



## An Chartlann Náisiúnta National Archives

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*Sketch by Leader of DUP - Samson POL/112!  
Malpas to annual Pub. Conf.  
October 1990*

At this stage I need do no more than confirm the facts as stated. At the close of our meeting with the newly arrived Secretary of State in August of last year, Mr Brooke suggested he would invite us back if and when he had discovered sufficient common ground in his talks with others.

When he issued that invitation publicly in his speech on 9th January this year, I immediately accepted so that Mr Paisley and I could hear his account of the common ground achieved.

Although the report was not as definitive as we had hoped, we were sufficiently encouraged to engage in further discussions. The most important meeting took place on 22 May at which there was a shared expectation that we might be on the verge of a breakthrough.

So strong was that instinct that I immediately invited my colleagues in the Officer Team and in the Parliamentary Team to prepare lists of agenda items and position papers on those items. I pay tribute to those colleagues for the speed with which they responded, and the degree of tolerance they displayed when I warned them to put out of their heads all thoughts of holidays.

Through no fault of ours the momentum diminished. There were some who after months of demanding rapid progress suddenly started chattering about discussions beginning in September. That provided a let out for elements whose track record had not been impressive. It was clear to me that if momentum was lost in the summer months it would be extremely difficult to sustain any kind of so-called initiative.

We managed to restore the tempo in early July. We assumed that all-Party agreement had been obtained on a final document drafted by the Secretary of State who all along had acted as honest broker, influenced only by the knowledge that he had been appointed to govern Northern Ireland as a part of the United Kingdom - a status which all concerned were prepared to admit - (at least to themselves) was likely to endure for a very long time.

It remains a mystery why parties which had been consulted during the drafting of Mr Brooke's document should suddenly have withdrawn their support a few hours before he was due to present it to the House of Commons.

For our part, Mr Paisley and I remain committed to that agreed document of 5 July which is the only paper with any standing or credibility. We have added nothing and deleted nothing and that set of proposals must be the base from which we restart - if such should be permitted by others, who may have to engage in a fundamental rethink and a cool appraisal of their own position and even their own philosophies.

We should not underestimate the burden of their own history, or the thought processes arising from that history.

It was Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the 1916 insurrection, who proclaimed that "the man who, in the name of Ireland accepts as a final settlement anything less, by one fraction of one iota, than the separation from England, is guilty of so immense an infidelity, so immense a crime against the Irish nation, that it were better for that man that he had not been born."

1 It may seem a contradiction in terms that I as the Leader of the Ulster Unionist Party should quote from one of the rambling mystics of Irish Republicanism, but I have always believed in the ancient Chinese maxim "know your enemy and know yourself - and in a hundred battles you will never be in peril."

It is only by remembering that advice that we can understand the threat facing Unionism past and present. The ludicrous idea of a United Ireland, completely independent from the rest of the British Isles, has come to represent one of the most pernicious of tyrannies - the obscene presumption of governing from beyond the grave. It has had two important effects. First, politics in the South of Ireland have, since 1921, been channelled into a narrow rocky lane with high stone walls on either side which have insulated travellers from the realities of geography and history.

Secondly, that tyranny has been transmitted down the political generations in the south. De Valera said he "would consider his career a failure if during his lifetime Ireland was not united."

The present commandants of the "soldiers of destiny" - to give Fianna Fail its correct title, tell us that Northern Ireland is a failed entity. They live in the hope that the combined efforts of the Anglo-Irish Conference; Whitehall Civil Servants; and the IRA will eventually force Ulster to journey with Republicans on their narrow rocky road.

For far too long Unionists have neglected and ignored the two most lethal weapons in their armoury - geography and history.

James Joyce said that "Nationalists since Pearse have been sucking on the old pap of racial hatred." That thin gruel has blinded them to the fact that geography and history have rendered the British Isles interdependent. Republicans have always used geographic determinism to justify their cause. But this argument is particularly inappropriate in the case of Ireland. I will give but one example. The North Channel, far from constituting a political divide has down the ages been a means of communication. It did not divide Ulster from Scotland but joined them. Political units straddled the North Channel long before the establishment of the United Kingdom itself. Sea travel was easier and safer than hazardous routes to the South of Ireland. Two thousand years on; the IRA preserves that state of affairs, compelling travellers to run the gauntlet of Kilnasaggart and Killeen to get to the other part of the Island which the IRA wants to unite.

The Kingdom of Dalriada extended from North Antrim into Argyll from the Fifth Century to the Ninth Century AD, while in the Fifteenth Century the Kingdom of McDonalds in the Western Isles of Scotland extended into North Antrim. For good measure the Medieval name for Irishman was Scotus. *Roman name for the inhabitants of the northern part of Ireland was Scotti*  
I have often felt that Irish Republicans ought to have a care when they claim "Brits out" lest the Brits should retaliate with "Celts out" and require that race to return to Asia Minor from whence they came to drive out the original Irish to Scotland.

Irish Republicans should remember that the logical result of enforced wholesale repatriation would produce a somewhat overcrowded Garden of Eden.

Irish Republicans have indulged in an orgy of brainwashing which blinds them to the uncomfortable fact that it was not Ireland but the British Isles which suffered from partition since 1921. The central question is not why the Ulster majority - Protestant and Roman Catholic - refuses to cut its links with Great Britain - but rather why the Irish Free State decided to withdraw from the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in the first place. Truly the tyranny of Pearse has much for which to answer.

Answerable too will be the disciples of the shared objective who have now been put on the spot by the Irish Supreme Court, which produced a judgement and delivered an interdict binding upon politician and gunman alike. No longer can they seek remission from this obligation to unify the national territory. What was once a mere vote-catcher is now a constitutional imperative for all Irish citizens, and every attempt to obey that constitutional imperative hands a sheaf of death warrants to the IRA.

The Ulster Unionist Party will not allow attention to be diverted from the hard realities of the Irish Constitution. Others may resort to distractions but for us the removal of those offensive and deadly claims to Northern Ireland remains one of our chief priorities. The peace for which we all long must have firm foundations. The requirement is trust and honesty - not squinting words and dishonourable compromises. The Irish Government has at its disposal the means to advance the cause of peace. It would attract much international goodwill if it were to drop that territorial claim in conformity with its being a signatory of the Helsinki Agreement.

Continued failure to do so will compel us, in the name of humanity, to invoke a greater authority to have removed from the Irish Constitution those provisions which will otherwise continue to drench this island with innocent blood.

Permanent peace is the goal of the Ulster Unionist Party and our principled struggle for peace has been reinforced - not diminished - by the barbarism of terrorists.

We are anxious to move into an era of mutual respect, co-operation and prosperity in the context of "the totality of relationships within these islands". On many occasions during the past few years, I have advocated a broader setting for the resolution of the problems we all face.

Perhaps we have concentrated too much on Ulster politics - maybe we have expended too much on internal wranglings and ill-starred initiatives and thereby neglected the policies of the South. I accept my share of the blame. Perhaps I was mistaken when I stoutly defended the status of the South as a sovereign independent republic - particularly when Englishmen scoffed at the very idea of the south as a foreign separate nation.

Perhaps unwittingly I encouraged insular attitudes and increased the separatist tendencies of southerners who secretly in their own hearts never entirely repudiated the British connection.

My weekly readings of the Irish-in-London newspapers and my many personal contacts have persuaded me that Irish migrants are not very different from their Scottish and Welsh comrades in their relationships with British Social Security and even membership of the British Inland Revenue Club.

Back home in Dublin they can still sail at the Royal St George Yacht Club; It is still possible to be at the Royal Hibernian Academy; and be admitted to the Royal College of Surgeons; Show jumping is still organised by the Royal Dublin Society; and Cork can boast of the Royal Cork Yacht Club - the oldest Yacht Club in the world, founded in 1722, a testimony to Anglo Irish love of the sea and a lingering preference for a Royal as opposed to a Presidential Head of State.

This week I attended a Banquet at Buckingham Palace in honour of the Italian President. I wondered how soon we can have a state visit by the Irish President - now that we are all buddies in the European community.

So, thankfully, many British-Irish bridges remain intact. They remain as an alternative to the rocky Republican road.

After twenty years of suffering and violence, road building between the British and Irish people will take time. The time-scale may have been shortened by the dramatic events in Eastern Europe.

At our conference last year we predicted that happenings in the East would be of earth-shaking magnitude. On that occasion I did not imitate President Bush and ask you to read my lips. I was more direct when I spelled out the Richter scale of the earthquake in these words: - "Can any known force resist the tidal wave of souls seeking freedom after fifty years of bondage", and I dared to suggest that urgent consideration be given to the impact of German unification on NATO & the EEC.

When that question was put to the Prime Minister and her senior colleagues during the following week, the answer was that German unification was some five to ten years ahead.

So for all our alleged provincialism the Ulster Unionist Party was more than five years ahead of the great ones of the earth. Perhaps we might now tender some advice on calculating inflation and interest rates.

There are those who deliberately distort the message of Eastern Europe. The real lesson is respect for the principle of self-determination. Nations great and small have freed themselves from external Diktats and have consigned to the dustbin of history age old territorial claims on each others territory.

That movement of the political crust began many years ago with Chancellor Willy Brandt's doctrine of "OST POLITIK". In our case, South Politics - Sud Politik - can yield the same harvest.

My distinguished predecessor, Viscount Brookeborough, often said that "although Ulster and Eire can not unite - they can be good neighbours". For all of my forty four years in public life that has been my consistent view as well.

Sud Politik moves the parameters of Unionism beyond those envisaged by Lord Brookeborough. It places Unionism in a new geographical framework of the British Isles. It can be the start of a process to help southerners to steer away from the isolation of that narrow rocky republican road and help the British and Irish people to take the first modest steps towards each other and towards a firmer friendlier linkage within the entire British Isles. It calls for a programme of togetherness which will bring immense reassurance to the Irish in England under British rule; and give real hope to the ninety eight per cent in Northern Ireland who deserve the opportunity to prove to the world that they can live and work together.

I am confident that we can reap that harvest and transform relationships during the coming decade of the nineties, provided we make a start now.

I am prepared to begin the process but in the nature of things I may not be around to see its completion.

I do not claim that Unionists have a monopoly of the necessary courage and vision. At the 1980 summit Mr Haughey the Republic's Prime Minister, then and now, looked to the future and saw what had to be done. He mapped out the course when he promised to give "special consideration to the totality of relationships within these islands." At that summit Mrs Thatcher, if not the Foreign Office, appeared to agree.

I fully shared Mr Haughey's disappointment when his generous concept was shattered by the hands of others; when five years later a miserable narrow minded contradiction appeared under the label of the Anglo Irish Agreement - a document so flawed and so narrow in its vision that it was the very antithesis of the totality of relationships, and its only function has been to provide a focal point for sectarian and political confrontation. So damaging has it been that anyone who now gives the Anglo-Irish Agreement any credibility will stand reviled in the history of this island.

Those who in 1980 had the vision must make haste to repair the damage while we have the necessary health and strength. We have a clear duty to end the dangerous farce of our United Kingdom and the Irish Republic forever regarding each other as incompatible foreigners.

The Haughey-Thatcher 1980 communique laid the foundation in another phrase which promised "further development of the unique relationship between our two countries."

After all that is happening in Eastern Europe our two countries will become the subject of ridicule if they are seen to perpetuate their love-hate relationship - with hate being the greater of the two.

It is in our interests to help the two Governments to create that unique relationship because stability and peace will be denied to an Ulster which has become the rope in their tug-of-war pastime. They are not required to grovel and confess to the errors of the 1980's - but is it too much to ask that they heed the advice of those who have been proved right.

Speaking at the memorial service for Ian Gow on Monday, Sir Geoffrey Howe referred to Ian's resignation speech in the debate on the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985 - when he told the House "I fear that this change of policy will prolong and not diminish Ulster's agony. With all my heart I pray that I am wrong". Sir Geoffrey stopped short of stating the obvious but the answer had been supplied at Ian Gow's funeral by the Bishop of Lewes. Remarking that they had always enjoyed an intellectual argument the Bishop added "the trouble was that Ian was nearly always right". That is why he was murdered, and why others in Northern Ireland, England and in Europe have suffered the same fate for the same reason.

To make possible the start of a new era we who have so far survived the carnage are entitled to enter a plea to those in authority, in the words of Cromwell -

"We beseech you .. think it possible you may be mistaken".