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11 APRIL 1994

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*To see*  
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VISIT OF THE DUP TO WASHINGTON

1. Paisley spoke at a press breakfast here this morning at the National Press Club at which there were about 20 journalists present, mainly from the various British newspapers represented here in Washington. The text of his speech is attached (the quality of the print is very poor).
2. In the speech (which in essence was undiluted DUP policy offering nothing new) Paisley insisted on his right to justify the case for the union because he had more votes cast for him in European elections than any other elected representative in Northern Ireland. He cited at length an extract from "Ulster and the Irish Republic" by the US Ambassador to Ireland during WW2 which was favourable to the Unionist position and which he described as the "best summary ever made of Ulster's position".
3. He maintained that the Unionist Community had borne the brunt and brutality of the IRA's campaign. He quotes from John Hume's 1989 party conference address on the statistics of IRA violence commenting that "today, John Hume is on a different tack. He has entered into a political agreement with IRA Sinn Fein and wants the two governments to enter into talks with Sinn Fein. It is all to be done in the name of clarification."
4. Not surprisingly, Paisley is critical of the Joint Declaration - "we have seen the total folly of the so-called peace initiative". He said that it was "not a peace process - it

is a phoney process in which the terrorists continue with their carnage and blood-letting while the British government and the Dublin government are seen to be bending over backwards in an attempt to buy them off with concession after concession." In a classic Paisley sound bite he added: "Ulster may be sold by John Major but it will never surrender to the IRA or Dublin".

5. Paisley said that the DUP had proposed that the political logjam within Northern Ireland be addressed by the election of a Northern Ireland Assembly which would be given the task of putting forward proposals for "the better government of Northern Ireland within the UK. This would bring the Union alive. It would clear the air on this central issue and leave Dublin in no doubt about Ulster's sovereignty. The British Government must demand the retraction of the Republic's territorial claim over Northern Ireland."
6. Paisley concluded by saying the (British) government had a duty to present a solution which will work. "The Downing Street Declaration will not work. It will not bring peace. The British government's capitulation to Dublin and the IRA has shown the government is in the business of surrender and betrayal".
7. Paisley's speech was followed by a "question and answer" session which was pretty unexceptional.
8. This evening, Paisley is to have a "private meeting" with the British Ambassador. He will also attend a function which had been put together by the Northern Ireland Chamber of Commerce. In the morning he will meet with representatives from the State Department and will then travel to New York for a meeting with Bill Flynn.
9. Paisley will return to Washington on Wednesday and expects to meet at that stage with Congressman McCloskey and Speaker Foley before his departure.

(4 PAGES FOLLOW).

ENDS

**to the National Press Club Of America,  
in Washington DC.**

The heart of the matter which is in dispute in Northern Ireland is simply this: should Northern Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom, be annexed by the Irish Republic and brought under Dublin rule?

The Dublin Government says, "yes". The Constitution of the Irish Republic says, "yes". John Hume and IRA Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams say, "yes". The overwhelming number of people of Northern Ireland (including, according to the well known Roman Catholic priest Dennis Faul, 30% of the entire Roman Catholic population of Northern Ireland) says "no".

As a representative of this sizable majority of people of Northern Ireland I want to state the overwhelming legality and democracy of the case for the Union. More than any other elected representative, I have a right to put the case for the Union because I have had more votes cast for me by the electors of Northern Ireland in three successive elections to the European Parliament than any other elected representative in Northern Ireland. Indeed my vote is the highest in any part of the European Parliament's total electoral constituency.

When Unionists from Ulster seek to state the case for the Union in the terms of democracy and in territorial legitimacy they are shouted down by a mishmash of accusations of bigotry and discrimination and abuse. Then the IRA turns to the bomb and the bullet and engages in a genocide of the Unionist people. To kill your opponent demonstrates that you have lost your case. Strange to relate, the best summary ever made of Ulster's position was made by a citizen of the USA, appointed from this very city as the representative of this nation's Federal Government to Dublin. I refer to David Gray, United States Minister to the Republic of Ireland from 1940-1947. In an introduction to a book called "Ulster and the Irish Republic" Dr Gray has this to say and I quote,

*"When the Second World War began the United States recognised the belligerency of Northern Ireland as a part of the United Kingdom and the neutrality of Eire as an independent State. The United States also proclaimed her own neutrality. In view of Isolationist opinions this, at first, was inevitable. But American neutrality from the beginning differed fundamentally from Irish neutrality. The American Government recognised the menace of Germany and the community of interest between the United States and the Allies. The American Government repealed the 'Neutrality Act' and enunciated the policy of 'All aid to Britain short of war' and of Lend Lease. It proclaimed the basic Destroyer exchange pact and the mutual defence arrangements with Canada, already at war with Germany. Mr. de Valera, on his part, announced Irish neutrality to be 'the equivalent of independence' a specious formula devised to meet a local political situation.*

*"After Pearl Harbour, Northern Ireland became, as of course, our ally. The American Government sent troops there by arrangement with the British Government, not with that of Eire. The people of Northern Ireland welcomed us and afforded us bases and help and friendship when we needed these things. Mr. de Valera, on the other hand, complained of our action, and maintained a neutrality which served only Hitler's objectives. It barred the allies from use of Eire's strategic ports, reserved for the common defence under the Anglo-Irish Treaty and in 1938 given to Mr. de Valera's Government 'without strings' under the 'gentleman's agreement' with British Prime Minister Chamberlain. This was supposed to end the Anglo-Irish quarrel for ever. Nevertheless, the Eire conception of neutrality permitted Axis missions to be maintained with their spy apparatus and secret wireless within the periphery of the allied defence. Throughout the war Dublin was a lighted city, serving as a beacon to guide German bombers proceeding north to attack Belfast. While Eire was thus exercising her neutral 'rights' at the expense of her neighbours, she was almost daily asking and receiving favours from them. Britain, in fact, supplied the coal used to light Dublin.*

*"The indisputable fact is that the Irish were an ancient race constituting many independent nations (as in the case of the American Indians) which were habitually at war with one another: that Ireland was partitioned by the Irish themselves from the dawn of history; and that at the time of the Norman-English conquest there were some hundred of these independent Irish nations. It is also the fact that England first united the Irish people and that it was England that permitted the secession of Southern Ireland after the First World War. It is true that the Irish Secessionist Government was opposed to the partitioning of the country. Nevertheless the first Government of the Irish Free State duly recognised the newly created State of Northern Ireland and the territory allotted to it by the United Kingdom Parliament in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. In 1925 the extent of Northern Ireland, and hence the boundary between North and South, was ratified by the United Kingdom. Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State was granted exemption from its just share of the United Kingdom's immense war debt. Mr. Cosgrave and his fellow ministers believed and hoped that, if and when Ireland should be reunited, it would be as the result of mutual conciliation and co-operation. They claim no right in contravention of their signed agreement.*

Check against delivery.



The existing controversy, therefore, has its origin in what Mr. de Valera and the present government in Eire do like rather than in what they have a right to do. Through their friends in the United States they have caused the so-called 'Fogarty Resolution' to be twice introduced in the House of Representatives. On the second occasion, September 27, 1951, there was a debate and a vote. The first speaker supporting the resolution defined its purpose as follows: 'It expresses the sense of this House that the Republic of Ireland should embrace the entire territory of Ireland unless the clear majority of all the people of Ireland, in a free plebiscite, determine and declare to the contrary.'

This opening sentence reveals the resolution as disingenuous for the recognised purpose in international law of a plebiscite is to obtain expression of the majority will of a territory in dispute. To permit the inhabitants of the claimant territory to vote on the issue obviously defeats the purpose of the plebiscite. It would be improper, in the case of the Saar, to permit the West Germans to vote; and if Mexico demanded a plebiscite on the return of California, taken by conquest a hundred years ago, it would be improper to permit the Mexicans to vote.

'In the debate on the Fogarty Resolution, Mr. Richards of South Carolina, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House, pointed this out and cited the case of Texas. He observed that Eire appeared to claim the right of self-determination for herself, but to deny it to others.

'In international law, if any outsider were to vote on the status of Northern Ireland it should be the people of Britain, for since the Norman Conquest of Ireland the whole of that island, till the cessation of the Southern twenty six counties, had been recognised by the Comity of Nations as under English sovereignty. And, from Pitt's Act of Union in 1800 down to the Anglo-Irish Treaty, the whole of Ireland had been a partner in the United Kingdom, electing representatives to the Union Parliament and participating in legislation. Since Northern Ireland refused to secede, her status remained unchanged; it should be remembered.

'Southern Ireland had co-operated in the United Kingdom longer than the American Union had existed when Lincoln made war to prevent the eleven southern States from seceding.

'The Fogarty Resolution lacked merit and was properly defeated. There was, however, the disturbing circumstance that one hundred and thirty-seven American Congressmen voted for it. This would appear to be the measure of the efficacy at that time of the Separatist Irish propaganda, for it is not in the record that American Congressmen habitually 'sell their friends and allies down the river'. If it had been, we should have no allies and deserve no friends. Furthermore, in betraying our friends we would have betrayed American interests, for a vote for the Fogarty resolution was a vote to surrender the use of the Irish bases so vital in World War Two.

'The motive inspiring the Irish Separatists in this adventure is no secret to those familiar with the political scene in Eire during the war years. It was to divert attention at home from the fact that they had backed the wrong horse, and in the allied countries to hide the price that Eire's neutrality had cost these in lives and treasure. The accumulating evidence supports the view that, even before the fall of France in 1940, de Valera believed that Hitler would win the war, and that in payment for keeping the allies out of the Eire ports he would obtain Northern Ireland on his own terms. This would have enabled him to invoke his formula of 'exchange of populations', expel 800,000 Ulstermen, and invite in an equal number of 'Exiles'.

'When it became clear that he had backed the loser he needed justification, and it was then that he concentrated on building up the so-called 'crime of Partition' as a grievance and excuse. He advanced the proposition that he could not in conscience help the allies while this 'crime' lasted, while Britain 'prevented the North from joining Eire'. The truth is that Britain never prevented Ulster from joining Eire. The truth is that on repeated occasions Northern Ireland by a two to one majority has voted to maintain her status as an integral portion of the United Kingdom.

'In that war Northern Ireland, its importance was appraised by General Eisenhower himself in a speech in Belfast in 1945. He said: 'It was here in Northern Ireland that the American Army first began to concentrate for our share in the attack upon the citadel of a continental Europe. From here started the long, hard march to Allied victory. Without Northern Ireland I do not see how the American Forces could have been concentrated to begin the invasion of Europe. If Ulster had not been a definite, co-operative part of the British Empire and had not been available for our use, I do not see how the build-up could have been carried out in England.'

Let us carry the scene forward until today.

The IRA has determined that the wishes of the majority should be thwarted and that by bullet and by the bomb they will force the people of Northern Ireland under Dublin rule.

My community has borne the brunt and brutality of a twenty five year terrorist campaign by a small minority of fanatics who have no significant political support but who through terrorism have achieved status and power from the barrel of a gun. John Hume in 1989 at his party conference indicated the amount of suffering those fanatics in the IRA and Sinn Fein have inflicted on the community in Northern Ireland. He said that in the current troubles, **Check against delivery.**

*"Thirty-one percent of those killed were members of the security forces. Fourteen percent were members of paramilitary organisations. Fifty-five percent were ordinary civilian men and women from both sections of our community, sixty-nine percent of whom were from the Catholic community and thirty-one percent from Protestant community. And who killed all these people?"*

*"The statistics are devastating. Forty-four percent were killed by the Provisional IRA and eighteen percent by their fellow-travelling republican paramilitaries. Twenty-seven percent were killed by loyalists. Ten percent were killed by the British army. Two percent were killed by the RUC and 0.28 percent by the UDR. In short people describing themselves as Irish Republicans have killed six times as many human beings as the British army, thirty times as many as the RUC and two hundred and fifty times as many as the UDR."*

Today John Hume is on a different tack. He has entered into a political agreement with IRA Sinn Fein and wants the two governments to enter into talks with Sinn Fein. It is all to be done in the name of clarification.

We have seen the total folly of the so-called peace initiative. We are reminded of the words of the Old Testament Prophet, "peace, peace when there is no peace".

What is the so-called peace record? Since the signing of the Downing Street Declaration on 15th December, 1993 there have been over 200 terrorist incidents in Northern Ireland. There have been over 80 shootings, almost 90 bombings and 80 incendiary explosions. In the period since the signing of the Declaration and today, nine people have been killed by terrorists including two police officers and a soldier.

That is the reality of what is happening in Northern Ireland. It is not a "peace process". It is a phoney process in which the terrorists continue with their carnage and blood-letting while the British government and the Dublin government are seen to be bending over backwards in an attempt to buy them off with concession after concession.

Since the end of the so-called cease fire the number of attacks and bombings by the IRA are as follows. On the evening of 8th April a bomb attack was launched at Oldpark RUC Station. That same evening the IRA fired shots at soldiers and police officers in Newtownbutler, on the border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. The shots were fired from within the Irish Republic. In the early hours of 9th April a house in Twinbrook, Belfast was attacked by grenades thrown by the IRA. Later that same morning there was an attempted murder on soldiers and police officers at a road check-point in the village of Aughnacloy. On Sunday, 10th April a proxy-bomb attack on Woodvale RUC Station was attempted by the IRA. At 4.00am yesterday morning an incendiary attack on business premises in Strabane was made by the IRA causing thousands of pounds worth of damage. An attempted bombing in Scotch Street, Armagh was also made on Sunday and too were two gun attacks by other terrorist groups on the Falls Road and Merion Park in Belfast.

We were told it would be peace in a week. Then peace before Christmas. Christmas came but no peace. Then peace before Easter. No peace. Then peace in hours. But no peace. Then peace during a ceasefire. Even when we had that so-called cease fire for 72 hours the IRA were planning their attacks. Before the ceasefire ended a house was taken over and its occupants terrorised in order that the IRA, a few minutes after the ending of the ceasefire, could attack a police station. Last evening eleven people were injured in sporadic bomb attacks by terrorist groups in Belfast.

The majority of the people in Northern Ireland have a vested interest in peace. The IRA poses as the only real force for peace and that they are being hampered in their pursuit of that peace. How hypocritical this is as they go on with their killing. All the IRA have to do is stop. They of course have no intention of stopping until we the Unionists have been sold or surrendered.

Ulster may be sold by John Major but it will never surrender to the IRA or Dublin.

The people of Northern Ireland say to Dublin, remove your Berlin Wall which you have built in Articles 2 & 3 of your Constitution which claims jurisdiction over us. Then a good neighbourly relationship can be constructed with no part of Ireland claiming jurisdiction over another part or seeking to destroy the stability of the other part.

Rather than wait for Dublin to act we have proposed that the political logjam within Northern Ireland be addressed by the election of a Northern Ireland Assembly which would be given the task of putting forward proposals for the better government of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom. This would bring the Union alive. It would clear the air on this central issue and leave Dublin in no doubt about Ulster's sovereignty. The British government must demand the retraction of the Republic's territorial claim over Northern Ireland.

Constitutional certainty would contribute in various beneficial ways to improving how Northern Ireland is governed. It would strengthen Northern Ireland's place in the kingdom and simultaneously destroy the resolve of those terrorists who have sought to break the Union. We contend it would further contribute to the stability of the Union.

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The government has a duty to present a solution which will work. The Downing Street Declaration will not work. It will not bring peace. The British government's capitulation to Dublin and the IRA has shown the government is in the business of surrender and betrayal. The government must move away from the present approach which is based upon vague and conflicting and indefinite promises. The government must govern Northern Ireland in accordance with the democratically expressed wishes of the people of Northern Ireland.