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AN RÚNAÍOCHT ANGLA-ÉIREANNACH

BÉAL FEIRSTE

ANGLO-IRISH SECRETARIAT

BELFAST

CONFIDENTIAL

28 November, 1990

Assistant Secretary,  
Mr. Dermot Gallagher,  
Anglo-Irish Division,  
Department of Foreign Affairs.

Dear Assistant Secretary,

Paisley's Address to the D.U.P. Conference

Mr. Alston has given me a copy of Paisley's speech which I attach. You will see that a section of the speech is underlined on page four. I understand that this section was underlined by the DUP themselves for the attention of Mr. Brooke. You will note that Paisley argues:

- That the British Government has agreed that the Unionists will be part of the UK negotiating team and that if Unionists are "plenipotentiaries" with the British Government then they will know exactly what is taking place and will have the advantage of being able to argue their case personally and forthrightly without any fear that they might be betrayed (by the British).
- The suggestion that to take part in talks is an act of betrayal is utter nonsense. It would indeed be a betrayal if Unionists failed to take up their proper place as part of the UK team and ensure the unscrambling of the dictat.
- Dublin can have no place whatsoever at any talks about an internal settlement in Northern Ireland.
- Substantial progress and agreement must be made at such talks before there can be any further progress.
- The Unionists leaders will be able to decide whether there is such progress and agreement as indeed will the other parties taking part.
- At the end of the day whatever the decisions reached, they must be put in referendum to the people of Northern Ireland.

It strikes me that the actual content is at variance with the benign interpretation of the speech, and of Paisley's position, given to us by the British.

- Box 4
- Paisley says Unionists had "every right to smile" after meeting Mr. Brooke in May because "the British Government did decide that the Conference should be suspended so that talks should take place and did decide that Maryfield should cease its normal operation under the terms of the Agreement... When the story unfolded it was seen that Dublin was not opposed to giving the prior conditions.... a replacement of the Agreement ... the closing of Maryfield (my emphasis) ... the suspension of the Anglo-Irish Conferences". The reference to closing Maryfield was repeated by Paisley on Radio Ulster last Sunday.
  - The reference to substantial progress and agreement (my emphasis) in talks about an internal settlement before further progress can be made, is unqualified.
  - The decision on timing is not left to Mr. Brooke. It is claimed for the Unionist leaders as well as the other parties. Paisley said on Monday that he would agree to Mr. Brooke's being an impartial go-between on timing as long as he was convinced that Brooke was acting completely free of Dublin interference (Guardian, 28 November) which the British see as encouraging, but which still leaves the final say in Unionist hands.

Yours sincerely,

*Declan O'Donovan*

Declan O'Donovan  
Joint Secretary

## Leader's Annual Address to Conference 24.11.90

It was Harold Wilson who said a week was a long time in politics. Three days ago we saw the Prime Minister, defiant and dogmatic, declare that she would fight on and fight to win, but in a few short hours she had quit the field, having turned her back on the battle of the second ballot.

Mrs. Thatcher, the Iron Lady, a person of great brilliance and immense talents, took on the miners of Britain - those underground workers, who by their calling are moulded to hardness in the forge of the underground coal face, and she won.

She took on the Argentinean dictators and she won.

Five years ago she took on the Ulster Loyalist people, and the majority of the media both local and national, announced she had won. I, however, announced she could not and would not win, and she did not win. She is no longer Prime Minister and the way of her going has been shameful and treacherous.

She acted traitor to the Ulster people and her own sycophants acted traitor to her. As her four cabinet colleagues took the final stab she must have been reminded of Caesar's immortal exclamation 'Thou too Brutus.' Such is the outcome of slow moving, inflexible justice. Traitors themselves perish by treachery; Iscariots by iscaritism; and those who sell out others will themselves be sold out.

I have read many explanations in the press about her downfall but that same press sneered at the prayer meetings held by a God fearing people who besought God to rid them of the Anglo/Irish Agreement and its originators.

I remember a national Daily seeking to make a joke of the fact that I prayed against the lady. And let it not be forgotten that the same lady put her hand to destroy Sunday as the Lord's day, the Christian Sabbath, and it was the fourteen votes from Ulster which destroyed her plan. The mills of God grind slow but they grind exceedingly fine.

Mrs. Thatcher goes down in shame as a victim of internal war in her own party, the object of malicious slander and treachery, but Ulster still stands bloodied but unbowed in its determination to get rid of the Anglo/Irish dictat.

She lost but Ulster will win. She quit but this Democratic Unionist Party will not quit. We not only fight to win, but we will win.

How many times have the media and our enemies written us off yet we have survived and prospered.

Mrs. Thatcher has sown the wind with her signature to the Anglo/Irish act of treachery but Ulster has reaped the whirlwind. Today we rightly and righteously, determinedly and defiantly, boldly and bluntly, set up our banner with its message of war to all terrorists and its message of peace to all democrats.

Tackle Terrorism, Restore Democracy.

The hideous and cruel mark of the beast of terrorism is all over our beloved Province. It is seen in the brandmark of the three dark 'Ds' - DEATH, DESTRUCTION and DISABLEMENT.

### I. DEATH

The terrorists have turned our Province into a graveyard. The five years of roadway from Margaret Thatcher's treachery is marked not with milestones but with tombstones. An increasing death roll is the result of the dictat.

What are the figures?

As I said in the House of Commons on 13th of this month, 'In 1985 when the Agreement was signed on 15 November when the year was almost ended there were 54 killings. The following year, 1986, there were 61 killings; in 1987 there were 93 killings; in 1988 there were 93 killings; in 1989, 62 killings and so far this year, 1990, there have been 71 killings. Who can measure the agony, sorrow, heartbreak, hurt and loss behind every innocent victim?

We see that heartbreak in the form of a long and ever increasing procession of maimed and bereaved mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, husbands, wives, daughters and sons of all religions - for terrorism has no respect for age, class or creed.

The figures show that there have been 346 murders in the past five years. Of those, 74.5% were slaughtered by the IRA. Of that number, 119 were Roman Catholics and 41% of these were slaughtered by the IRA. 41% of all murders by so called Loyalist organisations resulted in court appearances and charges being upheld by the courts, but of all the IRA atrocities only 11% resulted in court appearances and charges being upheld.

Even John Hume in his Party Conference speech is forced to ask the IRA, 'How do you justify a campaign in which more than half the people killed are innocent civilians killed through your 'mistakes' and the eye for an eye response of the loyalists? How do you justify a campaign in which even among your own members who have lost their lives, more than half of them were killed by yourselves?'

### II. DESTRUCTION

What of the destruction that has taken place in homes, in businesses, in schools, in churches and in security installations?

The terrorists aim to make our Province a workless wilderness and devastated desert.

They complain about no employment and then they blow up the places of employment. They cry out for safety

and murder those who sacrifice to make them safe. They scream about so called human rights and cut the throats of those who only want their inalienable right to live. They kneel at their Romanist mass altars, as Gerry Adams at the funeral of Cardinal O'Fee, and say they take Jesus in wafer form on their tongue and then go out and make innocent beings human bombs to be blown to bits in a hellish blitz. This shows their satanic hatred and despicable cowardice. They then return and get absolution from the priest that proposed to put Christ on their tongue. Under the seal of the confessional the priest will not reveal their deadly secret. If every priest of Rome in Ulster revealed what he knew of IRA killings the intelligence would be enough to solve many of the most terrible of IRA massacres.

You can say those are tough words. I reply I must be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice.

Think of the Enniskillen slaughter. Not one person brought in for questioning. Not one charged with that terrible crime. How many of the perpetrators received priestly absolution for the deed? Ulster Protestants do not forget the gesture of the Pope in sending golden crucifixes to IRA murderers on hunger strike.

### III. DISABLEMENT

Last Monday in the House of Commons my colleague Rev. William McCrea read out a list of some disablements which are but a tiny percentage of a sickening and frightening whole.

A few days ago I received a communication which I shall read because the House should hear it. I wish that more hon. members were present to hear it. It is entitled 'Far Across Yonder Blue Lies A Golden Fairy Land.' The words of this beautiful song were sung to a hushed and enraptured audience as the singer unfolded to his friends the beauty of Northern Ireland. He went on to sing another haunting ballad beginning, 'If you ever go across the sea to Ireland, then maybe at the closing of the day, then comes the lovely line, and watch the sun go down on Galway bay.' The person who wrote to me about this incident continued, 'I had to leave the room. The singer's face was shining as he sang. He stood tall and proud, yet his sightless eyes and hearing aid told it all. Charlie was blown up 16 years ago while serving with the RUC. This winter he will make soft toys in his dark and silent world. His friend Willie was more fortunate. He can at least hear.' What was he singing? It was 'and watch the sun go down on Galway bay.' He would never see the sun go down on Galway bay again.

Sean heard someone knocking on his door 19 years ago. He looked out of the window and part of his brain fell out on the cot where his infant son lay because he had been shot in the head. Today, he is wheelchair bound, totally dependent on his elderly parents. He needs constant nursing care. Another lad was a Royal Marine, a tough one. Today, he sits in a red wheelchair with 11 bullets in his stomach. A surgical collar and sling complete his ensemble. He was only doing his duty outside the law courts, protecting the public.

Another gentleman got into the back of his car after duty and was hurled through the roof by a bomb. Today, he sits in a blue wheelchair wearing a corset to support what is left of his anatomy. Michael lost both arms. He is in his late twenties. Many things are difficult with iron hooks or claws. This is not fiction. This is reality. Another was a human fireball in Londonderry after a petrol bomb struck him on the back. Another carries more steel plates in his head than many of us see in a lifetime. His epilepsy does not help matters.

Yet in the House of Commons at that very debate the government insisted that there would be no change in their security policy. They have taken from our mouths the bread of peace which we have rightly earned.

Today we demand a change and an instant and immediate change in their disastrous and death increasing security strategy. We say with Burke, 'Where there is abuse, there ought to be a clamour because it is better to have our slumber broken by the fire bell than to perish amidst the flames in our bed.'

So today we hoist the flag. We raise up the standard.

### TACKLE THE TERRORISTS BY DECLARING WAR ON THEM

The time has come when the kid gloves must be taken off in the security battle. No longer must the security forces be shackled and told to fight the terrorist with one arm tied behind their back. The government must show that it has the will to win the war. Actions, strong actions, effective actions must take the place of strong but ineffective words. We have heard too many affirmations from Mrs. Thatcher and others about destroying terrorism, about extirpating terrorism. Let the security forces be permitted to get on with the job by making a firm declaration of war against the terrorists. This is a war situation and a battle has got to be fought. This is not some debate, this is a deadly struggle for the protection and defence of life and limb.

We would do well to ask ourselves the question why no government has really declared war on the IRA. I think that Somerset Maugham perhaps gave the answer to that when he said that any nation that thinks more of its ease and comfort than its freedom will soon lose its freedom, and the ironical thing about it is that it will lose its ease and comfort too. I think that the government has refused to lose its ease and comfort and therefore has not fought the battle for freedom against the terrorists and now as a result freedom is being lost and comfort and ease as well.

### TACKLE THE TERRORISTS BY HOLDING OUT NO HOPE THAT THEY WILL SUCCEED

Every time that it was clearly seen that the security forces were making effective headway against the IRA there rose up those who did the job of rescuing the IRA. The Irish government, the SDLP, the ecumenical church



clergymen, the British government and do gooders of every kind have always come with a special oxygen supply to rescue the IRA, when it seemed that they were going to be defeated. And the greatest of all rescue exercises was that rescue exercise done by Margaret Thatcher in Hillsborough Castle when she signed the Anglo/Irish dictat and after that signing the IRA, having seen that they had achieved so much, were able to look forward to Hillsborough Mark II when they would achieve the whole of their objectives and aims. That is why the Anglo/Irish Agreement must be replaced and the terrorists must not be given any semblance of encouragement to think that they will ever succeed in their aims.

When DeValera realised that his irregulars could not succeed he then gave up the fight and entered the political realm in the Irish Republic. Britain should learn a lesson from the history of the Irish civil war and the way that Republican terrorism was defeated in the South of this island.

### TACKLE THE TERRORISTS BY TERMINATING THEM

When a terrorist lifts a gun, or goes to lay an ambush, or plans a killing, he must realise that he is going to be stopped in his tracks and there will be no special pleading in his favour. Better to have, as I said in the House of Commons this past week, a terrorist killed than innocent people murdered.

Covert operations must be the order of the day and the government that surrendered their God-given right and authority of power of the sword must reclaim that power and exercise it. By not exercising that power it has forfeited its right to govern this country. For that sword is for the protection of the good and the destruction of the evil and yet the sword that should protect the good and destroy the evil is not being used by the government for the destruction of the evil. The time has come when those that kill themselves must pay the ultimate price for their crimes and they themselves must forfeit their lives.

Capital punishment for terrorists' capital crimes must be brought back. Let us not listen to the nonsense that it would not work. It has not been tried and only when it is tried will we know if it will not work. Why is it that the terrorists themselves are so absolutely opposed to capital punishment and scream out at the very suggestion of it. Why? because they are afraid. It is their weapon of killing it must be turned upon themselves.

There is a shoot to kill policy in this Province carried out, not by the security forces but by the terrorists. The IRA have been practising a shoot to kill policy from the beginning of their activities.

It must be stressed again, and again, and again that no amount of democratic activity, no amount of talking between parties in Northern Ireland, not even the achievement of a political or constitutional settlement will deal with the IRA. It has got to be put down. It has got to be disarmed. It has got to be destroyed. It has got to be, what even Douglas Hurd admitted should be done to it, it has got to be extirpated. Those who talk as if talking will disarm the IRA and change their hearts are fools. This leopard does not change its spots, this Ethiopian does not change its skin.

While our message is war to the IRA it is also peace to the democrats.

While we say Tackle The Terrorists we also say ...

### RESTORE DEMOCRACY

When the United Unionist manifesto was published and made the basis for the electorate to make a decision on it was made perfectly clear in that manifesto that there were three things that we must achieve before any talks could take place that would have any chance or possibility of succeeding.

Firstly, the British government must declare that it is prepared to consider an alternative to and a replacement of the Anglo/Irish Agreement.

Secondly, if discussions opened to consider a replacement of the Agreement and an alternative to it then the Anglo/Irish Conferences under that Agreement must cease to take place.

Thirdly, as the secretariat at Maryfield is in position there to service the Conference then it must cease to operate.

When we made these three conditions we had a howl from the press. We had screams from ecumenical clergymen, we had cries from Nationalist politicians, we had a thunder from Dublin that such conditions would never be considered let alone would those conditions be agreed to. Over and over again in editorials, in political discussions, and in Parliament we were informed that this could never be and that the Unionist leaders must settle for something short of those prior conditions.

But the Unionist leaders were tied to their mandate and faithfully in spite of criticism from inside and outside, continued on the path that the people of Northern Ireland had endorsed they should walk. The path that we must get these prior conditions before we could enter into negotiations that would have any possibility of success.

After many talks, after all sorts of criticism of the Unionist leaders, after many suggestions that they were not men of integrity, men of loyalty and men who would stand by their pledges, the British government after a very long time consented that they would consider an alternative to and a replacement of the Agreement.

Instead of the press, that screamed so loudly against the Unionist leaders, hailing this as a breakthrough we had programmes in which it was said there was nothing new in what the government was doing, when in fact it had done a 'u' turn on this first condition.

We were then informed by the same people who had told us before that we wouldn't get that prior condition that in no way would the conference be suspended and cease its operation. But the Unionist leaders refused to sell the

electorate short and continued to fight for that. And they were blamed when they came out of the Conferences because they smiled. Evidently as far as some people were concerned Unionist leaders were not allowed even to smile, but they had every right to smile because the British government did decide that the Conference should be suspended so that talks should take place and did decide that Maryfield should cease its normal operation under the terms of the Agreement.

Instead of the press and others agreeing that this was a breakthrough, comments were made that it wasn't really a breakthrough and that it would not be attained but what we set out to get from the British government we got. Then the long hand of Dublin reached into the British House of Commons on the 5th July last and a minister of the Crown was not able to say in the Commons what he wanted to say because of the power vested through the Anglo/Irish Agreement in the Dublin government, giving them a veto over the government of this part of Her Majesty's dominions. For the first time the House of Commons awoke to what the Anglo/Irish Agreement was really about and all the arguments that had been put by the Unionists in the House were now vindicated. From that day I have never heard any Tory member of the House standing up in support of the Anglo/Irish Agreement but I have heard voiced by very many members who voted for the Agreement, the opinion or affirmation that they would not vote for it now.

But when the story unfolded it was seen that the Dublin government was not opposed to giving the prior conditions, the condition of considering an alternative to and a replacement of the Agreement, to the closing of Maryfield to the suspension of the Anglo/Irish Conferences but that they put another condition and that condition is that they must be in upon the talks concerning the internal arrangements in Northern Ireland. To the table where such talks take place the Irish government can have no representation for they have no right to be at that table. The only people that have a right to be at that table are the constitutional political parties and the representatives of Her Majesty's government. They are the people and it is they alone who must deal with the internal affairs of Northern Ireland. And what is more in dealing with the internal affairs of Northern Ireland it is Northern Ireland as a part of the UK and not Northern Ireland in some sort of limbo that may even develop to its annexation in a whole all Ireland settlement. It is the government of Northern Ireland as part of the UK which must be settled.

It is interesting to note that a document has appeared which we are told has come from the SDLP and which is John Hume's idea for a solution in order to get talks going. If that document is studied you will notice that no where does the SDLP acknowledge that Northern Ireland is a part of the UK and will remain a part of the UK until its people decide otherwise. So for Mr. Hume it seems to be it is a united Ireland or nothing. He must acknowledge that Northern Ireland is part of the UK, that the majority of people are determined that it will continue to be a part of the UK and he must come to the table to discuss the government of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the UK. The SDLP must face up to that matter.

The Dublin government entered into an Agreement with the British government without the consent of the people of Northern Ireland and without consultation with the majority of the people of Northern Ireland and if we are going to have a replacement of and an alternative to the Anglo/Irish Agreement that part of the Agreement which gives authority and jurisdiction and say to Dublin in the terms of the Anglo/Irish Agreement which is obnoxious to the majority of people in Northern Ireland, that part must be unscrambled. It was not our doing, it is not to our liking. It is intolerable if we are going to have proper conditions for living in peace in this island and the British government has got to see that that part is also replaced. That means that the British government has got to enter into negotiations with the Dublin government and in those negotiations the British government has agreed that the Unionists of Northern Ireland will be part of the UK negotiating team and that is something that came out of the talks. For let me say that I believe that if the British government are prepared to make us plenipotentiaries with themselves, in dealing with that part of the UK in negotiations with Dublin then we will know exactly what is taking place and we will have the advantage of being able to argue our case personally and forthrightly without any fear that we might be betrayed.

To argue or suggest that to take part in such negotiations is some act of betrayal on the part of Unionists is utter nonsense. It would indeed be a betrayal if we failed to take up our proper place as part of the UK team in unscrambling the entanglement of the dictat. Let me spell it out - Dublin can have no place whatsoever at any talks about an internal settlement in Northern Ireland. That is a matter for the representatives of the constitutional parties of Northern Ireland and the UK government and Parliament alone and substantial progress and agreement must be made at such talks before there can be any further progress. The Unionist leaders will be able to decide whether there is such substantial progress and agreement, as indeed will the other parties taking part. So no one needs to be afraid that in some way they will be sold short or betrayed.

With regard to arrangements to the government and administration of Northern Ireland a resolution today spells out what our parameters are:-

\*Read Out Notice Of Motion On The Constitution

At the end of the day whatever the decisions reached may be they must be put in referendum to the people of Northern Ireland.

The final approval must be theirs. This is the best safeguard. I say with Churchill, 'Trust the people' and I say with emphasis, 'Trust the Ulster people.'

John Hume talks about Unionists not being willing to talk with Dublin about their relationship with the Republic. Let me examine John Hume's affirmation.

This relationship with the Republic which he talks about is the relationship which has been forged by the Anglo/Irish Agreement. Forged without our consultation and without our approval. And yet Mr. Hume insists that

we must talk to Dublin about this relationship. Let me put it like this, the Republic was intent to have a marriage with Ulster. Ulster refused to be wooed and was never won. But lady Margaret from England turned up and acted as a proxy and entered into a marriage between Northern Ireland and the Republic with the blessing of Holy Mother Church. There was a galaxy of best men at Hillsborough but no bridesmaids appeared. Then John Hume comes along and tells us that we must now talk about this relationship but this relationship is phony. It never existed and we will have nothing to do with this proxy mixed marriage. There therefore can be no discussions of any kind about such a relationship. That is why we must have an alternative to and a replacement of the Agreement.

So we raise the flag Restore Democracy. This is what the talks must be about and all democrats should be anxious to participate in them.

I await the SDLP to say that they are prepared, in order to restore democracy, to enter into such talks. Mr Hume has always argued that the Anglo/Irish Agreement is democratic, that the Unionists ought not to have been consulted, that they must agree to work under the Agreement or be left aside. He has so far refused to leave his entrenched position of a United Ireland or nothing and won't even acknowledge in his so called solution proposal that Northern Ireland is part of the UK. He is the intransigent party not the Unionists. The SDLP accuses the Unionists of backsliding, I accuse them of never having been converted to the recognition of Northern Ireland being part of the UK. A united Ireland or nothing is still John Hume's position and it has not changed since the Londonderry march and which he spoke so passionately at his party Conference. As those in the Republic move away from articles two and three John Hume seems to be the great defender of those obnoxious articles. He is quite entitled to hold that view and hold it tenaciously but he is not entitled to hold Ulster to ransom until it surrenders to his view.

I make yet another appeal. Let all democrats rally to the flag of restoring democracy, for this is the only way that our country can be saved. Let the talks begin as quickly as possible on the basis that I have set out.

A great American statesman Henry Clay said, 'Government is a trust and the officers of the government are trustees and both the trust and trustees are created for the benefit of the people.' Let the democrats of Ulster come together to create such a trust for the benefit of all the people.

As a party we have a crucial part to play in our Province and its future. I call you today to fresh devotion to Ulster's cause. I would take the famous words of Robert Taylor and give them an Ulster application,

'If I were a sculptor, I would chisel from the marble my ideal of a hero. I would make it the figure of an Ulsterman sacrificing his hopes and his life on the altar of his Province and carve on its pedestal the name of Edward Carson. If I were a painter I would make the canvass eloquent with the deeds of the bravest people who ever lived. Whose proud spirit no power can ever conquer and whose loyalty and devotion to the hopes of free government no tyrant can ever crush and I would write under the picture, 'Ulster.' If I were a poet I would melt the world in tears with the pathos of my song. I would touch the heart of humanity with the mournful story of Ulster's wrongs and Ulster woes. I would weave the shamrock and the orange lily into a garland of glory for my beloved Province a land that has cradled heroes and has been the nursery of liberty. Maligned by their enemies and murdered on their streets and in their homes, robbed of the fruits of their sweat and toil and driven like leaves of autumn before the keen winter winds this sturdy race of Ulster's sons and daughters have been scattered over the face of the earth but they have never forgotten the Province that gave them birth and the principles that made them free.'

I call you to sacrifice in unselfishness. We must build our party and build it well. We must use every modern technique to propagate our message and fulfil our mission. We must recruit the youth of Ulster, inspire them to the glorious task of making Ulster greater than she ever was before.

We have not put our hand to the plough to look back to some easy option or turn to some abject surrender.

We intend to plough the furrow to the end of the field, straight as straight can be, no matter what rag weeds we upturn, creepy crawlers we expose and gnarled stumps that we dislodge. We pledge as we have done before to have no mercy on such political obstacles and vermin. With the grip of dedication on the plough shafts, the goal of success before us, the light of truth to guide us and the courage of faith to inspire we will not quit the field until the job is done, the task is complete, the goal achieved and the soil prepared for a rewarding harvest - peace for ourselves and our children.

We cannot do this without the help of Almighty God, Who alone was our help in the ages past and who alone will be our hope for the years to come. God bless you all. God save Ulster!