticise the police for failing to control and search each person entering the hotel during the period of the conference. He concluded that the hotel and those wishing to use it would not have accepted such an arrangement and that, given the assumption of free access to the hotel, the numbers involved would anyway have made it impracticable. He stresses that it has hitherto always been the practice of the police to take the basic nature of the occasion to be protected as the starting point

debate when Standing Order No. 10 applications are made later, so that those who were interested in the opening rounds can continue the debate about the miners later?

Mr. Speaker: That is an extremely hypothetical question.

Mr. Atkinson: Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. I was by no means claiming precedence over my hon. Friend the Member for Bolsover (Mr. Skinner). I wish to raise a question arising from the statement that you made to the House, in which you said that you were satisfied that the security matters involved in the Ponting case were extremely sensitive. Have you examined all those papers to ensure that you are satisfied, or are you taking instructions from the Attorney-General, who suggested—

Mr. Speaker: Order. That is a wholly unworthy comment from an hon. Member with the experience of the hon. Member for Tottenham (Mr. Atkinson).

Mr. Atkinson: It is by no means an unworthy comment from myself—[HON. MEMBERS: "Withdraw."] I will certainly not withdraw anything, following the yapping of Conservative Members. All of us here have an equal responsibility to ensure that the rights of Back Bench Members and of the House are protected, but Mr. Speaker has ruled that we must be prevented from discussing those important matters. Some of us believe that he has accepted, on the surface and without examination, the fact that sensitive matters are involved that may not be discussed by the House. I am asking the simple and genuine question: are you satisfied, Mr. Speaker, from your examination, that these matters are, as the Attorney-General claims, too sensitive for the House to discuss?

Mr. Speaker: Order. First of all, I say to the hon. Gentleman that I take instructions from absolutely nobody. Secondly, I must tell him that my responsibility in such matters is to ensure that the sub judice rule is not breached, in order that those who are in the courts will not have their trials prejudiced. That is a responsibility that every hon. Member should discharge equally.

Mr. Dalyell: Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. Does that mean that questions to the Attorney-General about the criteria for vetting are out of order? Further, it will be within your recollection, Mr. Speaker, that on 9 October at Bow Street magistrates' court, Mr. Roy Amlot, on behalf of the prosecution, said that no security issues were involved. Can Parliament be told what has happened between 9 October and late January to make the position different?

Mr. Speaker: I have looked carefully into the application of the sub judice rule to this case, and I am satisfied that my ruling is correct. I cannot go beyond that.

Mr. Gavin Strang (Edinburgh, East): Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. The whole House listened with great care to the answer that you gave to my hon. Friend the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. Dalyell) on the crucial question of the operation of the sub judice rule in this case. Did your answer rule out the decision to hold the trial in secret? You covered the case and the vetting of the jury, but is the House debarred from discussing and voting on the decision to hold the trial in secret?

Mr. Speaker: That is clearly not a matter for me.

Mr. John Ryman (Blyth Valley): Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. I do not wish to prolong this matter, but surely it is only for the trial judge to decide, upon the application of the Crown, whether the trial should be held in secret. Will not the trial judge make that ruling after hearing submissions from the Crown and the defence?

Mr. Speaker: That may be the factual case. As I said to the hon. Member for Edinburgh, East (Mr. Strang), it is not for me to decide whether the case should be heard in secret.

Dr. David Owen (Plymouth, Devonport): Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. We must be clear about what the Attorney-General is saying. Did he rise on a point of order, or is what he said open to questions? We were told about only one aspect of the dialogue with Mr. Ponting's solicitors. After the bowdlerised version was requested and that request turned down by the Attorney-General, were Mr. Ponting's solicitors consulted before the decision was taken to reveal the full document and to hear the entire case in camera? Those are detailed questions. What surprised many people was that the Attorney-General went as far as he did on a point of order, and now seems to have closed down further questions on what he said.

Mr. Speaker: The House will have heard the Attorney-General say, "Further to that point of order." That phrase is not a statement and although the matter could, on a subsequent occasion, be subject to questioning, it is not this afternoon.

Mr. Strang: Further to the point of order I raised earlier, Mr. Speaker—and I am grateful for your indulgence—may I ask whether the House is to be allowed to express a view on the decision to hold the trial in secret?

Mr. Speaker: Not on this matter at this moment. There are other methods of drawing attention to the issue; I notice that there is an early-day motion on the Order Paper today dealing with the general issue. I have this afternoon simply given a factual ruling on the specific matter in the courts.

Mr. John Morris rose—

Mr. Speaker: After hearing the right hon. and learned Member for Aberavon (Mr. Morris), the Shadow Attorney-General, we shall have to move on.

Mr. John Morris: Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. The House will be grateful, despite my failure to obtain permission to table a private notice question, that the Attorney-General has at last risen to his feet to clarify some of the issues. It will be within your recollection, Mr. Speaker, that I sought to table a question and to obtain guidance from you many weeks ago regarding the sub judice rule on another matter and you ruled that I could not raise those matters. Subsequently, in the course of an exchange in the House, the Attorney-General spelt out in detail precisely the matters that I was not able, on your ruling, to raise with him. In view of that, is it not high time that the sub judice rule was examined to ensure that it applies equally to all hon. Members of the House?

Several Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I do not propose to take any further points of order on this matter. To answer the right

or protection and security precautions, rather than to seek to change the nature of the occasion itself on security grounds.

Mr. Hoddinott found that it would not have been the practice of any police force in Great Britain or Northern Ireland to have conducted a full search of the entire hotel prior to the conference. The view would have been taken that, if it were to be fully effective, such a search would have taken some weeks, during which time the hotel would have had to be closed, with public access denied until the conference was over. Mr. Hoddinott's judgment is that on the basis of the procedures which then seemed reasonable and likely to be acceptable to those concerned, Sussex police are not to be criticised for the fact that the bomb hidden on the sixth floor was not discovered.

Mr. Hoddinott was critical, however, of the inadequate search that was made of the first floor, which should under standard police procedures have been searched. The failure to do so adequately was caused by the absence of a clear allocation of responsibility within the Sussex police. Different and stricter arrangements for searching were possible at the conference centre, where the building was to a much greater degree taken over for the exclusive use of the Conservative party and was inherently easier to search.

Looking to the future, Mr. Hoddinott has not attempted to prescribe new policing arrangements, but he has, as the House will see from the summary of his report, drawn attention to a number of important areas where changes now need to be considered on a national basis. He also makes it clear, however, that a balance will always have to be struck between security and the conduct of political affairs in our open democratic society.

The House will recall that I announced in my statement last October that we had at that stage already set in hand new arrangements centrally both for assessing terrorist intentions and capabilities and for co-ordinating the counter-measures required to meet them. Those central arrangements are now fully in place and I believe that they have already proved their value.

However, many of the specific counter-measures are and will remain the responsibility of local police forces, with the Metropolitan police special branch having particular national responsibilities. To assist them in their task I am now setting up a new permanent working group. Its role will be to bring about successful co-ordination between police forces throughout Great Britain and also to ensure that they have available to them all relevant techniques and experience. This group, under Home Office chairmanship, will monitor the advice and techniques available for protecting targets and countering terrorist threats and will co-ordinate the promulgation of advice to police forces. It will include, in addition to the police, representatives of the security service and the Army. I have already arranged with my right hon. Friends the Secretaries of State for Defence, for Northern Ireland and for Scotland to involve the Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary in training police officers from all mainland forces in search techniques and to ensure that full use is made of the relevant experience gained in Northern Ireland.

The chief constable of Sussex, after discussion with his police authority tomorrow, will take corrective action for the future on the specific criticisms of his own force

contained in the report, and the new working group will ensure that the points of general relevance are made to all chief constables.

Since the explosion at Brighton, the Metropolitan police have reviewed and increased the measures they take to protect members of the Cabinet and others who may be at particular risk. Mr. Hoddinott's report is bound also to lead us to consider afresh all the precautions that need to be taken for the major party conferences in 1985 and for similar major political events. Difficult decisions will have to be taken about many matters relating to security, including the extent and manner of public access, the accommodation of political leaders subject to particular threat, pass systems and arrangements for stewarding meetings. These questions raise important issues about the cost and acceptability of changes to established democratic traditions. The answers will not be the same in the case of each event, but I am sure that representatives of the political parties should participate in the process of resolving these issues. I have therefore asked Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary, Sir Lawrence Byford, to head a team of chief constables and others to prepare urgently proposals for security at this year's party conferences and comparable occasions and I am writing today to invite party representatives to be involved actively in the work of this group.

I am most grateful to Mr. Hoddinott for the very thorough and professional way in which he carried out his task. He has given his assessment of what happened at Brighton, of the problems that now need to be tackled and the further questions that must be answered. As I said last October, total security is impossible in a free, democratic society, but in the light of Brighton we must enhance previously acceptable levels of security and equip ourselves to take in a clear-sighted way the difficult decisions involved in making any changes in the balance between security and the conduct of politics in a free society. I believe that the decisions that I have now taken will help significantly to enhance security and provide a firm framework for giving acceptable and practical answers to the outstanding questions.

Mr. Gerald Kaufman (Manchester, Gorton): The safety and security of Her Majesty's Government are matters which transcend party politics; it is that absolute principle which governs the response of Her Majesty's Opposition to the Home Secretary's statement. That being so, I have to say that, on behalf of Her Majesty's Opposition, I find it impossible to make any properly informed comment on what the Home Secretary has told the House. I am frankly astonished that access to the full Hoddinott report has not been made available to the appropriate representatives of Her Majesty's Opposition on Privy Councillor terms.

My right hon. Friend the Member for Morley and Leeds, South (Mr. Rees) assures me, as a former Home Secretary, that he would have arranged for such confidential access, especially as the Home Secretary acknowledges that this matter is of importance not merely to the Conservative party but to other political parties. Although it is entirely right and proper to involve the relevant party representatives in the activities of the working group which is to be set up, I would have expected the Home Secretary himself to discuss these matters with the appropriate representatives of the political parties that are represented in this House.

[Mr. Gerald Kaufman]

The Home Secretary's statement raises a number of disturbing matters. I pay tribute to the dedicated work of the police, the fire, the ambulance service and the other public services in Brighton three months ago. All of us owe them a profound debt for the hazards that they readily risked on behalf of the entire community. The police did to the very best of their ability all that they were asked to do, but they were not always given the right orders. We have heard of the inadequate search of the ministerial floor of the Grand hotel. That is very worrying indeed.

The Home Secretary said that Mr. Hoddinott's judgment is that, on the basis of procedures that then seemed reasonable and likely to be acceptable to those concerned, the Sussex police are not to be criticised for the fact that the bomb hidden on the sixth floor was not discovered. However, the fact must be faced that, on the basis of the inadequate search, a bomb on the first floor might not have been discovered either. Also very worrying is the inadequate co-operation between the hotel management and the police. Without proper information, it is impossible to be sure, but I have to be convinced that it would have been out of the question to conduct a more thorough search, even if not a totally thorough search, of the other floors of the hotel.

While I accept that it would not have been possible to seal the entrances to the hotel and search thoroughly all who sought entrance, some searching of portable items could and should have been considered. After all, many shops and places of entertainment make the effort, even without the presence of members of the Cabinet on their premises.

Furthermore, I should have thought that it made sense to study the security practices in other countries that face comparable problems, to establish whether there are lessons that we can learn. From what has been made available to the House, I find the report inadequate and complacent. The secure continuance of the Queen's Government and political life in this country are fundamental to our democracy and the public requires better reassurance that it has been given this afternoon.

Mr. Brittan: I think that the right hon. Gentleman will want to reconsider what he has said in the light of full consideration of my statement, because he seems to have failed to understand that what I had to say was in two parts. First, I was giving the House an account of Mr. Hoddinott's report, which was made independently by a distinguished police officer, made essentially to the chief constable of Sussex, and for wider consideration as well. I then went on to give an account of the response to that report, which the right hon. Gentleman may not have fully appreciated.

I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman regrets not having had access to the full Hoddinott report. I assure him that there is a precedent for the procedure whereby a document which on security grounds cannot be published is summarised and the summary is placed in the House. I also assure him that Mr. Hoddinott is satisfied that all the criticisms made in his full report are properly and adequately reflected in the summary, which I hope the right hon. Gentleman will study carefully.

What the right hon. Gentleman said about the deficiencies found by Mr. Hoddinott merely repeats what I said in my statement. Mr. Hoddinott did not say that a

more full search of the premises was out of the question. He merely explained why it did not take place and what the consequences of such a search would have been.

As to the experience of other countries, I assure the right hon. Gentleman that the group, set up with the wide membership to which I have referred, will have every opportunity to consider the experience of other countries, and will want to do that in its work. I assure the right hon. Gentleman that the Government's response in setting up this new and broadly based group and encouraging the participation of the political parties in the working out of practical, acceptable arrangements for party conferences and other events in the coming months is a serious response to a situation the gravity of which I have no reason whatsoever to underestimate.

Mr. Julian Amery (Brighton, Pavilion): Is my right hon. and learned Friend aware that his detailed and full statement will be widely welcomed in Brighton and the whole of Sussex? As it was a full and detailed statement, will he confirm two points that will be immediately in the minds of Brighton and Sussex people tonight? First, did the Sussex police co-operate fully in the inquiry and, secondly, subject to the inquiry now being conducted by the Sussex police, is there reason to believe that they fell down on their duty in any respect?

Mr. Brittan: It is the case that the Sussex police co-operated fully in the inquiry, and I assure my right hon. Friend that the full extent of both the criticisms and the praise made by Mr. Hoddinott about the Sussex police were adequately reflected both in the summary and in what I have said to the House.

Mr. Alex Carlile (Montgomery): Although Mr. Hoddinott has said that the Sussex police are not to be criticised for failing to find the bomb, does the Home Secretary agree that there remain substantial questions over the part played by Metropolitan police officers? In particular, will he confirm that, some two weeks before the explosion, a purported search was carried out by Metropolitan police officers, which Sussex police has had every reason to believe was thorough?

Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman also confirm that, whereas a search was carried out of the first floor, on which Cabinet Ministers were staying, the officers carrying out that search forgot to search the suite of the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself? Does there not remain a need for a thorough-going inquiry into the level of co-operation by the Metropolitan police and the Sussex police, particularly relating to criminal intelligence?

Mr. Brittan: I do not agree with much of what the hon. and learned Gentleman has said. In particular, there is nothing to warrant the criticism of the Metropolitan police. I do not know the basis for making it. As to the search of the first floor premises, I made it clear in my statement that there was a criticism of the fact that those premises were not searched thoroughly and that criticism of the failure to establish responsibility for who should conduct such a search was one of the features of the Hoddinott report. The hon. and learned Gentleman is right to say that, of the three relevant suites, two were searched and the one that was not was mine.

Mr. Andrew Bowden (Brighton, Kemptown): The deputy chief constable of Hampshire has done a valuable service to the nation. In examining this appalling incident,

number of lessons have been learnt, and he has the advantage of hindsight. The Sussex police and the chief constable of Sussex have come under some unreasonable criticism since the incident. The House should remember that the morale of that force is bound to be hurt by unfair, unjustified and unsubstantiated criticism.

Will my right hon. Friend say yet again that it is clear that there was no justification for most of the attacks upon the Sussex police, or for the scurrilous attacks on the integrity and professional ability of the chief constable? Will he confirm that nobody could have expected that explosive device to be found unless the hotel had literally been taken apart brick by brick? Will he confirm that nobody who was in Brighton at that time, or who has ever attended a party conference, would think that one could conceivably begin to search the hundreds of people who go in and out of a major conference hotel? From what we have already heard from my right hon. and learned Friend the report clearly vindicates the efficiency and professional conduct of the Sussex police, and it will be welcomed by the people of Sussex and the nation as a whole.

Mr. Brittan: I am grateful to my hon. Friend, and I endorse what he has said. As I said in my statement, the general conclusion of Mr. Hoddinott was that, against the background that I have described, the Sussex police made proper and reasonable plans and implemented them properly and efficiently. The criticisms of detail have to be seen against that general finding. It is also worth mentioning that, in the group under Sir Lawrence Byford, which will be seeking to reach agreement with the parties about security arrangements for conferences and similar functions, among those who will be assisting Sir Lawrence Byford will be the chief constable of Sussex, Mr. Roger Birch, and Mr. Hoddinott himself.

Mr. Merlyn Rees (Morley and Leeds, South): Will the Home Secretary accept that the starting point for anything he wants to do, and in which the House will support him, has to be based on the fact that there is a large number of paramilitary groups on both sides of the divide in Northern Ireland who believe in killing, and who will do it again? Will he accept that the fuss, properly made, during the last three months because something happened here gave them nothing but joy, and that they will try again? Anything that we in the House can do to help the Home Secretary, we shall do. He has said that the new committee he will set up will draw information from the Army. I hope that this will be only on its knowledge of bomb disposal. When he goes wider on intelligence, will he make absolutely sure that it is the police who are in charge of all of it, because there is nothing the paramilitaries would like better than that they should drive us in a direction that weakens our democracy and our party conferences because they do not believe in democracy?

Mr. Brittan: I can unhesitatingly endorse every word that the right hon. Gentleman has said, without qualification. The responsibility of the police is paramount. In regard to the Army and the security service serving as part of the group under Home Office chairmanship, I am referring to particular forms of expertise which can be drawn upon and then conveyed in the form of advice and co-ordination to the police, whose task is precisely what the right hon. Gentleman has said.

If I may say so, not only is it the task of the police operationally to deal with these matters, but the tripartite relationship of the Home Office, the police authority and the chief constable is underlined by what has occurred here, where the report is a report to the chief constable, its wider aspects are being canvassed in the House and its detailed application to Sussex will be a matter to be discussed between the chief constable and his authority, which is meeting tomorrow.

Mr. Eldon Griffiths (Bury St. Edmunds): Is not one of the clear lessons that the technology of terror is now developing more rapidly than the capability of the security forces to deal with it? In that context may I welcome what I have urged in the House several times—the fact that the very real experience of the Royal Ulster Constabulary is now to be more effectively used on this side of the water? I wish to ask my right hon. and learned Friend specific questions. What is to be the relationship of the TIGER committee, the committee for terrorist information gathering, evaluation and review, with the new working party that he is setting up? Will he give to the House an assurance that this new body will ensure that the collation and dissemination of counter-terrorist intelligence are more effective and that the sharing of the methods of dealing with terrorism will not be impeded by vicious and misleading attacks on the men and women of the special branch and the security service who risk their lives to protect us?

Mr. Brittan: On the last point, I certainly agree with my hon. Friend that the work of people in the special branch and the security service is of crucial importance in this area. It would be an absolute tragedy if what is said in the House or elsewhere were to undermine their morale or their work, which is necessary for the protection of the lives of us all.

In regard to the relationships to which my hon. Friend referred, I think that what he has in mind is the arrangement that I announced last October. The difference essentially between what I have announced today and what I announced last October is that last October we were talking about arrangements of an inter-departmental kind, within Government. Here one is talking about advice and co-ordination of information and techniques for the police service.

Mr. J. D. Concannon (Mansfield): Will the Home Secretary accept that the Opposition have a role to play? Knowing full well the delicacies of the security aspect—this is what my right hon. Friend the Member for Morley and Leeds, South (Mr. Rees) was trying to put over—I should like the Home Secretary to reflect upon his decision not to let my right hon. Friend the Member for Manchester, Gorton (Mr. Kaufman)—I say “my right hon. Friend” advisedly—have a full copy of the report, on Privy Council terms. I can assure him that on occasion this has been done in regard to other matters. It is a delicate report, but I do not think anyone has ever been let down when information has been made available on Privy Council terms.

Mr. Brittan: I am grateful to the right hon. Gentleman. I shall, of course, reflect on what he has said. There was a precedent for handling the matter as we have done. I assure the right hon. Gentleman—I hope the right hon.

[Mr. Brittan]

Member for Manchester, Gorton (Mr. Kaufman) will accept it as well—that it has not been done in any spirit of ill will or personal doubt.

Mr. Ivor Stanbrook (Orpington): Does not the report demonstrate the need for greater resources to be made available to the special branch of each police force? Is my right hon. and learned Friend satisfied with the co-ordination which exists between 43 different special branches?

Mr. Brittan: These matters are perhaps better considered in another context, but to the extent that they arise they will for these purposes be considered under the new arrangements that I have set out.

Mr. Robert Maclellan (Caithness and Sutherland): While one accepts the need for and appropriateness of establishing a new permanent working group, and the readiness of the Social Democratic party to participate in Sir Lawrence Byford's group, can the Secretary of State ensure, by publishing detailed terms of reference, that a new permanent group will not impinge upon the conduct of national policing policy or move us in any way towards a national police force as a response to this terrorist emergency?

Mr. Brittan: I am grateful to the hon. Gentleman for his indication, as one would expect, of the co-operation of his party with Sir Lawrence Byford's group, which we shall value and which, I am sure, will be of great benefit. I am happy to reinforce what I said in my statement; the new arrangements that I have set in hand are not meant in any way to lean towards the creation of a national police force. If the hon. Gentleman looks at the language, he will see that it has been most carefully chosen to avoid any such implication or trend.

Several Hon. Members *rose*—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I have to have regard for the subsequent business. We have a standing order No. 10 application and also a ten-minute Bill, so I shall allow questions on this to go on until 4.30; then we must move on.

Mr. Anthony Nelson (Chichester): Will my right hon. and learned Friend confirm that the high regard and confidence placed in Mr. Roger Birch, the chief constable of Sussex, are in no way diminished by the contents of the report? Will he confirm that the inclusion of Roger Birch in the group of chief constables is a welcome reflection of this? Will he confirm that the proposed setting up of the group of chief constables in no way reflects a shift in responsibility for the policing of future political conferences from the chief constable of a county to another group?

Mr. Brittan: On the last point, that is certainly the case. The chief constable of Lancashire will have responsibility for the arrangements at Blackpool. I am sure that he will be assisted by the pooling of advice and expertise that the new arrangements will enable to exist and also by the co-operation of political parties in the House in working out arrangements that are desirable for events such as this in a way that would not be done on the basis of any one force area when conferences and other events move from place to place.

In regard to the Sussex police, one of the most striking features of the reaction since October is the absolute unanimity of Members of Parliament from Sussex in expressing their warm and loyal support for the Sussex police force, a support which I know from those who have spoken would not have been readily expressed if it were not a reflection of years of experience of the work of that force.

Mr. Ken Maginnis (Fermanagh and South Tyrone): Will the Home Secretary recognise that, while one is pleased that police forces in Great Britain will benefit from the hard-earned and dearly bought experience of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, terrorism cannot be combated effectively if there is not whole-hearted support for our police forces?

When the Prevention of Terrorism Act is used to combat terrorism, will the right hon. and learned Gentleman ensure that the public are properly informed, notwithstanding the constraints that may exist at any particular time? Will he ensure that the public are informed of the reason and justification for the Act being invoked?

Mr. Brittan: I understand the hon. Gentleman's concern. It is often difficult to inform the public in specific terms of the exercise of powers that are contained in the Act. I welcome the opportunity once again to give the absolute assurance that I regard the powers as extremely undesirable in principle but sadly necessary in practice and to be exercised only with the greatest possible care by the incumbent of my office. I assure the hon. Gentleman and the country that it is in that sense and spirit that the powers are exercised. They will never be exercised for political purposes, contrary to some of the suggestions which have been bruited in recent months.

Mr. Kenneth Warren (Hastings and Rye): I welcome the words that my right hon. and learned Friend has spoken in praise of the Sussex police force. As a Sussex Member, I know of its efficiency and that of the chief constable. However, is he aware that I am deeply disturbed at the lack of understanding that all of us have, and clearly have had, about the standards of security that are necessary and the failure to search, as was required, during the course of the conference? I hope that the working group will not merely be a group of wise people which will say what should be done. I trust that my right hon. and learned Friend will willingly take on the task of ensuring that that which has to be done is enforced.

Mr. Brittan: I am grateful to my hon. Friend for his support. He will recognise that we are talking about something which is dependent on police ability, efficiency and confidence and on the readiness of individuals, organisations and parties to make the necessary changes, which will always be unwelcome. A balance will continue to have to be struck between the level of security and the ordinary workings of democracy. It is a matter of building up support for what is necessary and striking a proper balance, which may be a new one, and not merely that of the Home Secretary enforcing that which is required for security. It is for that reason that I attach the greatest importance to the co-operation of all the political parties in the Byford group, as well as the work of the new working group, in dealing with the other matters to which I have referred.

Mr. D. N. Campbell-Savours (Workington): What will the relationship be between the national reporting centre and the new permanent working group with its responsibility for bringing about

"successful co-ordination between police forces throughout Great Britain and also to ensure that they have available to them all relevant techniques and experience?"

How will the two organisations relate to each other?

Mr. Brittan: There is no connection between one and the other.

Mr. James Hill (Southampton, Test): Will my right hon. and learned Friend admit that one of the crucial areas of the police intervention at Brighton was when the occupants of the Grand hotel were herded together on the promenade, where we were perfectly easy targets for any second intervention by the IRA? My wife and I were in room 301, two floors above the Prime Minister, so we know the trauma of the events. However, we were all herded together on the promenade for some hours. Should the police be informed that sometimes assassination cannot be prevented if many prominent people are herded together in one place at 1 o'clock, 3 o'clock, 4 o'clock or 5 o'clock in the morning?

Mr. Brittan: I take note of my hon. Friend's point and I am grateful to him for raising it.

Mr. Harry Ewing (Falkirk, East): Could I raise a different aspect that stems from the Home Secretary's statement? Although the statement relates to the Brighton bomb incident, and therefore Sussex, the consequences are important and there are major proposals which go far wider than Sussex.

Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman agree that the police forces that are responsible for major conference centres throughout Britain have an almost impossible task? New conference centres are being developed at Harrogate and Bournemouth, and the four towns of Harrogate, Bournemouth, Blackpool and Brighton are all holiday resorts. Has he considered the danger of the local authorities that are responsible for letting these centres for major party political conferences telling the political parties that their interference with security during the normal holiday trade is now so great and so intrusive that they will no longer take the party conferences? Are we moving towards a situation in which we might well have to bring the conferences to London, where there is security, rather than take them to what are basically holiday towns?

Mr. Brittan: I am grateful to the hon. Gentleman for drawing attention to an important aspect but I am not sure that I have come to the conclusion that he has. I can assure him that it is the intention of Sir Lawrence Byford in the course of his work to discuss with representatives of the hotel industry, both generally and perhaps in relation to specific occasions, what they can do to assist. The same will apply to those responsible for the management of conference centres and other places that are used for such purposes. It may be that action can be taken across the board in the course of making general arrangements and not in expectation of a particular conference. Whether that is so and what that action could be are matters which Sir Lawrence will wish to consider with representatives of the hotel industry and those who manage conferences.

Mr. David Atkinson (Bournemouth, East): I represent a party conference town and I welcome what my right hon.

and learned Friend has said. May I ask him to take the opportunity to clarify the law of treason as it relates to acts of terrorism, such as that which took place in Brighton, which are designed to eliminate a Government? Will those who are found responsible for the evil act at Brighton be subject to the law of treason? Does the law as it stands still carry the death penalty in those circumstances?

Mr. Brittan: The law of treason carries the death penalty but it is for prosecuting authorities and not for the Government to decide whether charges should be brought in a particular case and, if so, what charges should be laid. My right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney-General exercises an independent judgment in these matters and it would not be appropriate for me to express a view on what offence has been committed or what charge should be brought in a particular case.

Mr. Tony Benn (Chesterfield): Is the Home Secretary aware that all intrusions into civil liberty are begun by arguments on grounds of security, and that any examination of the proposals, which my right hon. Friends have not been able to see in confidence, are bound to raise in the minds of many some doubts about what is in store? The right hon. and learned Gentleman speaks as if the risk of assassination is especially a matter for party conferences—

Mr. Brittan indicated dissent.

Mr. Benn: Well, the implication was that they bring special security requirements, but any Prime Minister, Minister, Member of Parliament, political leader or anyone else is exposed throughout the country all the time to the risk of attack as he does his job by speaking at public meetings. If the police are now to assume powers as great as those which have been suggested, that could have the effect of separating, on security grounds, those who exercise power or have responsibility from those to whom they are responsible. I hope that the right hon. and learned Gentleman will take these matters seriously. Many ideas have been produced in the abstract that have commanded support in the aftermath of an explosion, as with the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and they are seen afterwards to have very different purposes in their actual application.

Mr. Brittan: I agree with a great deal of what the right hon. Gentleman has said. I hope that I made it clear in my statement that I regard the proper balance between security and the exercise of our civil liberties as a precious one that should not lightly be altered. The report and its consideration relate specifically to conferences and comparable events which are comparable in scale. The right hon. Gentleman is right to say that security issues arise at events of a lesser scale that are attended by those who may be at risk of assassination. I would not disagree with that. But nothing to which I have referred indicates the slightest readiness to slide over civil liberties, which are as precious to those of us on this side of the House as they are to the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. W. Benyon (Milton Keynes): If a large part of the United States Administration were staying in the same hotel, the hotel would be cleared exhaustively beforehand, and everybody would be searched throughout. Is this not the sort of price we have to pay if we want the party conference system to continue?

Mr. Brittan: That is exactly the sort of question we have to face up to.

Several Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: Very few hon. Members are standing. I will call those who have been standing if they will put their questions very briefly.

Mr. David Winnick (Walsall, North): The Provisional IRA is the enemy of both Irish and British democracy, and there is always the utmost condemnation of terrorism from all parts of the House. In view of the answer which the right hon. and learned Gentleman gave to the hon. Member for Bury St. Edmunds (Mr. Griffiths), is the Home Secretary suggesting that parliamentary concern about the special branch when the special branch is not involving itself with terrorism or any other offence is wrong? Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman not take this opportunity to state clearly that we should have a healthy interest in the activities of the special branch and that the present inquiry being conducted by the Select Committee is perfectly all right and justified?

Mr. Brittan: As to the inquiry by the Select Committee, I was not saying that it was all right or was not all right. It is a matter for the Select Committee and not a matter for me. I was merely saying that I thought that unfounded criticisms of the special branch were damaging to morale and were unjustified.

Mr. Robert Adley (Christchurch): The hon. Member for Falkirk, East (Mr. Ewing) mentioned four towns, one in Lancashire, one in Yorkshire, one in Sussex and one in Dorset. Will my right hon. and learned Friend take note that Dorset is a small county, with seven Members of Parliament and that therefore the percentage burden of the 1986 Conservative party conference falling upon the Dorset constabulary is probably out of all proportion to that faced by any other county constabulary hitherto? Will he in very good time ensure that adequate funds are made available not just from my constituents but from central funds to enable the job to be done properly?

Mr. Brittan: I take note of what my hon. Friend has said, but I would not like to arouse any financial expectations.

Mr. Dennis Skinner (Bolsover): Will the Home Secretary tell the House how many police man hours of the Sussex constabulary, including the special branch, were used in the miners' strike in the weeks and months leading up to the incident at Brighton?

Will he also tell the working group that he is setting up that it is nothing short of hypocrisy for the Government to be talking about trying to get the matters that went wrong in October put right if at the same time the Government of which he is a member are prepared to continue the miners' dispute, will not agree to a settlement and therefore will use more and more police man hours in order to carry that through?

Mr. Brittan: I do not have information as to the number of man hours that the Sussex police force used in the miners' strike.

With regard to the other matters, I think it is extremely unlikely that I would wish to communicate that information to the working group.

Mr. Richard Alexander (Newark): May I express the hope that the informality and free mixing which characterises all party conferences will not be jeopardised as a result of the outcome of the findings of my right hon.

and learned Friend and his colleagues and that under the Prevention of Terrorism Act bodily searches will not be a necessary feature for people who have to enter and leave the party conference?

Mr. Brittan: I appreciate my hon. Friend's views, but it is exactly the contrast between the desire to be spared that kind of experience on the one hand and the desire to ensure adequate security on the other to which my hon. Friend the Member for Milton Keynes (Mr. Benyon) gave vent. It is that balance that needs to be worked out, and plainly there is a lot to be done in doing so.

Mr. Richard Tracey (Surbiton): Further to the points raised by the hon. Member for Falkirk, East (Mr. Ewing) and my hon. Friend the Member for Milton Keynes (Mr. Benyon), does the report comment on the implications of modern day terrorist methods that make it practically impossible to guarantee the security of prominent people staying together in one place when the location of that place is known so far in advance?

Mr. Brittan: My hon. Friend is certainly right to point out the difficulties, and it is the details of terrorist matters of the kind to which my hon. Friend has alluded that make it inappropriate to publish the report.

Mr. David Maclean (Penrith and the Border): Will my right hon. and learned Friend be assured by me, as someone who spent all his life in security before entering the House, that I believe that the Hoddinott report is absolutely correct both in its conclusions and in its analysis, in that the level of policing given at the time was adequate in relation to the perceived threat and to the expectations of conference goers? Further, will he disregard the comments of the right hon. Member for Manchester, Gorton (Mr. Kaufman) that the report is inadequate and complacent, because I believe that the right hon. Gentleman is utterly off beam? Finally, would my right hon. and learned Friend ensure that adequate resources are given to the training of police officers, particularly in the provincial forces, to deal with the new terrorist threat that we face because of high technology in terrorist equipment?

Mr. Brittan: I am grateful to my hon. Friend for his assurance. I can certainly assure him that the training point will be taken on board.

Mr. Peter Bruinvels (Leicester, East): In welcoming the report, which seems most helpful, may I ask my right hon. and learned Friend to take note that we on this side certainly welcome the news that the party conferences will continue to take place? However, my concern remains that we should have the priority of searching not only the premises before the conference delegates attend but also the people each time that they go into the conference. That should be the main concern, and the location of the hotel which is publicised. I wonder whether the report has examined the possibility of locating all senior Ministers or Opposition spokesmen in the same hotel, because this seems to lead us into a difficult situation on which the Northern Ireland police force obviously will be able to advise.

Mr. Brittan: Some of these questions are among the matters that have to be considered by the Byford group and on which the parties themselves will ultimately take a view.

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

HOME SECRETARY'S STATEMENT ON BRIGHTON BOMBING (HODDINOTT REPORT)

22 JANUARY 1985

With permission, Mr Speaker, I should like to make a statement about the conclusions of the enquiry into security arrangements for last year's Conservative Party Conference.

On 22 October last year I made a statement about the explosion at Brighton. Police investigations into that crime are still continuing. The evidence so far obtained suggests that the explosion was caused by a device containing between 20 and 30 pounds of explosive placed behind a bath panel in Room 629 on the sixth floor of the Grand Hotel. It was almost certainly detonated by a long delay timer. The police have made exhaustive enquiries about staff and guests at the hotel. They have established that someone who stayed in Room 629 for three days about three weeks before the explosion had given a false address. Enquiries to trace him and other enquiries related to electronic devices recovered from the debris are continuing. The House will not expect me to go into further details about them.

In my statement last year I told the House that the Chief Constable of Sussex had asked Mr Hoddinott, the Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire, to investigate the security arrangements in place at the time of the Conference. I have now received and studied a copy of his report. It cannot, for reasons of security, be published but I have placed in the Library of the House a summary,

/which Mr Hoddinott

which Mr Hoddinott has confirmed gives a fair and accurate account of his findings. Copies are also available in the Vote Office. I understand that the Sussex police authority are meeting to discuss the report with the Chief Constable tomorrow.

Mr Hoddinott has conducted a comprehensive and detailed enquiry into the plans and arrangements made for security at the Conference and the efficiency with which they were carried out. The House will see from the summary that he has judged the performance of the Sussex police against the information which was available to them and the level of precautions which were then regarded as usual and acceptable to those concerned.

His general conclusion against that background is that the Sussex police made proper and reasonable plans and implemented them competently and professionally.

He finds that they had access to all the relevant intelligence information up to the time of the explosion and took proper account of it.

He makes a number of detailed criticisms of the arrangements for communications within the Sussex force both of threat levels and the requirements for searches. He also criticises the adequacy of the co-operation between hotel management and the police.

Mr Hoddinott paid particular attention to search procedures. He did not criticise the police for failing to control and search

each person entering the hotel during the period of the Conference. He concluded that the hotel and those wishing to use it would not have accepted such an arrangement and that, given the assumption of free access to the hotel, the numbers involved would anyway have made it impracticable. He stresses that it has hitherto always been the practice of the police to take the basic nature of the occasion to be protected as the starting point for protection and security precautions, rather than to seek to change the nature of the occasion itself on security grounds.

Mr Hoddinott found that it would not have been the practice of any police force in Great Britain or Northern Ireland to have conducted a full search of the entire hotel prior to the Conference. The view would have been taken that, if it were to be fully effective, such a search would have taken some weeks, during which time the hotel would have had to be closed, with public access denied until the Conference was over. Mr Hoddinott's judgment is that on the basis of the procedures which then seemed reasonable and likely to be acceptable to those concerned, Sussex police are not to be criticised for the fact that the bomb hidden on the sixth floor was not discovered.

Mr Hoddinott was critical, however, of the inadequate search that was made of the first floor, which should under standard police procedures have been searched. The failure to do so adequately was caused by the absence of a clear allocation of responsibility within the Sussex police.

Different and stricter arrangements for searching were possible at the Conference Centre, where the building was to a much greater degree taken over for the exclusive use of the Conservative Party and was inherently easier to search.

Looking to the future, Mr Hoddinott has not attempted to prescribe new policing arrangements, but he has, as the House will see from the summary of his report, drawn attention to a number of important areas where changes now need to be considered on a national basis. He also makes clear, however, that a balance will always have to be struck between security and the conduct of political affairs in our open democratic society.

The House will recall that I announced in my statement last October that we had at that stage already set in hand new arrangements centrally both for assessing terrorist intentions and capabilities and co-ordinating the counter-measures required to meet them. These central arrangements are now fully in place and I believe they have already proved their value.

But many of the specific counter-measures are and will remain the responsibility of local police forces, with the Metropolitan Police Special Branch having particular national responsibilities. To assist them in their task I am now setting up a new permanent Working Group. Its role will be to bring about successful co-ordination between police forces throughout Great Britain and also to ensure that they have available to them all relevant techniques and experience. This Group, under Home Office

/chairmanship, will ...

chairmanship, will monitor the advice and techniques available for protecting targets and countering terrorist threats and will co-ordinate the promulgation of advice to police forces. It will include, in addition to the police, representatives of the Security Service and the Army. I have already arranged with my Rt Hon Friends the Secretaries of State for Defence, Northern Ireland and Scotland to involve the Army and the RUC in training police officers from all mainland forces in search techniques and to ensure that full use is made of the relevant experience gained in Northern Ireland.

The Chief Constable of Sussex, after discussion with his police authority tomorrow, will take corrective action for the future on the specific criticisms of his own force contained in the report, and the new Working Group will ensure that the points of general relevance are made to all Chief Constables.

Since the explosion at Brighton the Metropolitan Police have reviewed and increased the measures they take to protect members of the Cabinet and others who may be at particular risk. Mr Hoddinott's report is bound also to lead us to consider afresh all the precautions that need to be taken for the major Party Conferences in 1985 and for similar major political events. Difficult decisions will have to be taken about many matters relating to security, including the extent and manner of public access, the accommodation of political leaders subject to particular threat, pass systems and arrangements for stewarding meetings. These questions raise important issues about the cost and acceptability of changes to established democratic traditions.

The answers will not be the same in the case of each event, but I am sure that representatives of the political parties should participate in the process of resolving these issues. I have therefore asked Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Constabulary, Sir Lawrence Byford, to head a team of Chief Constables and others to prepare urgently proposals for security at this year's Party Conferences and comparable occasions and I am writing today to invite Party representatives to be involved actively in the work of this group.

I am most grateful to Mr Hoddinott for the very thorough and professional way in which he carried out his task. He has given his assessment of what happened at Brighton, of the problems that now need to be tackled and the further questions that must be answered. As I said last October total security is impossible in a free, democratic society. But in the light of Brighton we must enhance previously acceptable levels of security and equip ourselves to take in a clear-sighted way the difficult decisions involved in making any changes in the balance between security and the conduct of politics in a free society. I believe that the decisions that I have now taken will help significantly to enhance security and provide a firm framework for giving acceptable and practical answers to the outstanding questions.

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Notes for PMS' House of Commons Statement</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 C Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Minute from Ryder to PM dated 21 January 1985</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Letter from Butler to Taylor dated 21 January 1985</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 W. Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
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NUMBER NOT USED	

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Minute from Butler to PM dated 18 January 1985</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 W. Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Minute from Home Secretary to PM dated 18 January 1985, with attachment (summary of conclusions)</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
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NUMBER NOT USED	

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Report of investigation into Security arrangements for 1984 Conservative Party Conference by J.C. Hoddinott</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 W. Wayland</i>
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Mr. Bytler

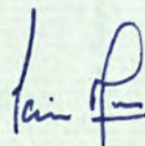
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MISS CAINES

You invited my comments on Martin Sawyer's minute.

First, I should say that his assistance was invaluable. He kept me fully informed, while I was able to feed him with whatever was reaching me from the media. There was however one major problem from my point of view.

Frequently, I needed to check out rumours (which abounded), and I was very conscious that everyone involved was extremely hard pressed - not least the Duty Clerk. However rather than increase the burden on police, hospital etc by going to them direct, I had little option but to rely on him for information; once or twice the hospital rang me direct, but they did not keep me informed as a matter of course. The Sussex police (and I found the same with the Met during the Harrods bomb last December) despite two direct requests did not consider our requirements at all. It would certainly be helpful if there were standing instructions to police forces to the effect that, in the event of an incident involving the Prime Minister, or one in which we express an interest, the No 10 Press Office is given some kind of priority treatment; it would both help them and us. I think the Home Office Press Office encountered a similar problem. We can't stop the press scratching around for information, but more than once throughout that weekend I felt that we were close to conveying an impression of confusion and incompetence, through their being ahead of us with hard information.



IAIN R MURRAY
PRESS OFFICE

5 December 1984



FILE

6)

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

22 November, 1984

You told me that you did not think it necessary to trouble the Prime Minister for an interview in connection with your Inquiry into security at the Grand Hotel Brighton unless she had any points which she wanted to make to you. I have consulted the Prime Minister and have shown her the statement which I made. She has confirmed that she does not feel it necessary herself to put any points to you.

J.C. Hoddinnott, Esq.

A handwritten signature in the bottom right corner of the page.

MR. BUTLER

GRAND HOTEL

Thank you for your note about the aftermath of the Brighton bomb. A number of points occur to me which follow in no particular order:-

i) As far as I was concerned there was no substitute for being in the office. I think that recent experience has indicated that it is worth coming into the office at the first sign of serious difficulty, even at the risk of over-reaction.

ii) We were acutely aware throughout the morning that apart from functions like ringing up relatives etc., our role was distinctly limited. The real decisions were being taken at Brighton. Given this, we had to strike a balance between our need to know and the need to avoid pestering those who were on the spot.

iii) I think that we became a clearing house for information as Martin points out simply because we were not ourselves taking decisions. I agree, therefore, with your point (iii) that we must look primarily to our own responsibilities in such circumstances. Had the incident been worse, I am sure that we would have been so busy coping with our own duties that we would not have had time for the "public relations" role that we acquired that morning.

iv) It would be useful to have in the Duty Clerk's bible a reminder about keeping the Palace informed. It is not always uppermost in one's mind in such circumstances.

B. B.

v) You mentioned that, as the Private Secretary on the spot, you found it useful to have people here at No. 10. Equally, we were confident in the knowledge that you were in Brighton. That would, however, not have been the case had the bomb gone off on say the Tuesday night. Were these circumstances to recur at a time when there was no Private Secretary present, we would, I imagine, need to despatch one rapidly.

I have one or two other comments which I will pass to you orally.

TF

Timothy Flesher
21 November 1984

MR. FLESHER

cc. Mr. Ingham
Miss Caines
Mr. Sherbourne
Mr. Joce
Supt. Parker
Mr. Sawyer

The No. 10 Office Functions in the Aftermath of the
Bomb Explosion at the Grand Hotel, Brighton

I asked Martin Sawyer, who was Duty Clerk on the night of the Brighton bomb, to record what he had to do and any lessons to be learned from the events of that night. I had it in mind that this is something which could be added to the Duty Clerks' "bible".

I attach Martin Sawyer's useful note, and I should be grateful for any contributions which you and other recipients may want to make with that object in mind - namely, recording for the sake of future crises any lessons to be learned.

My own reflections are as follows:-

- (i) It is very useful to have recorded here the list of people to whom information should be passed on: as the Private Secretary on the spot, I was very glad that I could rely on the office here to tell everybody who needed to know of developments. It is particularly difficult to think of all these aspects at the time.
- (ii) I think that the Press Office must be added to the phrase "No. 10 Office" in category (i) of those to whom information is passed.

(iii) While Martin may have had the impression that No. 10 was the focal point of all outside and internal enquiries, I believe that, there were a number of "focal points". The answer to Martin's question - whether that is as it should be - is that No. 10 must primarily look after our responsibilities, which are summarised in the note, and thereafter try to deal with all other enquiries, as best we can. We tend to become a focal point for other people's enquiries because of our efficiency - and that is a compliment!

(iv) I recognise the difficulties of getting information from the Home Office and the police on the spot. We must continue to use those channels, but my experience suggested that the best way to get information is by using such means as No. 10 will normally have to get information direct from the horse's mouth - for example, at Brighton, the best source of information about the progress in rescuing the Tebbits and the Wakehams was obtained through asking our contacts on the spot what was happening, particularly Lord Whitelaw, who visited the scene - and we have to be prepared to use those means.

F.E.R.B.

21 November, 1984

20/11/84

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

DUTY CLERK'S ACTIONS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE BOMB EXPLOSION
AT THE GRAND HOTEL, BRIGHTON, 0300-1330 (approx) ON
12 OCTOBER, 1984

Action

The Duty Clerk was required to find out as MUCH information as possible and inform the interested parties.

- the incident had already taken place, so it became a matter of communication, and gradual piecing together of available information.
- it necessitated constant telephone work over a period of several hours from first notification that a bomb had been detonated.

Sources of Information

(i) the Prime Minister's party at Brighton - main link being the Garden Room Girl (Detectives and political office occasionally).

(ii) Police, Brighton Police Station mainly (occasionally Lewes Police HQ).

(iii) The media (radio and television).

(iv) Cabinet Office Duty Officer.

(v) No.10 Press Office.

This is a rough descending order of contribution.

Information passed on to:

(i) Duty Private Secretary and No.10 office.

- (ii) PM's party at Brighton and Lewes.
- (iii) Relatives (mainly handled by Duty Private Secretary)
- (iv) Queen's Party in USA (Kentucky).
- (v) Sir Robert Armstrong.
- (vi) Security Co-ordinator
- (vii) Other Whitehall Departments (incl. FCO, Home Office, Cabinet Office).

Conclusions

In general, smooth communication with the important personnel was ensured throughout, and such information as was available, was obtained. Everything functioned at No.10, as would be expected - switchboard were good etc. etc.

Points of Note

1. Useful callers, with information, consisted mainly of people 'on the spot' (the PM's party), or Cabinet Office - other information was often obtained through the media.
2. The Home Office provided very little information - they rarely rang No.10.
3. The Police had great problems coping with enquiries. No.10 was given little priority treatment - very little information could be obtained direct from them, apart from casualty details.

As a result, we became the focal point of all outside (and internal) enquiries - the question is - is that as it should be? Or should another Department handle all general enquiries? If we are to be the 'lynch-pin', we need more information given to us by a greater variety of people. More often than not we did most of the obtaining of the information, in order to satisfy ourselves and those requesting it from outside.

Martin Sawyer Duty Clerk.

D.R.

1

PRIME MINISTER

BRIGHTON BOMB

As you know, Mr. John Hodson, Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire, was asked to carry out an Inquiry into security at the Grand Hotel, Brighton. He has interviewed and taken statements from most people concerned, including myself. I attach a copy of my statement.

7.11.84

He has said that he does not feel it necessary to trouble you, unless there were any points you wanted to put to him. Is there anything which you would like to say?

H.R.B.

No. inf.

21 November 1984

From: J.C. Hoddinott, MA, Deputy Chief Constable

PP's?

HAMPSHIRE Constabulary

HEADQUARTERS WINCHESTER 68133

S022 5DB

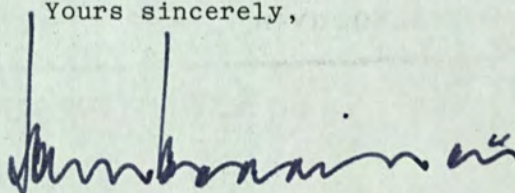
12th November, 1984

Dear Mr Butler,

Thank you for your letter dated 7th November, 1984, and enclosed statement concerning the security at the Grand Hotel, Brighton.

Your assistance is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,



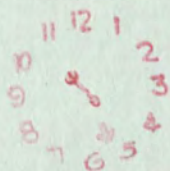
Deputy Chief Constable

Mr R. Butler,
Principal Private Secretary,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON.

Security Oct 84

Brighton Blvd

15 NOV 1984



Following Brighton Bomb Attack.
LOG OF MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY.

①

1. Kinnock
2. Archbishop of Canterbury
3. Dr. David Owen
4. Cardinal Grey; Scottish Catholic Bishops
5. Dr. Ian Paisley
6. Dr. Garret Fitzgerald
7. Dr. John Tudor (Westminster Central Hall)
8. Lord Siff
9. President of CBI
10. Archbishop Beck Watlock
11. Mr Bstha
12. Carlton Club.
13. Isle of Wight County Council
14. Gonzalez, PM of Spain.
15. Kamphal, Commonwealth Sec. Gen.
16. Sir John Hoskyns (Institute of Directors)
17. James Molyneaux.
18. Claude Cheysson.
19. Gordon Wilson MP (SNP)
20. Eneka Anyasaku (?)
21. Dame Mary Donaldson, Lord Mayor of London
22. AM Ozal of Turkey
23. AM Lange of New Zealand.
24. Pres. Mitterand
25. Bishop of London
26. Isle of Wight Liberal Association
27. PM of Sri Lanka.
28. President of Sri Lanka.
29. Preston, PSA estates
30. Trinity House.

31. President Reagan
32. Juan Carlos (Spain?)
33. Clark - Chairman, Hersey
34. Director Radio Free Europe
35. Kenneth Cestfield
36. Alan Musgrave-Scott.
37. Councillor Bette White - Chairman Thanet Council.
38. Nakasone, Japan
39. President of Bangladesh
40. PM of India
41. Governor of Burkina Faso (Upper Volta).
42. PM Malta (to SS/OTI).
43. PM, France.
44. Turner - Leader NZ Opposition
45. David Steel.
46. S. Craxi (Italy).
47. Cardinal Hume
48. PM of Barbados
49. President of Portugal
50. Masire, President of Botswana
51. Chancellor Kohl - Germany
52. Ambassadors, Germany
53. Cossiga, President of the Senate - Italy
54. King Hussein, Jordan
55. PM Price of Belize
56. Pres. Nyerere, Tanzania
57. Mulroney, Canada.
58. Planinc, President of Yugoslavia
59. Aminica - "Govt & people"

- 60. Taylor, Acting High Commissioner, Falklands.
- 61. Prince Charles + Lady Diana. * sent to Chequer (copy retained).
- 62. Papandreu, PM of Greece
- 63. Lord Thorneycroft
- 64. Spanish Ambassador.
- 65. Pope * misfaxed to Chequer.
- 66. President Pertini Italy
- 67. President Banda of Malawi.
- 68. Monsieur Delors France
- 69. Ambassadors France
- 70. Sir George Clark, President of Ulster Unionist Council. (message of sympathy phoned through from Mr. Gummer's office. He will bring copy of text with him on 15/10)
- 71. President Chun Doo Hwan, President of Republic of Korea.
- 72. Bandaranaike - Opposition leader, Sri Lanka
- 73. Denktas - President, Turkish Republic of Cyprus.
- 74. Amban. of Sweden.
- 75. PM Shimon Peres - Israel.
- 76. Stevens, President of Sierra Leone.
- 77. Swan - Premier, Bermuda
- 78. Lubbers, PM of Netherlands
- 79. Soares, Portugal
- 80. Costen Thorn
- 81. Sorsa, PM of Finland.
- 82. ~~Pik Botha~~ 82 Zhao Ziyang, Premier of the State Council, China
- 83. Aga Khan
- 84. King Leka Ist of Albania
- 85. Schlumpf, President of Swiss Confederation
- 86. Jugranth, PM Mauritius.
- 87. PM. Burma (Maung Maung Kha)
- 88. PM. Malaysia. (acting) (Hitam).
- 89. ~~Various~~ Various Portuguese officials

90. Dikko.
91. Crown Prince & PM. Sheikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Sabah (Kuwait)
92. Dominican Ambassador - Alfredo A. Ricart
93. Senatore Spadolini
94. New Zealand High Commissioner (Bill Young)
95. Prime Minister of Barbados.
96. President of Pakistan.
97. PM Thailand
98. Pres. Machel of Mozambique
99. Sec Gen Arab League. (Tel)
100. Tunisian MFA (Tel).
101. Mugabe (Zimbabwe). ~~Atoll~~
102. John Compton (PM St. Lucia).
103. Acting High Commissioner N.Z. (Bruce Bram)
(at Brighton)
104. Pres. of Lebanon. (A. Gemayel).
105. High Commissioner of Ghana.
106. Rajiv Gandhi (Mrs. Gandhi's son)
107. Paul Lusaka (Zambian President of UN).
108. Letter from Czech family (Vyhralek).
109. Canadian leader of opposition.



File N & MAGE

CF

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

7 November, 1984

SECURITY AT THE GRAND HOTEL, BRIGHTON

I attach a statement on the lines for which you asked. Please let me know if there are any further points which you would like me to cover.

RB

J. Hoddinnott, Esq.

SECURITY AT THE GRAND HOTEL, BRIGHTON

STATEMENT BY MR. F.E.R. BUTLER

I am Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister and in that capacity I am the senior civil servant in her office at 10 Downing Street. I advise her on issues affecting her security as Prime Minister, relying on the expertise of her Senior Protection Officer who conveys the views of the police more generally.

My role at the Conservative Party Conference was to attend for the purpose of conducting with the Prime Minister such official (as opposed to party political) business as came up during that week, and to check that her speech to the Conservative Party Conference as Party Leader was consistent in all respects with her position as Head of the Government.

The security arrangements for the Prime Minister's First Floor Suite at the Grand Hotel appeared to me to be similar to those both at the Imperial Hotel, Blackpool and at the last Conference at the Grand Hotel, Brighton, with the exception that the police on guard at the entrance to the corridor leading to the Prime Minister's suite were operating a more rigorous check on identities. By this I mean that they required a person gaining access to that corridor to be identified by somebody else whom they already knew or to show a pass to indicate that they belonged to the Prime Minister's staff.

The security arrangements at Brighton appeared to me comparable with those at other events attended by the Prime Minister. Were they adequate? A balance has always to be struck between security, the Prime Minister's need to be

seen and meet people, the rights of other members of the public to move freely and the general standard of what is acceptable by way of security arrangements in this country. It is certainly possible to think of several ways in which the Prime Minister was vulnerable to an assassination attempt at Brighton which the security arrangements would not have been adequate to prevent (in addition to the one which actually occurred). In the aftermath of the Brighton bomb, it may well be that the balance will need to be struck at a different point, and more rigorous security arrangements will need to be made; but it does not follow that these would have been acceptable before the Brighton explosion occurred.

Division au N° 10.

RSA au Larry Catman.

How effective was the Security
arrangement for the Fire Floor
P.M. Shift on The Guard?

General comment on the
arrangement at Brighton
compare with other seen
throughout the country.

MR. J. HODDINOTT, M.A.
Cp. Police HEADQUARTERS.
SUSSEX POLICE FORCE.
MALLING HOUSE,
LEWES.
SUSSEX.

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

BOMB EXPLOSION AT THE GRAND HOTEL, BRIGHTON

With permission, Mr Speaker, I should like to make a statement about the bomb explosion at the Grand Hotel in Brighton on 12 October.

The House will be well aware of most of the circumstances of the explosion, the purpose of which was no less than to strike a blow at the heart of our democracy by killing the majority of the Cabinet. The gravity of this outrage is reflected in the full-hearted condemnation expressed from all parts of the House and the country at large, as well as from overseas.

I know that the whole House will wish to join me in expressing our deepest sympathy to the families of our late colleague Sir Anthony Berry, Mrs Jean Shattock, Mr Eric Taylor and Mrs Roberta Wakeham, who lost their lives. We wish a speedy recovery to the 32 people injured, of whom ^{SIX} ~~seven~~ are still in hospital. I know that the thoughts of all in the House will be with them, including, of course, our colleagues, the Rt Hon Member for Chingford and the Rt Hon Member for Colchester South and Maldon. I also take this opportunity to pay tribute here to all those in the emergency services who responded so magnificently, some of them in conditions of great danger, immediately following the explosion.

The Sussex police immediately commenced a full, urgent investigation of this crime and this is proceeding. They are receiving assistance from the Metropolitan Police Anti-Terrorist Squad and forensic, technical and computer assistance from the Home Office. I stand ready to provide whatever further resources and help may be required.

The task of obtaining evidence about the bomb itself is a formidable one. So far, 31 skips and 750 dustbins full of debris have been removed from the scene. 228 police officers are engaged in this operation. High winds and the dangerous state of the hotel structure has made their task more difficult. More than 200 police officers are engaged in the pursuit of enquiries. The police are not yet in a position to describe more fully the device itself beyond the fact that it is believed to have comprised about twenty pounds of commercial explosive.

A number of measures have been set in hand since the explosion. The Chief Constable of Sussex decided to ask the Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire, Mr Hoddinott, to conduct an enquiry into the security arrangements in place at Brighton at the time of the Party Conference. I will receive a copy of that report. At this stage, it would be wrong to anticipate its conclusions. I shall, however, to the extent that this does not prejudice security, report them to the House in due course.

With regard to the wider implications for security of the events at Brighton, in the first place, immediate attention has been given to the assessment of other potential targets and the provision of proper protection for them. I shall not, of course, give details of the changes that have been made and the measures involved. I can, however, assure the House that after appropriate discussions the House authorities have already set in hand new measures to improve security in the Palace of Westminster.

The Brighton bombing also demonstrates the vulnerability of Party political engagements. This applies locally as well as nationally.

Local Party organisers should be careful to contact the police about arrangements well in advance; and the police service is co-ordinating advice to local forces about how they can best respond. I shall also shortly be in touch with the national Party organisations.

In addition, I have set in hand new arrangements centrally for countering the Irish terrorist threat. The aim is to bring to bear the widest range of experience in assessing Irish terrorist intentions and capabilities, and to advise on, and co-ordinate, the counter-measures required to meet them. These measures will supplement the continuing role of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch as the focal point for the collection and evaluation of intelligence and for police operations against Irish Republican terrorists.

Total security is impossible in a free, democratic society. Political and other leaders are vulnerable because they must be accessible. Everything which can be done will be done to prevent such outrages and to protect their targets. But we will not be bombed into boltholes by terrorists. Those who believe that terror can prevail against democracy understand neither the members of this House - nor the British people.

"Responsibility for the Brighton bomb by conniving with the Irish Government"

No, Sir. The attack at Brighton underlines the need for continued close co-operation between the two Governments in the fight against Terrorism.

Current state of casualties

Seven people are still detained in hospital. It is hoped that at least two of these will be discharged during the course of the week. [See Background Note A for full details of casualties].

Is a further attack likely?

Of course the possibility of a further attack can not be ruled out. But the police and all those responsible will remain particularly vigilant, and are urgently reviewing the measures available to them to prevent such attacks.

Allegations of poor relations between Sussex Constabulary and Metropolitan Police

These allegations are totally unfounded, as both the Sussex Constabulary and the Metropolitan Police have made perfectly clear.

Alleged lack of manpower/facilities available to Sussex police

These allegations are false. The Chief Constable of Sussex has made it known that he is entirely satisfied with the manpower and technical resources available to him in this investigation. [Everything is being done to ensure that additional resources are made available to him as and when necessary.]

IRA claim that 100lbs of explosive were used

The evidence from the explosion suggests to those best qualified to interpret it that about 20lbs of explosive was used. The IRA no doubt have their own reasons for making an exaggerated claim.

Background Note on the proposed meeting between the Prime Minister and Dr Fitzgerald

In his statement to the House of Lords on 16 October, Lord Whitelaw said ".... my right honourable Friend [the Prime Minister] is determined to meet the Taoiseach as properly arranged."

Have there been any arrests?

A number of persons have been detained for questioning by the police in connection with the Brighton enquiry but all have now been released. [IF SPECIFICALLY ASKED: I understand from the Chief Constable that two men are to be charged today with possession of explosives in the Seaford area, but there is at present no evidence to link them with the Brighton attack].

Is it true that the police know the identity of the person/persons responsible for the attack?

I am advised by the police that there is no evidence as yet to identify positively those responsible for the attack.

Allegations of lax security arrangements at the Grant Hotel

Security at the hotel is being considered by Mr Hoddinot in his enquiry and it would not be right for me to comment on these arrangements while the enquiry is in progress.

Allegations of lack of consistency and co-ordination in the questioning of hotel staff

I have every confidence in the conduct of this investigation which is being carried out by police officers who are fully experienced and expert in such matters.

Will the Secretary of State confirm that two days before the bombing, all police forces received a "Bikini Black Alpha" alert from Special Branch in London warning that there was an increased possibility of a terrorist attack on the mainland?

It is not the practice in this House to discuss intelligence matters, and in any case Hon Members would not expect me to comment on such matters in advance of the results of the enquiry.

Long-delay timing devices

It is not yet established what device was used to set off the explosion. Several items taken from the scene of the explosion and a large amount of debris are being forensically analysed. It is certainly possible that a long-delay timing device may have been used. [IF ASKED: I understand that the police have been aware for some time that the IRA have the capability of using such devices.]

Full review of the wider implications for security (who is doing it; will its conclusions be reported to the House; when will it be completed?)

The aim is to ensure that all the implications of the threat from terrorism will be kept under close and continuous review. I have already indicated to the House some of the matters, eg as to the protection of political gathering, that are being considered and it will be one of the purposes of the new arrangements which I mentioned in my statement to see that other issues are identified and relevant action implemented.

New arrangements: what experience was not previously being brought to bear?

The role of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch will be substantially unchanged. The objective of the new arrangements is to facilitate readier access between them and the various Departments and agencies concerned to discuss the interpretation of available information in relation to other information, including political developments, which could have a bearing on the security situation.

What is being done to improve the security of Ministers and members of the Royal Family?

It is not the practice to discuss publicly the detail of security arrangements, but Hon Members may be assured that in the light of recent events protection arrangements have been reviewed and that appropriate measures are being taken.

Why was a bomb-sniffing machine not used to search the Grand Hotel?

As the House knows, Mr John Hoddinot is considering all aspects of the security arrangements which were in June at the hotel and it would not be right for me to comment on them while his enquiry is in progress.

Are the police still looking for a "bearded man"?

I understand that one man closely resembling the description released on Friday of a man seen in the hotel during the Conference has come forward and has been eliminated from the enquiry. Naturally the police have not ruled out that someone of similar description may have been the man seen by a member of the hotel staff at that time.

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

Capital Punishment [Debate]?

[I understand the Hon Member's strong feelings.] Whatever my view of the matter may be, I think we do have to recognise that the House took a very clear decision on this matter last year. [But my Rt Hon Friend, the Leader of the House, will have noted the Hon Member's point.]

NOTES FOR SUPPLEMENTARIES

SECURITY IN THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER

Detailed Questions About Security in the House

As Mr Speaker made clear in his statement on security made to the House on 2 April 1979, recommendations affecting security in the Palace of Westminster are made by the Joint Committee on Security. If hon Members have proposals to put forward or questions to ask about our security arrangements, they should address them to the Joint Committee.

On What Authority have Changes in Security Been Made?

Approval has been given by Mr Speaker on the advice of the Joint Committee on Security.

When will the Home Secretary announce the appointment of a person to report to the House on the use of the powers in the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1984?

The Home Secretary will announce this appointment shortly.

(Background

In the closing stages of the Prevention of Terrorism Bill's progress through the Lords the Government undertook, at Lord Henderson's request, to appoint a person to look at the use of the Act each year and to report. Officials have been compiling a list of suitable candidates for this work, and subject to the comments of other Departments with an interest, will be submitting the names to the Home Secretary within the next 2 - 3 weeks.)

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR INQUIRY BY MR HODDINOTT

"To determine by the broadest possible enquiries within and outside the boundaries of the Sussex police, whether all reasonable steps were taken by the Sussex police in planning the security of Ministers, officials and delegates to the Conservative Party Conference at Brighton between Tuesday 9 October 1984 and Friday 12 October 1984 against the background of the prevailing situation and information available to them at the time. Also to determine how effectively those plans were executed."

How long will Mr Hoddinott's enquiry take?

In view of the scale and nature of Mr Hoddinott's task it would be wrong to impose unrealistic deadlines on this enquiry. He is, however, well aware of the urgency of this matter.

BACKGROUND NOTE (NOT FOR USE)

Mr Hoddinott has said this morning that at this stage of the enquiry it is difficult to anticipate when it will be completed. He says he is unlikely to have formed any useful conclusions until about 3/4 weeks' time. He and his team are well aware of the pressure for an early report and are working as fast as they can.

Is it true that the police know the identity of the man responsible for IRA operations in Great Britain?

The police hold a considerable amount of intelligence relating to the operations of the IRA. It would not be right for me to comment more specifically than that.

Can the government take any action against the GLC employing Mr James Faulkner, a former official of Sinn Fein

Sinn Fein is not a proscribed organisation and membership of it is not illegal. It is for the GLC to decide whom they should or should not employ.

Will Dr Fitzgerald's firm line against terrorism affect the actions of the forthcoming summit meeting?

One welcome Dr Fitzgerald's firm statements. These show that the Republic and the United Kingdom share a common determination to overcome terrorism. That can only be to the good when it comes to the discussions at the summit meeting.

When will the Home Secretary announce the appointment of a person to report to the House on the use of the powers in the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1984?

The Home Secretary will announce this appointment shortly.

[Background

In the closing stages of the Prevention of Terrorism Bill's progress through the Lords the Government undertook, at Lord Henderson's request, to appoint a person to look at the use of the Act each year and to report. Officials have been compiling a list of suitable candidates for this work, and subject to the comments of other Departments with an interest, will be submitting the names to the Home Secretary within the next two to three weeks].

Is there a rift between the Chief Constable of the RUC and the head of the Garda?

Security co-operation across the border is vital to countering terrorist activity and the nature of this co-operation is kept under constant review for any further improvements that may become apparent.

Background Note [NOT FOR USE]

There are difficulties between the two men and they have not met since 1983. But the Northern Ireland Office advise that it is important not to be drawn into the reasons for this breakdown as the situation is delicate.

BACKGROUND NOTE ON EXTRADITION

Extradition from the Republic of Ireland to the United Kingdom is governed principally by the Irish Extradition Act 1965. Unlike the procedure for the preparation, processing and submission of applications for extradition on rendition from foreign states or states of the Commonwealth, applications for extradition from the Republic are handled by the police forces of the two states. As in extradition to the Republic from the United Kingdom, no prima facie case has to be shown against the offender, and the procedures governing extradition to the United Kingdom consists

- (a) of an administrative process by which the United Kingdom warrant may be endorsed in the Republic (there are exceptions in certain cases);
- (b) of an arrest of the offender in the Republic by the Irish police force under that warrant;
- (c) of an order made for his return to the United Kingdom following his arrest;
- (d) of his delivery up from the Republic.

Clear-up of recent major terrorist crimes in Great Britain

Two men were charged earlier this year with offences of conspiring to cause explosions, in connection with terrorist bomb attempts in Great Britain last Christmas (Harrods and others). A man, who is understood to be living in the Republic of Ireland, is wanted by police ⁱⁿ connection with the Hyde Park bomb attack in July 1982, and the preparation of a case for his extradition is in hand. (See separate note on Downey).

Security at the memorial service in St Paul's, Brighton on Sunday 21 October.

I understand that very careful security was provided at yesterday's memorial service at St Paul's, Brighton. Of course the police must exercise some discretion even in these circumstances as to what measures to take in respect of individuals. [NOTE: The Bishop of London commented to Lord Elton's office this morning that he was surprised not to be subjected to a baggage search on entering the church].

*Paragraph deleted and temporarily
retained*

12 June 2014

Wayland

LOST PASSES OF MR AND MRS JOHN TAYLOR

This question, along with many other enquiries, is being pursued urgently. Insofar as it relates to security at the Conference itself, it is a subject for Mr Hoddinott's enquiry.

DO THE POLICE HAVE THE NECESSARY POWERS TO DEAL WITH THOSE WHO KEEP SAFE HOUSES? [This replaces the supplementary question previously submitted]

The powers are adequate. The problem is rooting out the people involved. [IF RAISED: SECTION 10 OF THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM (TEMPORARY PROVISIONS) ACT 1984 MAKES IT AN OFFENCE TO MAKE AVAILABLE MONEY OR OTHER PROPERTY KNOWING OR SUSPECTING THAT IT MAY BE USED IN CONNECTION WITH ACTS OF TERRORISM RELATED TO NORTHERN IRISH AFFAIRS@

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Details of casualties (Background (part of folio 5) NOVE A)</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 W. Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Manuscript note (internal No. 10) from 'MK' to Butler dated 21 October 1984</i>	
CLOSED FOR YEARS UNDER FOI EXEMPTION	
RETAINED UNDER SECTION 3(4) OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS ACT 1958	
TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 @Wayland</i>
MISSING AT TRANSFER	
MISSING	
NUMBER NOT USED	

PRIME MINISTER

1) The Chief Whip is now in a private room with a telephone if you would like to speak to him. Tristan Garel-Jones says he seems much better than he has been. The Chief Whip's children will be visiting him at 10 o'clock this morning and should have left by 12 o'clock if you would like to speak to him after Church?

2) Mrs. Maclean who is in hospital in Brighton was operated on at 6 pm yesterday and they have amputated her lower right leg. Her condition is poor but stable. She is still in intensive care and on a ventilator.



Barbara
21 October 1984

FEB

Charles

Traford 602 253

✓ Kieran Fitzgerald telephoned with the name of Professor Dani Reizer, Orthopaedic Surgeon at Rambam Hospital who was awaiting a call. I have given his name to Dr. Trafford.

HM Ambassador in Tel Aviv FEB 18.10.

has come up with the following

two experts in crush injuries:

Fat embolism
Local treatment
Surgical

(a) Shimon Burshdein

Rambam Hospital, Haifa.

04 - 536 476 (Hospital direct)
04 - 533 111 (Hospital operator)

Done work for the Israeli army on crush injuries from Lebanon.

(b) Patrick Sorkin
Ichilov Hospital, Tel Aviv

03 - 255 111

used recently by the Americans in a similar case of attacks on their Embassy in Beirut.

CDP
18/10

010-972-52

(Hd. of Agency.

52 315 22

Dr. Alex Deutsch.

Cabinet / Cabinet Committee Document

The following document, which was enclosed on this file, has been removed and destroyed. Such documents are the responsibility of the Cabinet Office. When released they are available in the appropriate CAB (CABINET OFFICE) CLASSES.

Reference: CC(84) 33rd Meeting, Minute 1

Date: 18 October 1984

Signed Wayland Date 12 June 2014

PREM Records Team

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, no, I do not think that the noble Lord's suggestion is one which we ought to follow. The observations of the noble and gallant Lord, Lord Lewin, to which the noble Lord refers, I think were made from his memory, and I have to say that the documentary evidence does not support them.

Lord Boston of Faversham: My Lords, I am sorry to pursue this point with the noble Minister. As he has said, and as has been reported, his point about documentary evidence appears to be correct; but my question and the noble and gallant Lord's observation was directed to his recollection of a verbal communication to the war Cabinet.

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, I understand that the noble and gallant Lord's recollection of the verbal communication is confined to the noble and gallant Lord.

The Earl of Kimberley: My Lords, would my noble friend not agree that if a warship is carrying surface-to-surface missiles with a range of several hundred miles, it really makes not the slightest difference in which direction it is steaming—it is a threat to our forces?

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, again, my noble friend's knowledge of these matters is a good deal greater than mine. I am sure that my noble friend is correct. It is perhaps worth recalling that units of the Argentine air force had attacked units of our fleet the previous day.

Lord Renton: My Lords, is this matter not now best left to the judgment of history, which will be that the whole of the Falklands effort on our part was a remarkable success?

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, I am grateful to my noble friend. I wholly concur with his view.

Viscount St. Davids: My Lords, is the noble Lord aware that as a student of naval history I have never yet seen a single plan of a naval battle in which every single vessel on both sides did not frequently change course? Is he aware that these changes of course have never made anybody think that any such vessel had ceased to be hostile? Is he aware that nobody previously has ever thought that there should be any possible reason to communicate all these changes of course to the Prime Minister?

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, that is the view of the Government.

Lord Jenkins of Putney: My Lords, if I may add a word of support to my noble friend on the Front Bench—

Noble Lords: Question!

Lord Jenkins of Putney: My Lords, may I ask the Minister whether he is aware that not only was the steamship apparently steaming away and towards its home base, but it was 150 miles outside the exclusion zone? What is the purpose of having an exclusion zone if one attacks warships outside it?

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, the position of the "Belgrano" inside or outside the exclusion zone had nothing to do with the threat that she posed to our task force.

Lord Paget of Northampton: My Lords, a question to which we are entitled to an answer here, is why this action was discontinued while two Argentine destroyers remained afloat?

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, that is an interesting question but outside the scope of this one.

Baroness Seear: My Lords, would your Lordships not agree that this discussion has now gone on long enough?

Lord Hatch of Lusby: My Lords, is it not the case that on 4th May, in her answer in another place, the Prime Minister asserted categorically that the conduct of the war was in political hands? Is it not also the case that since that time there has been a constant and premeditated cover-up of the facts of the sinking of the "Belgrano"? In view of the loss of life on the "Belgrano" and the loss of life two days later in the retaliatory bombing of the "Sheffield", if the Prime Minister did not know the course of the "Belgrano" at the time that she ordered its torpedoing, should she not have asked?

Lord Trefgarne: My Lords, it is indeed the case that the conduct of the war was the responsibility of the war Cabinet under my right honourable friend the Prime Minister. But the conduct of the battle was not; that was the responsibility of the commanders on the spot. There is no truth in the suggestion that my right honourable friend the Prime Minister telephoned the commander of the "Conqueror" and ordered him to fire the torpedoes.

Grand Hotel, Brighton: Bomb Explosion

3.14 p.m.

The Lord President of the Council (Viscount Whitelaw): My Lords, with the leave of the House, I shall make a Statement about the bombing at the Grand Hotel, Brighton.

Shortly before 3 o'clock on the morning of Friday, 12th October a bomb exploded in the Grand Hotel, Brighton. The hotel is next door to the Brighton Conference Centre where the 1984 Conservative Party Conference was to be concluded later that day. The Prime Minister and senior members of her Cabinet were among the many people in the hotel at the time. Preliminary indications are that the bomb consisted of about 20 lb. of commercial explosive and that it exploded on the sixth floor of the hotel causing the middle part of the building to collapse and rendering the whole structure unsafe.

Four people died as a result of the explosion: they were Sir Anthony Berry, Member of Parliament for Southgate; Mrs. Jeanne Shattock; Mr. Eric Taylor; and Mrs. Roberta Wakeham. Thirty-two people were injured of whom seven are still detained in hospital. Responsibility for the attack was admitted by the

[VISCOUNT WHITELAW.]

Provisional IRA in a message received by the Press Association in Belfast at 12 noon on Friday, nine hours after the explosion occurred. I know that your Lordships will join me in offering our deepest sympathy to those who have been so tragically bereaved as well as our heartfelt desire that those injured may soon be restored to health.

Noble Lords: Hear, hear!

Viscount Whitelaw: My Lords: I cannot express too profoundly my admiration of the courage, dedication and selfless devotion to duty shown by the police, the fire and ambulance services, the hospital staff and all those involved in those difficult and dangerous hours immediately after the explosion occurred.

Naturally, there has been much discussion about the security arrangements in place at the time of the explosion. The Chief Constable of Sussex Police has appointed the Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire to inquire into this aspect and I do not believe that it would be right for us to speculate on the outcome of this inquiry.

I have already made known my own view that total, impregnable security is not compatible with the free society we enjoy. We must continue to search for improvements in security arrangements but without calling into question the entire basis upon which public life in this country is conducted. I can assure your Lordships that the circumstances of this outrage are being studied with meticulous care and the security implications will be explored to the full.

An evil group has once again planned and carried out an attack on innocent people in pursuit of their aims. They have deliberately struck at the heart of our nation. But they will find that they have simply strengthened the overwhelmingly united resolve of a government, parliament and people determined to preserve their free democracy, so long the envy of the world.

Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos: My Lords, we are very grateful to the noble Viscount for making that grave Statement. On behalf of my noble friends I join with him in total condemnation of the appalling act of violence committed in Brighton last Friday. In a free society, a criminal attack upon one political party is an attack on all other parties. An attempt to kill or injure the Prime Minister and the members of an elected government is a profound affront against everything in which we believe and which we value in this country. We join with the Leader of the House in conveying our deep sympathy to the relatives of those who lost their lives and our best wishes for a speedy recovery to those who suffered injury.

This wicked and grave act will have its repercussions. I note what the noble Viscount said about the review of security arrangements. This is not the time to ask detailed questions. The noble Viscount has said—and I quote him—that the matter is being studied with meticulous care and that the security arrangements will be explored to the full. Can he clarify that? Does it mean that the Government are holding an inquiry in addition to the local one being

held in Hampshire? If so, can he indicate its nature and scope? In the meantime, can the noble Viscount say whether advance warning of the threatened IRA action was received by any agency of the Government and how explicit it was?

We welcome the Prime Minister's decision to hold a meeting with Dr. Garret FitzGerald and hope that it will be able to make some progress. We have also noted Dr. FitzGerald's own firm reaction to Friday's terrible events. In the meantime, after security is tightened and necessary additional precautions are taken, we must not allow this act of barbarism to interfere with our democratic duties, responsibilities and liberties in a free society.

Baroness Seear: My Lords, it is not possible to find words to express fully the feelings aroused by the Statement that the noble Viscount the Leader of the House has given us this afternoon. May I nonetheless endeavour to express on behalf of all Members of the Alliance on these Benches our horror at the barbarous and hideous act that took place last Friday in Brighton, as well as our horror that human beings can behave to each other in this way, our deep respect for the way that members of the Government and people attending the conference faced the horrors of that morning, our profound sympathy for the people who are still suffering loss and deep pain as a result of the bombing, and our great admiration for what the public services, the police, the hospital and fire services, have done since Friday morning, under the most difficult and challenging circumstances.

May I also say how heartily we agree that, horrible though this occurrence has been, it should not be allowed in any way to interfere with the way in which we conduct our political affairs in this country. If politics has become more dangerous, we must, of course, take all the sensible steps that we can to make it safer but not allow ourselves to be diverted from our main purpose.

Viscount Whitelaw: My Lords, I am most grateful to the noble Lord, Lord Cledwyn, the Leader of the Opposition, and to the noble Baroness, Lady Seear, the Leader of the Liberal Party, for what they have said. In general terms, I hope that they would feel it right for me to say to them that their support, their sympathy and their encouragement this afternoon must re-emphasise what I have said—that those who perpetrate such actions will meet with the implacable hostility of a united Parliament and people together with the Government. That, at this particular moment, is a great encouragement to my right honourable friend the Prime Minister. I am, if I may say so on her behalf and on behalf of the Government, very grateful to the noble Lord and to the noble Baroness for what they have said. May I also thank them for what they have said about the work of the services concerned. I am grateful for their words of commendation.

In answer to the detailed questions of the noble Lord the Leader of the Opposition, I would say that the Chief Constable of Sussex made the request for the Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire, Mr. Hoddinot, to conduct this inquiry. It is therefore the chief constable's inquiry, and it is a matter for him in the

first instance. The chief constable has, however, decided that, in a matter of such national importance, it would be right for him to make available to the Home Secretary a copy of the report. Your Lordships will understand that it may well not be appropriate for all the details of such a report to be made public. However, the chief constable is aware that it may be appropriate in the national interest to make public some of the report's general conclusions. I can undertake, on behalf of my right honourable friend the Home Secretary, that this will be his determination with the chief constable.

As to the question of advance warning, as I am sure the noble Lord will appreciate, it would be wrong, I think, for me to stray into areas which will be covered by the inquiry and into various intelligence considerations to which it would be better for me not to refer this afternoon. On the point that the noble Lord made about my right honourable friend the Prime Minister's meeting with Dr. Garret Fitz Gerald, I should perhaps say that the Government, too, were grateful for the firm view expressed by the Taoiseach on that occasion. It helped us again at a difficult time. I do not think that it would be appropriate for me to say anything further, except to remark that, naturally, my right honourable friend is determined to meet the Taoiseach as properly arranged.

Lord Cledwyn of Penrhos: My Lords, I wonder whether I may pursue one point. In answering my question the noble Viscount referred, to the inquiry that is being conducted in Hampshire. While we welcome that action, and while, of course, we understand that the findings of the inquiry cannot be published in full—we nevertheless await it with great interest—in view of the gravity of what took place, does the noble Viscount really believe that a local inquiry is sufficient to cover this matter? Will he not consult his right honourable friend the Prime Minister and his other right honourable friends with a view to considering at least whether some broader inquiry, taking into account all the national implications of what took place, should be held?

Viscount Whitelaw: My Lords, I am sure that the noble Lord will appreciate that the inquiry will be conducted by the Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire in Sussex, taking all the evidence of what happened in Brighton. That is his purpose. I think that it is right—the noble Lord will, I think, agree that it is right—that a senior officer from another force should be charged with that particular inquiry. That is the first step. I think that I would answer the noble Lord by saying that it is the first step. Of course, I shall, without any commitment at this stage, report to my right honourable friends closely concerned what the noble Lord has said. I think it right, however, that in the first instance the first report should be to the chief constable who conducted the operations on the spot. Obviously, thereafter there will have to be consideration of what further action may be necessary.

I was also perhaps remiss—if so, I apologise to your Lordships—in that I did not mention at the same time that the security arrangements at the Palace of Westminster, which are, of course, a matter for the House authorities, have already been the subject of

discussions with the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. Some changes for tightening security have already been made.

The Lord Bishop of Rochester: My Lords, in the absence of the most reverend Primate the Archbishop of Canterbury may I say, on behalf of these Benches, how grateful we are to the noble Viscount for his full and careful Statement. What happened so tragically at Brighton has had the positive result of uniting the nation in concern, in grief and in prayer. May I ask the noble Viscount whether he is aware of the Archbishop of Canterbury's initiative in calling together Church leaders. Is he aware that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Scottish Moderator, the English and Scottish cardinals and the secretary of the British Council of Churches have just issued a statement expressing their profound thankfulness for the escape from assassination of the Prime Minister and other Ministers of the Crown, their heartfelt sympathy for those bereaved or injured, and their admiration of the work done by the public services? The Archbishop has requested me to say that they have together asked that prayers should be said next Sunday in all churches throughout the United Kingdom in thanksgiving for the preservation of our lawfully constituted Government and in commemoration of those killed or maimed in this outrage.

Viscount Whitelaw: My Lords, I am most grateful to the right reverend Prelate the Bishop of Rochester for what he has said and for the message that he has conveyed from the most reverend Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury. I know that my right honourable friend the Prime Minister and, indeed, the whole Government will be very grateful for what he has said. I hope that he will convey to the most reverend Primate on behalf, I am sure, of my right honourable friend the Prime Minister and, through myself, those in this House, our thanks for what he has said and for what the Archbishop and other church leaders plan to do next Sunday. I should like to thank the right reverend Prelate very much.

Business of the House

Viscount Whitelaw: My Lords, I beg to move the Motion standing in my name on the Order Paper.

Moved, That leave be given to the Lord Seebom to advance the Motion in his name from Tuesday the 23rd of October to Monday the 22nd October, and to the Lord O'Brien of Lothbury to advance the Motion in his name from Wednesday the 24th October to Tuesday the 23rd of October.—(*Viscount Whitelaw.*)

On Question, Motion agreed to.

Business

Lord Denham: My Lords, it may be for the convenience of the House if, with the leave of the House, I announce that subject to the progress of business the Report stage of the Ordnance Factories and Military Services Bill may be adjourned for dinner at approximately 7 p.m. for a short period.

Ordnance Factories and Military Services Bill

3.31 p.m.

Report received.

Clause 1 [*Transfer schemes*]:

Lord Lloyd of Kilgerran moved Amendment No. 1:

Page 1, line 11, after ("liabilities") insert ("other than intellectual property rights and liabilities relating thereto").

The noble Lord said: My Lords, it is my privilege to move the first amendment to this Bill. It is an amendment concerning matters of the utmost importance relating to the defence of the realm, and to the provision of the best possible equipment, secret or classified, for the armed forces. It concerns inventions, designs and know-how so vital to the provision of such equipment. The amendment also concerns the Royal Ordnance factories' contracts involving inventions, designs and know-how, in particular in collaboration with United Kingdom firms and foreign firms; and also the nature of the foreign business undertaken by the Royal Ordnance factories.

In my submission the difficulties in which the Government have found themselves on this Bill arise from Clauses 1 and 2, which give powers to the Secretary of State to make schemes for the transfer of what is termed in the Bill "prescribed property". The word "property" is not defined, but will include, of course, land and factories and machinery. However, I am not concerned with property of that kind. I am concerned with property known by a rather high-sounding phrase as "intellectual property". As your Lordships will know, the term "intellectual property" covers patents, inventions, know-how, technical information, drawings, designs, copyright and trade marks. The Ordnance factories have achieved an international reputation in designing, developing and, indeed, manufacturing equipment for the armed forces. In my submission it is highly desirable, therefore, that great care should be taken that property involving and being concerned with equipment for the armed forces should not be dealt with in the same way as ordinary real property such as land and machinery.

The scope of the activities of the Royal Ordnance factories was set out in the annual report for 1982-83. The report refers to the association of staff—the factories have highly technical staff with a fine reputation—and it indicates the association of the Ordnance factories with industrial companies both in the United Kingdom and abroad. The report goes on to detail the kind of projects associated with the equipment of the armed forces, and concludes by saying:

"The products, and others, have been developed with industrial partners, and it is specially important that we continue to develop these associations with large defence manufacturers in a number of countries, and to build new ones. The wide range of capabilities of the Royal Ordnance factories is without doubt a major attraction to these companies in the United Kingdom and abroad".

Your Lordships will see, therefore, that this property which is known as intellectual property has unique characteristics. It is impossible to evaluate what is its real value, not only in financial terms but in providing the best possible equipment to our armed forces both at the present time and in the future. Yet

as far as I am aware the Government have given little or no indication as to the type of schemes which they intend to introduce for the purposes of the transfer. In my submission the Government should disclose far more information to indicate that the nation's interest in these matters will be protected adequately.

I do not propose to give your Lordships a long dissertation on the main difficulties arising from transferring intellectual property. Of course, there is the field of patents; and as a result of the co-operation of the staff of the Royal Ordnance factories with other firms a large number of patents exist. Earlier this year the Minister in the other place indicated that he would soon be publishing a list of patents—they number something of the order of 200 to 300 patents—and that this list would be open to public scrutiny. As far as I am aware nothing has transpired yet, although it was indicated at that time that the information regarding patents would be available some time in April. Also in February of this year the Minister said that a list of Royal Ordnance factories' products, which would include the making of parts for other contractors, was being prepared, but no information about that has yet been disclosed.

What we on these Benches are asking is the subject of my amendment. The amendment is a simple one. It suggests that after the word "liabilities" the definition of property should exclude,

"intellectual property rights and liabilities relating thereto",

so that further steps can be taken to safeguard matters arising from the transfer of intellectual property.

A large number of questions arise in relation to the transfer of patents owned not only by the Royal Ordnance factories alone but also, probably, in collaboration with United Kingdom firms and with United States firms. In the Patents Act there are sections, which I do not propose to read, dealing with security and safety matters arising from patent applications, and, therefore, relating to the inventions concerned. I should like to know whether Sections 22 and 23 of the Patents Act 1977 are being adequately catered for by the Government.

In regard to the services of the Crown, under the Patents Act the Crown has very extensive powers, in Sections 55 to 59, to ensure that the Crown has available to it inventions of all kinds, intellectual property of all kinds, so that the best type of equipment can be available for manufacture for the services of the Crown. Another question I should like to ask is whether, in the view of the Government, those sections of the Patents Act are adequate to preserve the important powers which the Crown now has to maintain the supply of the best possible equipment for the armed forces.

Need I say that in a matter of this kind it is inevitable that the European position must be considered? There are sections of the Patents Act, from Section 77 onwards, dealing with the position of European patents. I have looked at all those sections in relation to this Bill and I find that there is a considerable lacuna—to use a moderate term—in the Act at present and a failure by the Government adequately to take steps for the purposes of protecting their position in relation to defence matters. I, therefore, beg to move this amendment to exclude from Clause 1 the property

PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/MR RENTON

PS/S. DE S
PS/MR R. ANDREW
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PS/PDS

MR. BROWN

NIO

~~SIR J. SUMMERS~~

MR. ~~AND~~ BURNS

MR. JENKINS

J. LYON
~~MR. BOYD SMITH~~

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SIR B. ARMSTRONG

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BRIGHTON BOMBING: US MEDIA COMMENTS.

SUMMARY

1. MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE BRIGHTON BOMBING AND ITS AFTERMATH HAS BEEN EXTENSIVE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES WITH CONSTANT COVERAGE OVER THE WEEKEND ON RADIO AND TV. NEWSPAPERS WERE FILLED WITH EVERY DETAIL OF THE HORROR, EMPHASISING THE COURAGE OF THE INJURED AND THE FORTITUDE, COMPASSION AND DEFIANCE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

2. EDITORIAL COMMENT HAS CONTAINED WIDESPREAD AND DOWNRIGHT CONDEMNATION OF THE IRA, AND ITS UNITED STATES SUPPORTERS AND APOLOGISTS. THE MESSAGE THAT THE BOMBING WAS AN ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY CAME ACROSS CLEARLY. MOST EDITORIALS ALSO REFLECTED HOPES THAT THE FORTHCOMING MEETING WITH DR FITZGERALD MIGHT BEAR FRUIT.

DETAILS

3. THE NEW YORK TIMES SAID THAT OUTSIDE THE SLUMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND THE IRA SPOKE ONLY FOR ITSELF, AND CITED RECENT POLLS TO DEMONSTRATE ITS REJECTION BY THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND. THE EDITORIAL SAID QUOTE SMALL WONDER THE IRA HAS TURNED OVERSEAS FOR SUPPORT IT CANNOT FIND IN DUBLIN, PLAYING ON THE GULLIBILITY OF A SMALL MINORITY AMONG THE 40 MILLION AMERICANS OF IRISH DESCENT. THE

SMALL MINORITY AMONG THE 40 MILLION AMERICANS OF IRISH DESCENT. THE NEXT TIME THE HAT IS PASSED, THOSE TEMPTED TO CONTRIBUTE SHOULD ASK HOW THEY WOULD FEEL IF MONEY WERE RAISED IN ANOTHER COUNTRY TO FINANCE AN ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. UNQUOTE IT SPOKE OF THE IRA'S AIMS BEING TO DESTROY DEMOCRACY, AND OF ITS USE OF BOMBS TO DISGUISE ITS LACK OF REAL SUPPORT. THE TIMES SAW THE REAL TARGET OF BRIGHTON BEING MRS THATCHER JUST A MONTH BEFORE SHE COULD MEET DR. FITZGERALD TO DISCUSS QUOTE NEW IDEAS FOR GIVING MORE RIGHTS TO 500,000 CATHOLICS IN NORTHERN IRELAND, IDEAS PREVIOUSLY OPPOSED BY HARD-LINERS AMONG A MILLION PROTESTANTS, THE CATHOLICS HISTORIC OPPRESSORS. PROTESTANT ZEALOTRY AND VIOLENCE FINDS ITS MATCH IN THE IRA'S DETERMINATION TO WRECK ANY DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVES THAT FALL SHORT OF IMPOSING A UNITED IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLIC. UNQUOTE

4. THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS ALSO UNDERLINED THAT THE LARGE MAJORITY OF IRISH PEOPLE LIVING IN IRELAND REPUDIATE AND DETEST THE IRA, SAYING QUOTE IT'S ABSURD AND UNDEMOCRATIC THAT PEOPLES WHOSE ANCESTORS LEFT IRELAND YEARS AGO CLAIM TO KNOW BETTER THAN PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN DUBLIN OR BELFAST HOW THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH SHOULD BE RESOLVED... THE GUNMEN HAVE PUT BACK IRISH REUNIFICATION BY AT LEAST A GENERATION. UNQUOTE THE BOMBING WAS AN ATTEMPT TO SABOTAGE DIALOGUE BETWEEN LONDON AND DUBLIN STARTED BY THE NEW IRELAND FORUM. THE EDITORIAL TALKED OF IRA TERRORISM BEING COUNTERPRODUCTIVE FOR YEARS, ASSERTING THAT THE IRA CANNOT MAKE A MILLION PEOPLE CHANGE THEIR MINDS BY MURDERING A FEW OF THEM, NOR COULD THEY CHANGE POLICY BY BOMBING THE GOVERNMENT. IT SAID QUOTE IT HAS BECOME PATHOLOGICAL, MURDER FOR THE SAKE OF MURDER, TO PROVE THEY ARE STILL CAPABLE OF IT. UNQUOTE

5. THE NEW YORK POST SAID THE BOMBING WAS AN EFFORT TO DESTROY LAWFUL GOVERNMENT AND DECLARED THAT TERRORISTS WOULD NEVER WIN. SO LONG AS FREE PEOPLE REFUSED TO QUOTE SUBMIT TO THEIR BLOOD-STAINED BLACKMAIL THE TERRORISTS WILL ALWAYS BE RENDERED IMPOTENT. UNQUOTE THE STATE LEDGER OF NEW JERSEY SAID THE BOMBING WOULD UNDERScore THE FUTILITY OF IRA DESIGNS TO DESTROY DEMOCRACY IN NORTHERN IRELAND BECAUSE IT QUOTE LACKS THE BROAD-BASED SUPPORT TO LEGITIMISE ITS OBJECTIVE OF A UNITED IRELAND. UNQUOTE THERE WAS NOW MORE NEED THAN EVER FOR MRS THATCHER TO GO AHEAD WITH PLANS TO MEET DR FITZGERALD SOON TO DISCUSS NEW INITIATIVES TO EXTEND MORE RIGHTS TO THE NORTH'S CATHOLICS.

6. THE WASHINGTON POST RECALLED PAST IRA ATROCITIES, INCLUDING THE MURDERS OF AIREY NEAVE AND LORD MOUNTBATTEN, SAYING THAT AMERICANS SHARE HEAVILY IN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEM THROUGH THEIR FUND-RAISING. IT CONCLUDED QUOTE AMERICANS OF CONSCIENCE MUST REJECT THIS VIOLENCE AND REJECT ASSOCIATION WITH THE KILLERS WHOSE COWARDLY ACTS OF MURDER AND MAYHEM ARE DESPISED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC. UNQUOTE THE WASHINGTON TIMES CALLED THE KILLINGS THE WORK OF THE IRA QUOTE A GANGSTER GROUP THAT FINDS MURDER AND MUTILATION EASIER THAN WINNING PEOPLE'S MINDS, UNQUOTE THE BALTIMORE SUN QUOTED AT LENGTH FROM DR FITZGERALD'S STATEMENT ATTACKING THE IRA, AND EXPRESSED THE CONFIDENT HOPE THAT THESE EVENTS WOULD NOT DISRUPT THE PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH DR FITZGERALD, NOR HERE READINESS TO BACK A NEW INITIATIVE.

7. THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR SAID THE BOMBING MUST NOT PREVENT USEFUL DIALOGUE OVER THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND. IT ILLUSTRATED THE IMPORTANCE OF REMOVING THE CAUSES FOR DISSENSION IN NORTHERN IRELAND UPON WHICH VIOLENCE CAN FEED. THE MONITOR SAW MERIT IN THE FORUM REPORT, WHILE ACCEPTING THE DIFFICULTIES FACING HMG IN MOVING FORWARD WITHOUT UNDER-CUTTING THE QUOTE POSITION AND LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF THE ULSTER LOYALISTS. UNQUOTE

8. THE BOSTON GLOBE FELL SHORT OF CONDEMNING THE BOMBING CALLING IT A QUOTE GRIM DEVELOPMENT IN BRITISH LIFE. UNQUOTE IT REFERRED TO THE FANATICS OF THE IRA BUT INSISTED THAT SOMETHING MORE WAS NEEDED THAN QUIET COURAGE AND GOOD POLICE WORK. THERE HAD TO BE A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR POLITICAL LIFE IN NORTHERN IRELAND: IT POINTED TO THE FORUM REPORT AS BEING THE GUIDE FOR BOTH BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS.

9. THE LONG ISLAND NEWSPAPER NEWDAY SAID THE CAUSE OF IRISH UNITY WAS NOT ADVANCED BY THE DEED - ALL IT DID WAS TO ILLUSTRATE THE IRA'S IMMENSE POTENTIAL FOR HARM. THE BOMBING WAS A CALCULATED VFRONTAL ATTACK ON DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, AND AN ATTEMPT TO COUNTER RECENT SIGNS IN LONDON AND DUBLIN OF A NEW EAGERNESS FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION.

10. FOR THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER THE REASON FOR THE TIMING OF THE IRA'S QUOTE MOST SPECTACULARLY BARBAROUS ACT OF TERRORISM UNQUOTE WAS THE PROXIMITY OF THE MEETING BETWEEN MRS THATCHER AND DR FITZGERALD WHEN THERE WILL BE QUOTE A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR IRELAND AND BRITAIN TO GET TO THE HEART OF THE CONFLICT. UNQUOTE THE IRA PROVED AGAIN AT BRIGHTON QUOTE THAT THEY HAVE NO INTEREST IN UNITING IRELAND. THEY ARE DEVOTED TO A TYRANNY OF TERROR, FOR ITS OWN SAKE AND WITH THE MAD HOPE OF IMPOSING IT THROUGHOUT AN ISLAND LARGELY POPULATED BY PEACEFUL PEOPLE OF EXTRA-ORDINARY DECENCY. IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF MRS THATCHER WERE TO PLAY INTO THE IRA'S HANDS BY LETTING THE CAMPAIGN OF TERROR DEFLECT THE COURSE OF POSITIVE COURAGEOUS NEGOTIATIONS. UNQUOTE

11. THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE'S EDITORIAL WAS HEADED QUOTE LATEST COWARDLY IRA MASSACRE, UNQUOTE AND SPOKE OF MRS THATCHER EMERGING FROM THE BOMBING QUOTE UNSCATHED, UNSHAKEN AND IN CONTROL AS USUAL. UNQUOTE IT DESCRIBED THE BOMBING AS A COWARDLY, SHAMEFUL FORM OF PROTEST WHICH DECENT PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD HAD COME TO EXPECT OF THE IRA. IT SAID THE ORGANISATION HAD QUOTE COVERED ITSELF IN INNOCENT BLOOD AND HAS DEALT ANOTHER BLOW TO HOPES OF A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE NORTHERN IRELAND QUESTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE. UNQUOTE

12. IN LOS ANGELES THE HERALD EXAMINER TALKED OF THUGS IN THE GUISE OF CHEERY LITTLE LEPRECHAUNS WHO PERPETRATE SUCH SLAUGHTER IN THE NAME OF POLITICS. IT DOUBTED IF AN EVEN GREATER DEATH TOLL WOULD HAVE ACCOMPLISHED BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM NORTHERN IRELAND. IT SUGGESTED THAT THAT WILL ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH SERIOUS NEGOTIATION AND COMPROMISES, BUT THE IRA IN COMMON WITH OTHER TERRORISTS ELSEWHERE WANT NO PART OF CIVILISED SOLUTIONS - QUOTE THESE WANTON BARBARIANS HAVE A TALENT ONLY FOR MURDER, WHICH WILL NEVER RESCUE THE DOWN TRODDEN THEY PRESUME TO REPRESENT. UNQUOTE

WRIGHT

Security arrangements at the Grand Hotel

As your Lordships know, at the request of the Chief Constable of Sussex Mr John Hoddinot, Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire, is conducting a full enquiry into security arrangements at the Grand Hotel and at the Conference Centre. It would not be right for me to comment on those arrangements while Mr Hoddinot's enquiry is in progress.

Will there be a public enquiry?

It would not be appropriate to hold a public enquiry into sensitive security arrangements. The Government fully endorses the decision of the Chief Constable of Sussex to seek an independent appraisal of these arrangements from a senior officer of another force.

Was there any warning of/intelligence about an attack?

No warning was given by those responsible for the attack. As your Lordships know, it is not the practice to discuss intelligence matters in your Lordships' House, and in any case the House would not expect me to comment on such matters in advance of the results of the enquiry.

Is a further attack likely?

The police remain constantly vigilant in the face of possible terrorist attacks, and will take all measures in their power to prevent any further attack of this nature.

Noraid

It is deeply regrettable that a small minority of Irish-Americans should be prepared to give financial support to the use of violence by terrorists. By doing so they can only help to prolong Northern Ireland's agony and cause more deaths and more suffering to those bereaved and injured as a result of terrorist violence.

Will the results of Mr Hoddinot's enquiry be made public?

I must emphasise, My Lords, that the request for Mr Hoddinot's assistance was entirely the decision of the Chief Constable of Sussex, to whom the report of the enquiry

/will be

E.R.

will be submitted. The Chief Constable has, however, decided that in a matter of such national importance it would be right for him to make available to the Home Secretary a copy of the report. Your Lordships will understand that it will not be appropriate for the detail of such a report to be made public. However, the Chief Constable is aware that it may be appropriate in the national interest to make public some of the report's general conclusions.

PROGRESS OF THE INVESTIGATION

Speaking Note

My Lords, I know that the Sussex police and those assisting them are doing all they can to further urgently the investigation of this atrocious offence. They are pursuing with the greatest diligence a task of enormous proportion in very difficult circumstances. Because of the state of the building the sifting of debris will continue to be a protracted, difficult and dangerous task. However, a considerable amount of debris has already been examined and a number of items sent for forensic analysis.

2. The police are pursuing over 600 lines of enquiry. They are making enquiries into all those who may have stayed in or been working in the hotel up to the time of the explosion. More than 300 statements have already been taken from members of the public. Priority is being given to tracing those who occupied rooms in the area of the explosion in the weeks before. Everything possible is being done to bring to justice those responsible for the attack.

Long-delay timing devices

3. It is not yet established what device was used to set off the explosion. It is certainly possible that a long-delay timing device may have been used. [IF ASKED: I understand that the police have been aware for some time that the IRA have the capability of using such devices].

Arrested persons

4. I understand that one man was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Liverpool on Friday, and that another man was arrested under the same Act in Brighton on Sunday. The police are now satisfied that neither was involved in the bomb attack. (See Background Note A for details).

E.F.

Palace of Westminster security

The security arrangements at the Palace of Westminster, which are a matter for the House authorities, have already been the subject of discussions with the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. Some changes have already been made.

BACKGROUND NOTE A

ARRESTS FOLLOWING BOMB INCIDENT

Two men, both born in Northern Ireland but living in Brighton, were arrested under the provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act on 12 October^{and 14 October} on suspicion that they may have been involved in the explosion at the Grand Hotel.

The first man was arrested at Liverpool Airport at 5 pm on Friday 12 October and transferred to Brighton for questioning later that day. The second man was detained in Brighton on the morning of Sunday 14 October. Both were released from the provisions of the legislation at 12 noon on Sunday 14 October the police having been satisfied that they were not involved in the incident.

THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM (TEMPORARY PROVISIONS) ACT 1984

The Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1984, which re-enacted with minor adjustments in the 1976 Act of the same name, gives the police exceptional powers to arrest and detain anyone whom they have reasonable suspicion is or has been concerned in terrorism connected with Northern Irish or international affairs. The supplemental Temporary Provisions Order sets up a security control at the ports in Great Britain and gives the police power to examine people coming from or going to Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland or the Islands.

In addition the Secretary of State has the power to make an order excluding a person from being in Great Britain or the United Kingdom if he is satisfied that that person has been involved in Northern Irish terrorism. (International terrorists would be dealt with under the immigration legislation.)

E.J.

DETAILS OF CASUALTIES

Of the 32 people injured in the explosion 7 are still detained in the Royal Sussex hospital, Brighton. Details of their conditions are as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Injuries</u>	<u>Condition</u>
Frances Day	Lacerations to face, arms and legs	Stable, comfortable and cheerful
Mabel Delamotte (aged 72)	General shock, lacerations to face, arms and legs	Stable, comfortable and under observation
Mr Donald McLean	Badly fractured ankle	Stable. undergo surgery
Mrs Muriel McLean		Poorly, In intensive therapy unit.
Mrs Margaret Tebbit	Appears to be paralysed from the neck down	In Intensive Therapy Unit. Comfortable and cheerful
Mr Norman Tebbit	Broken ribs. Deep gash on left thigh	Stable
Mr John Wakeham	Severe injuries to lower legs	In Intensive Therapy Unit. undergo surgery. Stable.

E.R.

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

TO BE CHECKED
AGAINST DELIVERY

STATEMENT: TUESDAY 16 OCTOBER 1984

BOMB EXPLOSION AT THE GRAND HOTEL, BRIGHTON

My Lords,

With the leave of the House, I shall make a statement about the bombing at the Grand Hotel, Brighton.

Shortly before 3 o'clock on the morning of Friday 12 October a bomb exploded in the Grand Hotel, Brighton. The hotel is next door to the Brighton Conference Centre where the 1984 Conservative Party Conference was to be concluded later that day. The Prime Minister and senior members of her Cabinet were among the many people in the hotel at the time.

Preliminary indications are that the bomb consisted of about 20 lbs of commercial explosive and that it exploded on the sixth floor of the hotel causing the middle part of the building to collapse and rendering the whole structure unsafe.

Four people died as a result of the explosion: they were Sir Anthony Berry, Member of Parliament for Southgate; Mrs Jeanne Shattock; Mr Eric Taylor; and Mrs Roberta Wakeham. Thirty-two people were injured of which seven are still detained in hospital.

Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the Provisional IRA in a message received by the Press Association in Belfast at 12 noon on Friday, nine hours after the explosion occurred.

I know that your Lordships will join me in offering our deepest sympathy to those who have been so tragically bereaved as well as our heartfelt desire that those injured may soon be restored to health.

My Lords, I cannot express too profoundly my admiration of the courage, dedication and selfless devotion to duty shown by the police, the fire and ambulance services, the hospital staff and all those involved in those difficult and dangerous hours immediately after the explosion occurred.

/Naturally

E.R.

Naturally, there has been much discussion about the security arrangements in place at the time of the explosion. The Chief Constable of Sussex Police has appointed the Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire to enquire into this aspect and I do not believe that it would be right for us to speculate on the outcome of this enquiry.

I have already made known my own view that total, impregnable security is not compatible with the free society we enjoy. We must continue to search for improvements in security arrangements but without calling into question the entire basis upon which public life in this country is conducted. I can assure your Lordships that the circumstances of this outrage are being studied with meticulous care and the security implications will be explored to the full.

An evil group has once again planned and carried out an attack on innocent people in pursuit of their aims. They have deliberately struck at the heart of our nation. But, my Lords, they will find that they have simply strengthened the overwhelmingly united resolve of a Government, Parliament and people determined to preserve their free democracy, so long the envy of the world.

That, my Lords, concludes the statement.



BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION
NEW DELHI, INDIA

B Ingham Esq
Press Office
No.10 Downing Street

15 October 1984

Dear Bernard

BOMB ATTACK AT BRIGHTON

- 1. You will not wish to be burdened but I attach copies of the editorials on this subject from the four leading newspapers in India. The Prime Minister could take particular comfort from the statement in the Hindustan Times, not always the newspaper most friendly to Britain, that "every one in India will be happy that she was unhurt".

Yours ever

Ronald

Ronald Nash
First Secretary (Information)

cc: R Clarke Esq
News Department
FCO

*P. Hindle Esq
SAD, FCO*

The Powers 00.

The first cuttings (attached) perhaps reinforces John Huppert's plea for a Prime Ministerial comment aimed at India.

John 22/10

15 OCT 1984

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

DASTARDLY ACT

The bomb attack on the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and other ministers staying in a Brighton hotel to attend the Conservative Party's annual convention is yet another act of mindless terrorism in this age of violence. The Irish Republican Army which has claimed responsibility for the incident has a long history of violence. It has never reconciled itself to the loss of Ulster to Ireland. It was the British Empire's first act of dividing a country on the basis of religion. The people of Ulster are predominantly Protestant while those in Ireland are Catholics. This slender doctrinal difference has given rise to two nations. The primitiveness of the concept of nationhood based on religion ensured a potential for violence. The Irish have fasted themselves to death, shot one another dead and killed innocent people out shopping or gunned down government officials and ministers. In their turn, the British have reacted with cold cruelty towards the Irish nationalists. The deeds of the Blacks and Tans in Ireland remain a shameful memory. The legal murder of Sir Roger Casement is still remembered with a shudder in many parts of the world.

But the point is that acts of terrorism will not reverse what has been done. That is why the bomb attacks by the IRA do not make any sense. What, for instance, is gained by attacking shoppers before a British goods store as happened recently? It is not these people who are responsible for the division of the country. Only a moron will believe that Mrs. Margaret Thatcher can now undo the separation of the two parts. If the Irish nationalists have a case, they must persuade the people of Britain including those in Ulster that a great injustice had been done and that Ireland should be united once again. On the other hand, such mindless attacks on the innocent will only arouse anger and contempt towards them. Individual acts of violence has never produced any political effect anywhere in the world. For Mrs Thatcher, it was a merciful escape and everyone in India will be happy that she was unhurt. But her colleague, Norman Tebbit, was not quite so lucky and was injured. The Indian people have no sympathy for terrorists of any kind and strongly deplore such attacks.

THE TIMES OF INDIA**A Thought for Today***Our lives are universally shortened by our ignorance.*

—HERBERT SPENCER

A Dastardly Act

The self-confessed attempt by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to blow up the hotel in Brighton in southern England where Tory leaders gathered for the annual party conference were staying is a dastardly act of political terrorism. Happily, although at least two people were killed and over two dozen injured, including the British industry secretary, Mr Norman Tebbit, and his wife, the perpetrators of this foul deed failed to accomplish their murderous objectives. The British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who was at work in her room when the high-intensity, 25-pound bomb went off in the early hours of Friday, was fortunately unscathed, as were her husband, Mr Denis Thatcher, and almost all her senior cabinet colleagues resident in the hotel. But it was a close shave, for much of the hotel was blown to smithereens and came crashing down. Mrs Thatcher's own suite was heavily damaged, the bathroom shatteringly so. The sturdiest response to such despicable actions is to demonstrate that, despite the doers' evil designs, it is business as usual. With a spunkiness characteristic of her and of both her terms of office, Mrs Thatcher responded just so. The conference, after prayers had been said for those who had died or been injured, went on as usual, with Mrs Thatcher delivering the speech she had been polishing up when the bomb exploded.

If the IRA, which put out a statement from Dublin claiming responsibility for the blast and saying it was "against the British cabinet and the Tory warmongers", thinks that such acts of terrorism are going to advance its cause, it is totally out of touch with reality. The Irish prime minister, Mr Fitzgerald, was among the first world leaders to condemn the mass assassination attempt and there can be no doubt that he speaks for the vast majority of the Irish people, Catholic or Protestant, whether living in Northern Ireland or the Irish Republic in the south. In fact, the Irish terrorists are making it difficult through such crimes for even their most loyal supporters at home and abroad to defend their cause. The assassination of Lord Mountbatten, one of their worst "successes", lost them a great deal of support, not least in America where those of Irish ancestry, many of whom are highly influential in American politics (President Reagan is of Irish descent as was President Kennedy), are inclined to support the Irish Catholic nationalists. But they will be hard put to it to continue to extend moral, material and financial assistance to groups which repeatedly deal in murder and mayhem and who think nothing of trying to kill off the whole British cabinet at one go. This is nothing but the politics of murder and those who brazenly practise it in defiance of an outraged world public opinion can succeed only in hastening the defeat of the very cause they are prepared so bloodily to uphold.

15 OCT 1984

INDIAN EXPRESS

BRIGHTON SHOCK

THE escape from injury and worse of the British Prime Minister and many of her Cabinet colleagues in the bomb explosion in Brighton last Friday can only be described as providential. The blast ripped through the high-rise hotel where the entire Conservative government and party leadership was staying in connection with their annual conference. Described as the worst incident of its kind in Britain in recent memory, the explosion is immediately known to have killed at least four persons and injured more than 30 others including the Industry and Trade Secretary, Mr Norman Tebbit, his wife, and the chief whip of the party, Mr Waken. Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues kept their cool and the Conservative party conference was not abandoned.

The Irish Republican Army (IRA), which has been fighting for the independence of Northern Ireland from British rule, has claimed responsibility for the bombing. In a statement issued in Dublin, the IRA said that the 45-kg bomb was directed at the "British cabinet and the Tory warmongers". This senseless and dastardly act of terrorism will cause worldwide outrage, as political issues cannot be solved by terror and murder but can only further embitter relations. The IRA has not advanced its cause by this action. National and international terrorism has grown increasingly ugly and menacing, becoming more lethal, more frequent and widespread, and more difficult to contain. It is indeed a sad commentary on the times, and calls for sensible, determined and concerted action both within and among nations.

14 OCT 1984

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SUNDAY STATESMAN

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DELHI, OCTOBER 14, 1984

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OUTRAGE AT BRIGHTON

FRIDAY's bomb explosion in the Brighton hotel where Mrs Thatcher, her Cabinet colleagues and other senior members of the Conservative Party were staying, was evidently intended to kill; their escape was providential. The IRA which has dutifully claimed responsibility, obviously wanted more than just to attract attention to its separatist cause. Irish terrorists have got away with one outrageous act after another in recent years; in December 1983 they planted a bomb inside Harrods of London, which killed one and injured over 40 innocent Christmas shoppers. While such brutal tactics might win kudos among IRA followers, they cause general revulsion and make it difficult for advocates of moderation in Britain's Ulster policy publicly to air their views. The public outcry that is bound to be caused by the latest incident will deny those who favour withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland any sympathetic hearing; perhaps even their own conviction will be shaken.

For Mrs Thatcher, this outrage may in fact be of considerable political advantage at a time when she has not been finding it easy to live up to her unflappable image. One embarrassing disclosure has followed another and the pile of these political banana skins has led to her administration slipping up more than once since. It was returned for a second term with a landslide mandate in June last year. Unemployment has continued to soar, each month's figure setting up a new record. This despite the moderate recovery experienced in the West which

seems to have by-passed Britain. But it is her handling of the seven-month-old miners' strike that has earned her the widest criticism. On this issue, as on most others, the Conservative Government's approach appears to have been to talk tough and do little. Even the usually non-political Anglican Church has joined issue—the Bishop of Durham strongly attacking her socially divisive policies and describing the Coal Board Chairman, Mr Ian MacGregor, as an "elderly, imported American".

An analysis of five years of Mrs Thatcher's brand of Toryism—often described as a new version of social Darwinism—would suggest that the greatest casualty has been the national consensus which distinguished Britain from other advanced Western countries. That this consensus has been shattered is evident from the violence that characterizes British society today. If the image of the unarmed, friendly British "Bobby" has been replaced by one wearing helmets, carrying shields and plastic bullets, it is not only because ethnic minorities tend to be more violent than the native British; it is also because of Mrs Thatcher's uncaring policies that seem to justify violence in the eyes of many. It is difficult to admonish or shame a nation into discipline or higher productivity, and Mrs Thatcher's espousal of Victorian virtues is appreciated only by the successful. None of this can mitigate the enormity of the Brighton bomb explosion; but even this thoroughly reprehensible act may be viewed by some as a desperate response to her divisive rule.

THE TRIBUNE
CHANDIGARH.

15 OCT 1984

THE TRIBUNE

THE BRIGHTON OUTRAGE

There ever there was one country in the world where national leaders could walk on the street like common citizens without security guards and other official paraphernalia, it was Britain. But Friday's blast at a Brighton hotel may have changed all that. The providential escape of the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, underscores the vulnerability of the mightiest in the land to terrorist attacks. Violence in Northern Ireland and the subversive attacks by the Irish Republican Army have been a festering sore for the British Government since 1969. For most of these 15 years, however, trouble was confined to Northern Ireland. The decisive spill-over to mainland Britain may be said to have begun with the assassination of Lord Mountbatten by the I.R.A. in August, 1979. Friday's bomb explosion, which took the life of a Conservative M.P. and three others could herald the start of a regular I.R.A. terrorist campaign on the British mainland. The obvious target would be the unruffled and determined Prime Minister. In September, 1983, Mrs Thatcher survived a similar assassination bid by the I.R.A. during her visit to Canada. As The Times of London points out, "the I.R.A. badly needed a propaganda coup of international dimension after a number of setbacks on the military and political fronts". The national and global sense of relief over the escape of Mrs Thatcher and her Cabinet colleagues from becoming the victims of this outrageous act should be tempered with the thought that British leaders may now have to opt for such American safety devices as bullet-proof cars and vests, armed escorts and round-the-clock security at their residences. All this is anathema to the Briton who loves his freedom, privacy and rights as a social being.

The British Government has many tasks at hand. First of all, it has to start an anti-terrorist campaign of sufficient intensity to bring the criminals to book. Simultaneously it has to insulate the national-level leaders and members of the Royal family from I.R.A. attacks. But more important than all else is the need to start the efforts for a negotiated political settlement of this thorny issue. Talks with the Government at Dublin should be revived. The artificial division of the land into Catholic Ireland and Protestant Ireland has led to disastrous consequences. The recent election of Mr Gerry Adams as the President of Sinn Fein, the political wing of Irish Republicans, gave ample hints to the Government about an impending intensification of terrorist activity. In 14 years of sectarian violence in Northern Ireland as many as 2,304 persons were killed, which was in addition to 370 members of the British Army and 72 civilians who died fighting the I.R.A. on British soil. There is hardly any family in Northern Ireland which has not been affected by the violence. Riots in Ulster have resulted in the largest single displacement of civilian population in Europe during peace time. In terms of money, the cost of the Irish revolt would run into several billions of pounds. The Irish Prime Minister, Mr Garret Fitzgerald, is popular among the people in the north as well as those in the south and he favours a peaceful solution based on the establishment of a confederation of sovereign States. Terrorism needs to be combated with all the force that the Government commands, but Mrs Thatcher will have to move towards a lasting solution to the Irish problem as a whole.

DRAFT



BOMB AT THE GRAND HOTEL, BRIGHTON

My Lords,

With the leave of the House, I shall make a statement about the bombing at the Grand Hotel, Brighton. The statement is as follows:

An evil group has once again planned and carried out a mindless attack on innocent people in pursuit of their aims. They have deliberately struck at the heart of our nation. But, my Lords, they will find that they have simply strengthened the overwhelmingly united resolve of a Government, Parliament and people determined to preserve their free democracy, so long the envy of the world.

Shortly before 3 o'clock on the morning of Friday 12 October a bomb exploded in the Grand Hotel, Brighton. The hotel is next door to the Brighton Conference Centre where the 1984 Conservative



Party Conference was to be concluded later that day. The Prime Minister and senior members of her Cabinet were among the many people in the hotel at the time.

Preliminary indications are that the bomb consisted of about 20 lbs of commercial explosive and that it exploded on the sixth floor of the hotel causing the middle part of the building to collapse and rendering the whole structure unsafe.

Four people died as a result of the explosion: they were Sir Anthony Berry, Member of Parliament for Southgate; Mrs Jeanne Shattock; Mr Eric Taylor; and Mrs Roberta Wakeham. Thirty-two people were injured of which [] are still detained in hospital.

Responsibility for the attack was claimed by the Provisional IRA in a message received by the Press Association in Belfast at 12 noon on Friday, nine hours after the explosion occurred.



I know that your Lordships will join me in offering our deepest sympathy to those who have been so tragically bereaved as well as our heartfelt desire that those injured may soon be restored to health.

My Lords, I cannot express too profoundly my admiration of the courage, dedication and selfless devotion to duty shown by the police, the fire and ambulance services, the hospital staff and all those involved in those difficult and dangerous hours immediately after the explosion occurred.

Naturally, there has been much discussion about the nature of security arrangements in place at the time of the explosion. The Chief Constable of Sussex Police has appointed the Deputy Chief Constable of Hampshire to enquire into this aspect and I do not believe that it would be right for us to speculate on the outcome of this enquiry.



I have already made known my own view that total, impregnable security is not compatible with the free society we enjoy. We must recognize that moves in that direction would call into question the entire basis upon which public life in this country is conducted. But I can assure your Lordships that the circumstances of this outrage are being studied with meticulous care and the scope for improvements in security arrangements will be explored to the full.

My Lords, that concludes the statement.

820

FOIA



DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
1-19 VICTORIA STREET
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TELEPHONE DIRECT LINE 01-215 5422
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PS/ Secretary of State for Trade and Industry

15 October 1984

Robin Butler Esq
Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

David Barclay ^{sub 15/10}
Caroline Ryder ^{18/10}

Dear Robin,

Please note.

FERS

VISITING MR AND MRS TEBBIT IN HOSPITAL

17.10.

A large number of colleagues of the Secretary of State have indicated that they would like to go to visit him and Mrs Tebbit at the hospital in Brighton. It would be extremely helpful if any who intend to visit could in fact let this office know when they would like to make a visit, so that we can ensure that there are no occasions on which too many attempt to see the Tebbits on the same day. It may also help those planning visits to know that the Secretary of State is under hospital orders to receive no visitors between 4.00 and 6.00pm each day.

2 I am copying this to the Private Secretaries of all Cabinet Ministers, and to Murdo MacLean at No 12.

Yours etc,
Andrew Hawley

PP M C McCARTHY
Private Secretary

JH3BDG

RC
(6)
PS/LADY YOUNG
PS/VE RENTON
PS/PDS
~~SIR J. SULLIVAN~~
VE J. JARVIS

PS/S. O. S
PS/MR R. ANDREW
OAB 1/56
VE BERNARD
VE ANNE BURNS
J. LYON
VE BOYD SMITH

NIO



D/DID
D/PUSD (2)
D/INFO D
D/NEWS D

SIR E ARMSTRONG
DIO

CASSETT

PS/No 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

IMMEDIATE

GRS520
UNCLASSIFIED
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TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY FCO 141830Z (FOR RESIDANT CLERK)
TELEGRAM NUMBER 553 OF 14 OCTOBER 1984
INFO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 150900Z NIO (B) NIO (L)

ADVANCE COPY

BRIGHTON BOMBING

1. TODAY'S SUNDAY PRESS CARRIES AN EXCLUSIVE FRONT PAGE ARTICLE BY MICHAEL KEANE, UNDER THE HEADLINE "THATCHER BOMB WAS IRA'S SECOND BID"

2. TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS "THE PROVISIONAL IRA TRIED TO KILL THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER, MRS MARGARET THATCHER, AND MEMBERS OF HER CABINET IN THE IMPERIAL HOTEL, BLACKPOOL, IN 1983 AND THE ATTEMPT WAS ONLY CALLED OFF AT THE LAST MINUTE, THE SUNDAY PRESS HAS LEARNED.

THE ACTIVE SERVICE UNIT WHICH ON FRIDAY BOMBED THE TORY PARTY CONFERENCE HOTEL IN BRIGHTON WAS UNABLE TO COMPLETE ALL THE DETAILS OF THE 1983 ASSASSINATION PLAN IN TIME AND IT WAS DECIDED BY THE IRA'S DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS TO WAIT UNTIL THIS YEAR.

THE ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF MRS THATCHER HAS BEEN A PRIORITY WITH THE ARMY COUNCIL OF THE IRA SINCE THE DEATH OF BOBBY SANDS IN MAY 1981 WHEN SHE BECAME NUMBER ONE ON THEIR DEATH LIST. THE UNIT INVOLVED WAS TOLD THAT THERE WAS NOT TO BE ANY MOVE UNTIL ALL SEGMENTS OF THE PLAN CAME TOGETHER.

IN A NEW STRATEGY, THE IRA DID NOT USE ANY VOLUNTEERS FROM IRELAND BUT RECRUITED ENGLISH BORN SYMPATHISERS WHO HAD VOLUNTEERED THEIR

BUT RECRUITED ENGLISH BORN SYMPATHISERS WHO HAD VOLUNTEERED THEIR SERVICES. THIS FOLLOWED PREVIOUS INFILTRATION OF IRA CELLS OPERATING IN BRITAIN BY THE BRITISH SECURITY FORCES.

THE DECISION TO KILL MRS THATCHER WAS TAKEN AT ANY ARMY COUNCIL MEETING IN DUBLIN, AND THE DIRECTOR OF OPERATIONS WAS GIVEN THE TASK OF CARRYING OUT THE ORDER. MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WERE NOT TOLD WHO WAS IN THE IRA UNIT, WHEN OR WHERE THEY WOULD STRIKE.

USING THE LESSONS LEARNED FROM FREDERICK FORSYTH'S BOOK 'THE DAY OF THE JACKAL,' THE IRA EXAMINED THE ITINERARY OF MRS THATCHER AND RIGHTLY CONCLUDED THAT SHE WOULD HAVE TO BE IN THE GRAND HOTEL BRIGHTON, ON THE NIGHT OF THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11, WHEN THE CONFERENCE BALL WOULD BE HELD AND WHERE SHE HAD HER SUITE OF ROOMS.

IN THE PAST YEAR MEMBERS OF THE FOUR TO FIVE PERSON UNIT HAVE VISITED THE GRAND HOTEL FREQUENTLY, HAVE STAYED AS GUESTS, HAVE MINGLED WITH DELEGATES TO MANY OTHER CONFERENCEES, FAMILIARISED THEMSELVES WITH EVERY DETAIL OF THE HOTEL'S LAY-OUT AND OBTAINED VITAL INFORMATION AS TO WHERE MRS THATCHER AND HER CABINET WOULD BE IN THE HOTEL AT A GIVEN TIME.

IT WAS NOT UNTIL A LATE STAGE IN THE OPERATION THAT THE 'DEEP COVER' UNIT WERE INSTRUCTED IN HOW TO HANDLE, HIDE AND ACTIVATE BOMBS WHICH WERE THEN PLANTED ON THE FIFTH FLOOR.

DESPITE THE FACT THAT MRS THATCHER AND HER CABINET WERE NOT KILLED THE PROVISIONAL IRA REGARD THE OPERATION AS A SUCCESS.

CONTRARY TO SPECULATION, THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT WAS NOT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED TO WRECK THE FORTHCOMING SUMMIT BETWEEN THE TAOISEACH, DR FITZGERALD AND MRS THATCHER IN NOVEMBER BUT WAS PART OF THEIR LONG TERM STRATEGY TO FORCE A BRITISH WITHDRAWAL.

'WE DO NOT THINK THAT MRS THATCHER OR ANY BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DECIDE TO LEAVE IRELAND UNLESS FORCED BY THE IRA TO DO SO', ONE PROVISIONAL SOURCE SAID LAST NIGHT.

THE ATTACK ON THE GRAND HOTEL DOES, HOWEVER DISPEL ANY THEORIES THAT THE PROVISIONALS WOULD ALLOW THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SINN FEIN TO TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE ARMED CAMPAIGN.'

3. MICHAEL KEANE IS ONE OF THE FOUNDER REPORTERS IN THE PRESS GROUP. HE KNOWS THE NORTH AND CAN BE ASSUMED TO HAVE CONTACTS WITH THE PROVISIONALS.

GOODISON

NNNN

DEPARTMENT/SERIES <i>PREM 19</i> PIECE/ITEM <i>1632</i> (one piece/item number)	Date and sign
Extract/Item details: <i>Letter from Taylor to Flesher dated 12 October 1984, with enclosures</i>	
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TEMPORARILY RETAINED	<i>12 June 2014 W Wayland</i>
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