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**Reference Code:** 2021/96/22

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23 march 1994

To Pat Hennessey, Anglo Irish

From C Wrafter, London

Copy to Joint Secretary, and B McMahon, Press.

DUP DOCUMENT.

You may wish to see the attached document prepared by the DUP for submission to the Prime Minister and which was the subject of Frank Millar's report in the Irish Times on 22 March.

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The so-called "peace process" which the British Government is engaged in with the Dublin Government is nothing more than a sham and a deceit. Your overtures to IRA/Sinn Fein have continued while Northern Ireland has been savaged by terrorism. Since the signing of the Downing Street Declaration on 15th December, 1993 there have been over 200 terrorist incidents in Northern Ireland. In the three month period from 15th December to 16th March there were 75 shootings, 74 bombings and 70 incendiary explosions. In that period 9 people have been killed by terrorists including 2 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 your Government and the Dublin Government are seen to be bending over backwards in an attempt to buy them off with concession after concession.

As you know, the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party was not involved in the process which led to the formulation of the Downing Street Declaration. Nor was this Party consulted at any time about the contents of the Declaration.

In the run-up to 15th December we warned you about the dangers of maintaining and strengthening Dublin's say in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland. On 9th November last year we presented to you our proposals entitled "Breaking The Logjam". This offered an alternative, democratic route down which the British Government could travel which would give the representatives of the Ulster people alone the opportunity to work out the sort of institutions which should be created for the good government of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom. It would then allow those representatives, once institutions in Northern Ireland were in place, to determine Ulster's relationship with the Irish Republic on matters of mutual interest based on the Irish Republic having first removed its illegal, immoral and criminal claim over the territory of the Province, contained inter alia in Articles 2 and 3 of its Constitution. At our meeting you indicated that you were not rejecting our proposals but that you had a quicker way with the process which you had begun with the Dublin Government. That process, which seeks to build upon the Anglo Irish Agreement of 1985, resulted in the Downing Street Declaration. That Declaration, about which the Ulster people were never consulted nor asked for their consent just like the Anglo Irish Agreement itself, constituted

- an offer to bring Sinn Fein/IRA to the negotiating table;
- a new departure point for the process of greater Dublin involvement in Northern Ireland;
- and an abandonment by Her Majesty's Government of the principle that the people of Northern Ireland alone have the right to decide their own constitutional future.

The record of this Government towards Sinn Féin/IRA has been contemptible, disgraceful and a betrayal of all those gallant men and women who down through the years have paid the ultimate sacrifice in the battle against the IRA. The confirmation on 29th November that for many months and years your Government had been in a process of contacts with the IRA (in some cases just days after an IRA atrocity) caused total revulsion and disgust in the Province and right across the United Kingdom. The revelations, coming as they did just a short time after you yourself had said in the House of Commons that the thought of negotiating with Sinn Féin/IRA turned your stomach, confirmed for the vast majority of the people in Northern Ireland the utter duplicity of British Government policy towards the Province. The Downing Street Declaration is clearly a document addressed to the IRA and Sinn Féin. It is a document which has its origins in the Hume-Adams process and which accordingly has upon it the bloody thumb-print of the IRA. This has been borne out by Mr. Reynolds who confirmed that the statement on self-determination "by the people of the island of Ireland alone" is virtually taken from the Hume-Adams document. SDLP politicians have confirmed that there is "scarcely a whisker of difference" between the Downing Street Declaration and the Hume-Adams document. In Washington last week Mr. Reynolds said that through his dialogue with Gerry Adams, John Hume had a huge input into the Joint Declaration and that there would be no Joint Declaration without him. Your offer of a place to Sinn Féin at the negotiating table within three months even before the IRA has surrendered a single gun or a single pound of Semtex disgusts all right thinking people. As we predicted IRA/Sinn Féin have exploited the offer to them to the full and are revelling in the media spotlight which comes as a direct result of the British Government's bid to them. The sickening spectacle of watching IRA/Sinn Féin elevated to a position of media respectability and given centre stage is sickening for the people of Northern Ireland. The IRA continues with its violence while pocketing the concessions offered to them in the Anglo-Irish Declaration and those that have flowed to them since. These include the lifting of the broadcasting ban in the Irish Republic, the granting of a visa to Gerry Adams to enter the United States, and the holding out of the prospect of early releases for IRA prisoners. Sinn Féin talks of "peace" while their blood-brothers in the IRA practise murder. The appeasement of the IRA which is the essence of the Downing Street Declaration has, as with all instances of appeasement in history, led to demands for more and more concessions. The Downing Street Declaration is a down-payment to the terrorists designed to buy-off their acquiescence and reward them with a say in shaping the political future of Northern Ireland. That is not the way to peace. It is the road to surrender. Having scented a Government prepared to cut deals and negotiate secretly behind the backs of the people of Northern Ireland, IRA/Sinn Féin have turned up the heat in order to wring out more concessions. The IRA's appetite for concessions is insatiable. Only victory or defeat will end their bloody campaign. Once again we urge you to adopt a pro-active security policy designed to win the war against the IRA and all terrorism. We urge you to take on board the list of suggestions which we have made on numerous occasions which would greatly assist the security forces in their battle to defeat the IRA.

As far as self-determination is concerned we do not accept your definition of self-determination as contained in the Downing Street Declaration. The Declaration states in paragraph 4 *The British Government agrees that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish*. The Declaration attempts to take away from the people of Northern Ireland what is rightfully theirs, namely, their right to decide alone their own constitutional future. Certainly Gerry Adams recognises the immense significance of paragraph 4 of the Downing Street Declaration. On 3rd January he declared "The joint Declaration does contain for the first time a recognition by the British, though heavily qualified, that the Irish people as a whole have the right to self-determination. This right has never been acknowledged before by the British and this is a potentially significant development and an indication of the strength of this democratic argument." Taken together with the declaration by the British Government that it has no "selfish, strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland," it is not hard to see why commentators have declared the Declaration to be a watershed in the relationship between Northern Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom. The fact is that the only people who can decide the future of Northern Ireland are the people of Northern Ireland alone. Any attempt to subvert the will of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland to define their own constitutional status and the means by which they should be governed is undemocratic and unconstitutional.

The people of Ulster know that the Declaration is not the end of the surrender. It is part of a process which has as its ultimate aim the detachment of Northern Ireland from the rest of the United Kingdom. The gradual erosion of British sovereignty in Ulster and the increasing influence and determining role of the Dublin Government in the internal affairs of the Province is plain for all to see and is the main contributor to instability, violence and tension. We recognise, even if others do not, that the Declaration is not dead and its survival is not dependant on a formal response by Sinn Fein to the Declaration's overtures. We are under no illusion about the intentions of either the British or Dublin Governments when they state that the Joint Declaration is to be the "foundation" of the political process and the "anchor" of the three-stranded Talks process. We recognise, Prime Minister, your comments in the 'Sunday Times' of 6th February, 1994 that the Declaration "Was not just a peace offer slapped on the table and left there for a few weeks. It is a foundation stone upon which we will build upon for as long as it takes to remove the violence. It is the beginning of a wholly new approach to Northern Ireland." We have alerted the people of Northern Ireland to the fact that the concessions contained in the Declaration are in its own words "the starting point ... designed to culminate in a political settlement". And that it refers to "agreement over a period" and "through a process".

It is clear from the daily outpourings of the dictator Reynolds that the people of Northern Ireland are to have no say, nor are they to be even consulted, about any arrangements for their own governance, short of the actual legal act of severance of the Union. On 10th January in an

address to the Irish Association Reynolds declared "It is important to note that the requirement for the consent of a majority is related by the Declaration to the constitutional issue. It does not mean that all forms of political progress or other decisions by the two governments are subject to a similar block." And in an interview with the Irish News on 14th March Reynolds reiterated that position stating that Unionists had lost their veto over policy between London and Dublin but that they had a veto when it came to constitutional change in Ireland. He stated that this was a very clear distinction in his view. You must understand Prime Minister the very great resentment, anger and frustration felt by the majority of the people of Northern Ireland at the daily utterances from Reynolds and his continual pronouncements about the future of the Province. Your Government has left the field completely open to the Dublin Government to take the Initiative in formulating policy towards Northern Ireland. The joint authority which we have de facto in Northern Ireland between Dublin and London has never been more explicit or evident than in recent months since the signing of the Declaration. Dublin interference is such now that the British Government cannot and will not take any Initiative except in partnership with, and with the agreement of, the Dublin Government. The Dublin Government even has the arrogance to interfere with the work of the Boundary Commission in Northern Ireland which is drawing up new boundaries for Parliamentary constituencies. Dublin is setting the agenda and the British Government is meekly trotting along behind. Reynolds struts across America telling the world how Northern Ireland's future is to be settled. In speeches and interviews he pours out his diatribe of anti-Ulster rhetoric while seeking to clarify and elaborate on the Downing Street Declaration for the benefit of the IRA/Sinn Fein men of violence. At the same time the IRA continue to find a safe haven in the Irish Republic and the Irish Courts continue to set loose people wanted for murder in the United Kingdom. Even their much vaunted reform of extradition law will not guarantee that in future in similar circumstances to those we witnessed in recent days that IRA fugitives will be extradited to the United Kingdom. The reality is that the British Government has surrendered the initiative on Northern Ireland to Dublin and the IRA.

As far as the present talks process is concerned it seems to us that there is a clear case of double standards being operated by the British Government in relation to its dealings with the parties in Northern Ireland. Since the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party was not prepared to participate in the three-stranded Talks process for the reasons that we have already given to you we were excluded from seeing a copy of the paper prepared by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland on Northern Ireland's political future. The other parties, including the Official Unionist Party, received a copy of this document. Since the Official Unionist Party has now declared that it is not taking part in the three-stranded Talks process, on what basis is the UDUP still excluded from having sight of the Secretary of State's paper? You will know that we expressed outrage at the fact that the Dublin Government was sent a copy of the Secretary of State's proposals. It seems that the position now is that the Dublin Government is included while the UDUP is excluded even though these are proposals for the internal government of Northern Ireland. The British Government must end the double standards and apply consistency across the board.

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The British Government's record of dealing with Northern Ireland has been one of double-dealing, hypocrisy and lies. The people of Ulster have been denied any right of consultation on their own future, and the right to give or withhold their consent as to the way in which they are to be governed. You have proceeded down a path of confrontation with the Ulster people. You have preferred the embrace of Ulster's traditional enemies. The feeling of alienation, frustration and anger in the Unionist community that we warned you about in our previous meetings have been exacerbated and intensified by your actions. Democracy has been thrown out of the window in Northern Ireland. It has been replaced by dictatorship from Dublin. You must decide whether you are going to listen to the democratically expressed wishes of the people of Northern Ireland or whether you are going to continue to bow to the IRA and to the Dublin Government. Unlike the British Government this Party is prepared to submit itself to the Ulster electorate. We will seek a mandate from the people of Northern Ireland as to the future they want for the Province. In a democracy where there is a proper relationship between government and the people, the will of the people reigns supreme. In Northern Ireland the relationship between the government and the people has been perverted and broken by the government's wilful disregard of the people's wishes. After the signing of the Declaration on 15th December, 1993 I challenged the Government to hold a referendum of the people of Northern Ireland alone so that they could exercise their right of self-determination and consent on the issue of their rejection of Dublin rule and support for the Union. In Hillsborough Castle on 22nd December I asked you to use the Border Poll legislation to have a referendum in Northern Ireland, you rejected that with the other Northern Ireland leaders and stated that this would not ask the right question. That statement revealed more about your true intentions and the real import of the Declaration than any other words could. Since you continue in your steadfast denial of a democratic test of the Ulster people we will use the opportunity which has been given to us in the forthcoming election to allow the people of Northern Ireland to express their view on the Declaration and on the all-Ireland process which flows from, and builds upon, that Declaration. Continual ignoring of the wishes of the people of Northern Ireland is the road to disaster and destruction. You must give a guarantee that the democratic will of the Ulster people is not going to be ignored once again and that in the aftermath of that election you will be prepared to sit down with those who have a mandate from the Ulster people and negotiate the restoration of democracy in Northern Ireland in keeping with the desires of the people as expressed in that election.