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TO:

Mr J. Daniell
SIL NIO(L)

FROM:

Mr J. Stephens
no/340 (A.)

SUBJECT:

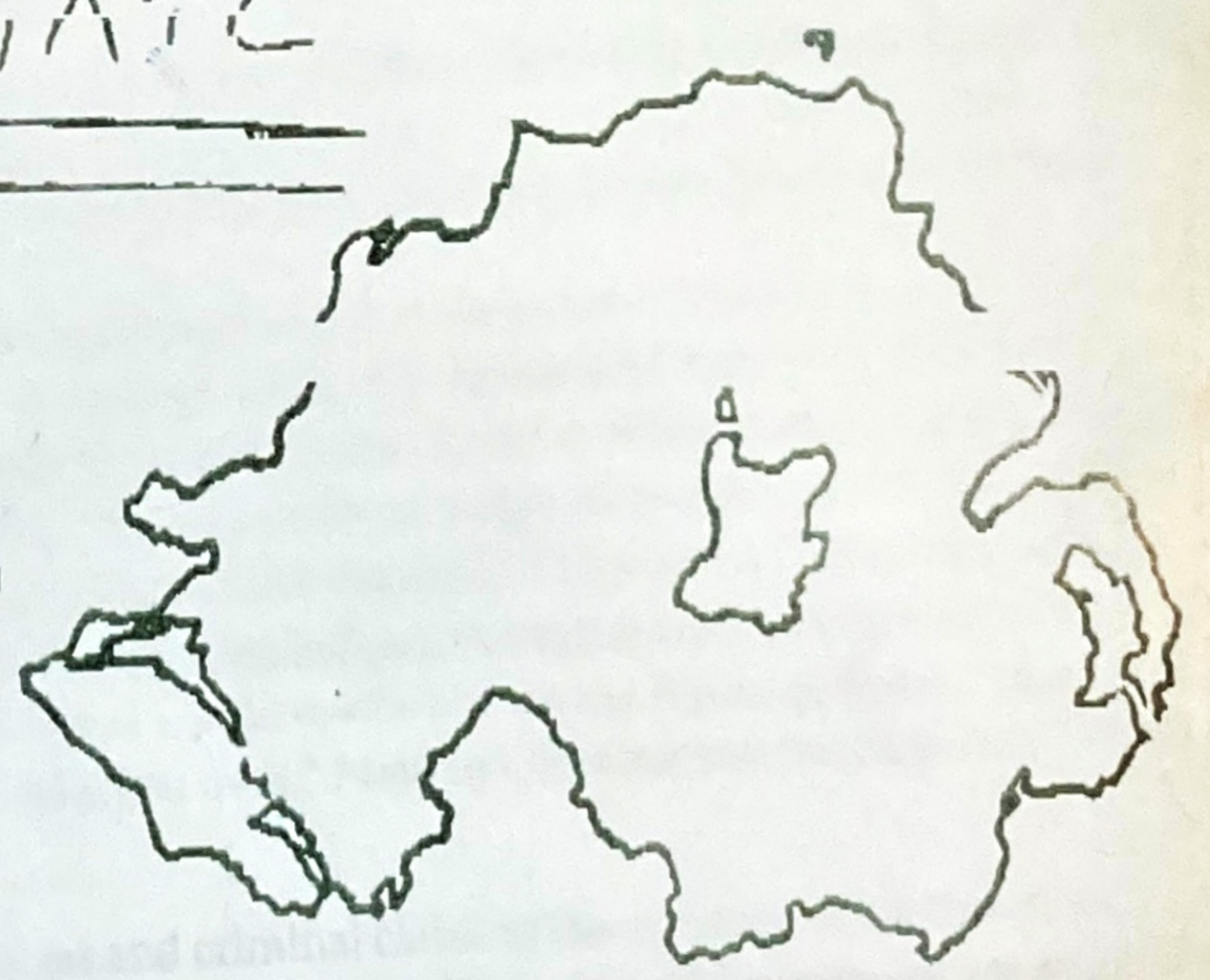
1. cc Mr Beeton
2. Books to me
yes
23/12

INSTRUCTIONS:

DESK IMMEDIATE



NUMBER OF PAGES
TO FOLLOW: 4





FAX

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

- cc PS/SOPS (L)
- PS/Michael Ancram (L+B)
- PS/PUS (L+B)
- PS/Mc Fell
- Mr Thomas
- Mr Bell
- Mr Watkins
- Mr Williams
- Mr Brooker
- * Mr Daniell
- Mr ...

Rt Hon. John Major MP
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom
Hillsborough Castle,
Hillsborough,
Co. Down.

22 December, 1993

TO THE PRIME MINISTER,

You have betrayed the loyal people of Ulster.

* Reply please, also covering para 9 of JD as discussed, by 14.00 today for forwarding to No 10.

Your Anglo/Irish Declaration is a bribe to the IRA and a sell-out to Dublin. Your propaganda visit to Ulster today cannot hide the fact, as stated in 'The Times' (21.12.93) that you do "not appear to regard [the Union] as a cornerstone of British national identity or of the Conservative tradition. Should the majority in Northern Ireland want to leave the United Kingdom [you] will happily facilitate reunification ... an article of faith has become a clear matter of private conscience ... NO nation should tamper carelessly with its deepest roots. In its challenge to old ideas of Britishness, Mr. Major's initiative has implications far beyond the steeples of Fermanagh and Tyrone ..."

The traditional unionist position is simply put. Northern Ireland is an integral part of the United Kingdom like any other part of the Kingdom. Dublin can have no say in its internal affairs. The people of Northern Ireland alone have the right of self-determination. There will be no surrender to the IRA gunmen.

It is self-evident that these traditional principles have been breached by the Declaration.

Firstly, the Declaration is addressed to the IRA, and its purpose is to bring IRA/Sinn Fein to the Conference Table and elevate them to equal position with the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland. You have insulted the memory of our honoured dead by your plan to bring IRA/Sinn Fein to the table with their guns still in their blood-stained hands.

Secondly, you have repudiated the right of the people of Northern Ireland alone to determine their own future. Instead, you have agreed with Dublin that "it is for the people 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." There can be no single referendum ever again on the future of Northern Ireland without it being held concurrently with the Irish Republic. What would Gibraltar say if you declared, "You can never have a referendum to decide your future outside Spain except Spain has one too. You must run in tandem with the country dedicated to take you over". What would the Falklands say if you declared, "You must run in tandem henceforth with the country which wants to take you over." Neither Gibraltar nor the Falklands would tolerate such a move.

What is more, the crucial question of Dublin's immoral, illegal and criminal claim to the territory of Northern Ireland is not even mentioned. It would not do to draw the world's attention to that claim. You agreed any reference to it should be jettisoned.

Thirdly, in the former Talks Process Dublin was rightly excluded from Strand One since this dealt with Ulster's internal affairs.

However, this has now changed.

Paragraph 9 of the Declaration states:

"The British and Irish Governments will seek, along with the Northern Ireland constitutional parties through a process of political dialogue, to create institutions and structures which, while respecting the diversity of the people of Ireland, would enable them to work together in all areas of common interest. This will help over a period to build the trust necessary to end past divisions, leading to an agreed and peaceful future. Such structures would, of course, include institutional recognition of the special links that exist between the peoples of Britain and Ireland as part of the totality of relationships, while taking account of newly forged links with the rest of Europe."

Any structures of government for Northern Ireland can only be set up in an all-Ireland context and with Dublin's approval.

Fourthly, you have agreed on behalf of the British Government "that they have no selfish, strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland." You have made it clear that Northern Ireland is not an integral part of the United Kingdom like Scotland or Wales. You have given the Prime Minister of a hostile foreign government, which claims our territory, joint jurisdiction over part of Her Majesty's Kingdom.

It is now clear that Gerry Adams and Sinn Fein/IRA are in the driving seat. They, together with Dublin and the SDLP, are prevailing and are seen to be prevailing.

The exposure of your lies about secret communications with the IRA has destroyed your credibility with the people of Northern Ireland. At our meeting in Downing Street you asked me whether the Ulster people would trust you. I said they hadn't found you out yet but that if they did they would never trust you again.

I have no doubt that, as in previous crises, you will find time-servers in Unionist ranks who, in order to enjoy the scraps of patronage, will take the Iscariot blood-money. Ulster has learned to its cost the truth of what Lord Carson, the founding father of Northern Ireland, put on the record. "the Conservatives never yet took up a cause without betraying it in the end."

Ulster will fight back and Ulster will come back!

Ian R. K. Paisley

IAN R. K. PAISLEY MP, MEP
Leader, Ulster Democratic Unionist Party

ULSTER DEMOCRATIC UNIONIST PARTY

Councillor Sammy Wilson

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cc to/outs (-1-2)
PS/Michael Ancram(LTB)
PS/PUS(LTB)
PS/PA Call
Mr Thomas
Mr Bell
Mr Watkins
Mr Williams
Mr Brooker
* Mr Daniell
Mr Maccabe

Brief reply
please, for
forwarding to
No 10, by 14.00
today.

JAS.
23/12

The Rt Hon John Major MP
The Prime Minister
Downing Street
London.

22 DECEMBER 1993.

Dear Prime Minister,

It is my duty as a local representative to inform you of the grave disquiet and anger felt by unionists at the Joint Declaration which you have signed with Dublin. From statements made by yourself and Albert Keynolds it is clear that this declaration was addressed to the IRA and uses the language and contains responses to demands which the terrorists had made in its negotiations with John Hume and your own representatives. As such it is hardly surprising that the declaration should be damaging to the union.

Despite the gloss which both yourself and the officials from the NIO have put on this document you cannot escape from the clear statements contained in it namely ;

1 That your government has no selfish strategic or economic interest in N.I. This makes N.I. the only part of the UK to which your government adopts this stance.

2. The role of the British government will be to ENCOURAGE, FACILITATE, and ENABLE agreement among the people on this island and that such an agreement may as of right take the form of agreed structures for the island as a whole, including a united Ireland. Put quite bluntly this puts the British government into the IRA's role as a persuader of unionists.

3. The British government agrees it is for the PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND OF IRELAND ALONE to exercise their right of self determination. Regardless of whatever qualifications you may have included along with this principle it is clear that you have accepted a gerry mander which will be used a valuable propaganda weapon by Nationalists at the very least.

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4. The British government now agrees that the IRA can have a place at the conference table within twelve weeks of declaring a ceasefire. There is no requirement to surrender weapons and therefore they would still have the capability to return to terrorism if they did not achieve their demands.

Despite your assurances that this is a take it or leave it document paragraph one clearly states that it 'provides a starting point'. Already we have seen that both Dublin and the IRA see it as leading to an amnesty or whatever other term is used to explain the release of terrorist murderers. You have accepted a dangerous document which enables the IRA to come back looking for more and everytime you try to refuse you will be cast in the role of someone who is opposed to peace.

The DUP will not accept the assurances given on this document by Dublin. Your predecessor found that Dublin's word was not its bond when she signed the Anglo/Irish agreement. You will find out the same.

Similarly your assurances about the union not being weakened are viewed against the background of your assurances about not talking with the IRA whilst your government was authorising talks with the terrorists.

THE TALKS PROCESS: RENEWING THE DIALOGUE WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT

The people of N/Ireland have played their full part in the United Kingdom. We have sacrificed in time of war. We have remained loyal in difficult times and we deserve better than to be betrayed, to those who have waged war against us for twenty five years.

Instead of weakening the union your government should be working to strengthen the union giving N.Ireland the same rights as every other part of the UK. That is one constitutional change which would damage the IRA irreparably

Framework Document. I suggested that we should think in terms of a
Yours sincerely the Liaison Group in the New Year, though perhaps he and I might meet on our own first to set the scene. He owes me a response.

Sammy Wilson

Regardless of that, I think there is much to be said for the Secretary of State beginning the New Year by writing to Mr Spring to Councilior Sammy Wilson (Leader of the DUP group in Belfast City Council) State may want to emphasise to Mr Spring that the two Governments should

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