

AncU

Abraham Lincoln warned the American people never to **forget** the lessons of history. It has been the curse of English politicians never to have **learned** the lessons of Irish history. History is **repeating** itself in Northern Ireland, not only in the IRA's (now suspended) campaign of murder against Ulster Protestants and its own law-abiding co-religionists, but also in the banditry of the Irish Republic's illegal claims to sovereignty and jurisdiction over this ancient British Province. The Ulster Democratic Unionist Party's analysis of these events is **vindicated** by history. The Bible teaches that God **directs** history and overrules the evils of wicked men in the world for the ultimate good of His people. In the sure knowledge of these facts, the people of God can act together to **overcome** the evils of their generation.

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"The nation that forgets its own history commits suicide."

- Ian R. K. Paisley

Understanding events in Northern Ireland

An introduction for Americans

by

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1. General Historical Background

Britain's official name is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Prior to 1920 it was the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Northern Ireland remained within the United Kingdom when the rest of the island of Ireland seceded to become the Irish Free State, now the Irish Republic. Northern Ireland (or Ulster as it is commonly called) represents the continuation of an old political entity with ancient historical links with the British mainland. It continues to elect Members to the National Parliament at Westminster in the same way as do England, Wales and Scotland, the other constituent parts of the United Kingdom.

Ulster-Scots, not the Irish, the original inhabitants and rightful owners of Ulster

The name "Ulster" is derived from the ancient tribe of the Uliti who inhabited the north-eastern part of the island of Ireland in the early centuries of the Christian era. The Uliti, a British people, were first recorded by the geographer Ptolemy on the earliest known map of the British Isles made in the second century A.D. The map records that other British tribes such as the Pretani, from which the term "Briton" is derived, formed the bulk of the population of both Ulster and Northern Britain (hence the "British Isles" in these ancient times).

History proves that the Uliti, a Celtic people known in modern English as the Scots, inhabited Ulster prior to the arrival of the Irish in the north-east of the island, indeed on the island as a whole. The Gaels (Irish) did not arrive until the third century A.D., when they invaded Ulster from the Midland Kingdom of Meath. Thus the Irish Gaels were, so to speak, the cowboys, and the Ulster Scots the Indians. The name "Gael", which is derived from the old British "Guidel" (modern Welsh "Gwyddel"), means "raider" or "bandit", a reputation which the Irish have well and truly retained until the present day. Their invasion of the territory of the original inhabitants of Ulster thus made them the colonisers, the usurpers of the land of the Ulster-Scots, and caused population movements amongst the latter. The Ulster-Scots

overran and settled the northern third of the British mainland, thereby giving their name to Scotland, which lay only thirteen miles away across the North Channel.

There was always considerable coming and going between Scotland and nearby Ulster, for the narrow sea served as a bridge rather than a barrier, but after the Norman Conquest, Anglo-Norman influence had a profound effect on the language and culture of the Scots who had emigrated from Ulster to Scotland, just as the Reformation had on their religion.

St. Patrick wasn't Irish at all

In the same context, any good encyclopaedia or history book will unmask the historical falsehoods promulgated by Irish Nationalists and the Roman Catholic Church concerning the figure of Patrick, the so-called "Patron Saint of Ireland". Patrick was not Irish at all, but British. He was born about the year 389 A.D. of a middle-class landed proprietor in the area of the Severn where the present-day Counties of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire lie. His *Confession*, contained in the *Book of Armagh* (About 807 A.D.) reveals that when about sixteen he was in fact abducted by a band of Irish marauders, brought to Ireland and kept in captivity and virtual slavery among these heathen people for six years. After escaping to Gaul, he returned to Ireland and landed in Wicklow but immediately proceeded to the Kingdom of Ulidia (east Ulster), so that his work became more closely associated with the north of Ireland than with the south. His *Confession* is accurately reflected in the biographical memoir of Tirechan (also contained in the *Book of Armagh*), but it exposes the mythical fantasy of the biography by Muirchu (late 7th century) surrounding the Irish period in Patrick's life. Although he is called the "Apostle of Ireland", Christianity had been known in Ireland for at least two hundred years before he landed on its shores. The ancient unadulterated Christian faith of the Island's inhabitants - that which replaced heathenism - spread and flourished through Patrick's ministry and gained for the Island the reputation of being the "Land of Saints and Scholars"; but this faith was entirely different from that which Rome now holds. Indeed, a book ascribed even by Romanists to Patrick, *De Tribus Habitaculis*, makes no reference whatsoever to false doctrines such as purgatory. In fact, the remnants of the pure and primitive Christianity of Ireland survived until the reign of Henry II of England (1154-89). It was only then that the Pope made a grant of Ireland to the Anglo-Norman sovereign - not as territory already under the Papal See, but as one on which no solicitation on the part of Rome could hitherto force subjection to the Pope. In 1152, seven hundred years after Patrick, four Archbishops (Armagh, Cashel, Tuam and Dublin) received the pallium to wear, signifying for the first time their submission to the See of Rome. In 1155 Pope Adrian IV gave King Henry II of England permission to conquer Ireland "for the enlarging of the bounds of the [Roman] Church". The Pope made it a condition that an annual fee would be paid by every household in Ireland "for St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church". At that time the foreign religion of Roman Catholicism spiritually invaded Ireland and

subsequently held undisturbed rule in the greater part of Ireland for almost 800 years, impoverishing the Island's inhabitants and binding them to its ever-increasing yoke of subjugation, superstition and false doctrine.

Those who falsely label Protestantism as the invader imposed from England would do well to remember that the Reformation was a return to the Christianity of Patrick's time and that it was, in fact, the English, under Henry II, who brought Ireland under the authority of Rome. The decision of the Synod of Cashel in 1172 to submit all matters pertaining to religion thenceforth to regulation by the Church of England - then under the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome - proves that ancient Celtic Ireland was never Papal and never inclined to submit itself to the Papacy. It needed Henry II and the English to rivet the yoke of Rome upon Ireland. The Report of the United Protestant Congress of 1922 (p. 102) puts the paradox succinctly: "It was a Pope who first robbed Ireland of her independence, and [...] an English invader who was the first to establish in Ireland the supremacy of Rome." Archbishop Plunkett wrote:

In the twelfth century Romish England planted popery in Ireland. The upas tree was an exotic unknown in the country; the soil was prepared by treachery; and the instrument of the actual transplanting was the sword. [...] When, in the sixteenth century, the dark cloud of Romanism was rolled off the shores of England, [...] no prayerful pains were taken to carry on its course over the sister island. [...] Laws were made to anglicise the Irish, instead of efforts to Christianise them. [...] The means employed consisted of Acts of Parliament, and not the Book of God. [Quoted in A. Dallas: The Story of the Irish Church Missions. London, 1867, p. 2.]

The facts of history thus prove that Patrick was not sent to Ireland by the Pope to "Christianise" the Irish at all, but, on the contrary, that the Pope sent his emissaries to "de-Christianise" them.

The "Plantation"

The Celtic peoples who remained in Ulster strongly resisted all English influence, and waged fierce war against the soldiers of Queen Elizabeth I. Eventually, however, they were defeated, and the Celtic leaders fled, leaving the way open for James I (James IV of Scotland) to introduce, in the second decade of the seventeenth century, large numbers of Scottish and English settlers, mostly Protestants, on the lands which the defeated chiefs had forfeited. These settlers, especially the Ulster-Scots, were thus returning to the land of their ancestors and could not by any stretch of the historical imagination be regarded as invaders. They were frugal and industrious and had much of the frontiersmen independence of mind. Because of strongly held opposing religious convictions, there was very little assimilation be-

tween them and the Irish who had continued to expand their settlement towards the north-east.

Historical fact thus lends far greater justification to the slogan "Irish out of Ulster!" than to the Nationalist campaign to oust the Ulster-Scots ('Scotch-Irish' to Americans) from Northern Ireland. The fact that the Ulster-Scots lived in and ruled the north-eastern part of the island of Ireland prior to the arrival of the Gaelic Irish thus exposes as a historical lie the claims of Dublin and the Roman Catholic hierarchy that the Ulster-Scots were the "invaders". Moreover, these claimants conveniently forget that the Uliti were a British tribe, and that the ancient Greeks referred to the present-day islands of Britain and Ireland as the Isles of the Pretani (British Isles) - Greater and Lesser Britain. Senator Edward Kennedy was one of many prominent Roman Catholic Irish-Americans who some years ago shamefully subscribed to the nationalist falsification of history - and to the principle of ethnic cleansing - by proposing that the Protestants of Ulster who did not want to accept a united Ireland should be repatriated to England or Scotland. To the Kennedys and Clintons who fraternise with Irish Nationalists and Irish Nationalist terrorists, the people of Ulster say: Learn the facts of history: we were here before the Irish; here we will stay, and we will not be ruled by them or submit to their foreign religion or their foreign prince, the Pope of Rome.

The 1641 Massacre of Protestants

In what is now the Republic of Ireland, English influence was largely represented by the Protestant ascendancy, the inhabitants of the "big houses", and while it had a marked and lasting effect, it was "thin on the ground". In the north-east, however, the settlers, of Scottish or English farming stock, had firm roots in the land. They cultivated their small farms, fished, raised cattle, and grew into a distinctive and homogeneous community, British in culture, deeply loyal to the Crown, Protestant in religion, industrious by nature and sturdily independent in outlook.

In 1641 Phelim O'Neill instigated a dreadful massacre of Protestants for no other reason than that they refused to bow the knee to Rome. Through fiendish slaughter, cruelty and torture, Irish Papists sought to exterminate all Protestants and every trace of British culture and influence. Protestants were hacked to death, disembowelled, dismembered, burned and boiled alive, starved, drowned, and frozen naked. O'Neill said of the Protestants: *"You churls [. . .], do you think that if we were rid of the other English we would spare you? No, for we would cut all your throats, for you are all of the one race with them, though we will bear with you for the present."* He paid for his murders on the scaffold, but his words apply to what his terrorist descendants still continue to do today.

This is the real reason why Cromwell was brought to Ireland, and why King William III of Orange later came to deliver the forefathers of today's Protestants. Their legendary qualities were well displayed at Enniskillen, Londonderry and the Battle of

the Boyne in 1690, when the Ulster community became the pivot of the successful struggle of Britain and her European allies against Louis XIV of France to prevent James the Second's restoration in England and the domination of the world by the Roman Catholic French monarchy, which by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had deprived Protestants of their freedom to worship, instigated a reign of terror, burnt every Bible in the Principality of Orange and caused 200,000 Huguenots to flee from France. These had been the very lifeblood of the country, the reckless draining of which elicited from the famous Vauban the well-known memorial in which he deplores the disastrous Protestant emigration, the enormous extraction of Protestant wealth, the annihilation of commerce and manufacturing, the loss of 600 officers, 12,000 soldiers and 9,000 sailors, the flower of the French army and navy, all of whom had gone to swell the armies and navies of foreign foes. The anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne (July 12) has been celebrated in Ulster ever since to remember the abolition of the doctrine of the "divine right" of kings, the founding of Parliamentary government under a Constitutional monarchy, the securing of religious liberty, the passing of the Bill of Rights and the defeat of the persecutors of the Huguenots.

America's Debt to Ulster

During the eighteenth century many Ulster men and women crossed the Atlantic to America. In the colonial days of the United States the Scotch-Irish formed the largest national group after the English settlers and their descendants. They played such a leading part in the War of Independence that Woodrow Wilson, one of eleven great American Presidents of Ulster stock, said that he believed most sincerely that the Scotch-Irish had "made this country". The lifeblood of America's world-renowned integrity and love of freedom stems from her great religious revival which was brought by the Scotch-Irish, as were the qualities which led to America's unparalleled historical rise to greatness within two centuries following its birth. The National Opinion Research Centre at the University of Chicago has produced statistics which demonstrate that 56 per cent of adult modern Americans can trace their origins to Ulster Protestant ancestors. Links between Ulster and the United States and the countries of the British Commonwealth to which Ulstermen have emigrated are very strong.

President Clinton recently propagated the historical fallacy that America is under an infinite debt to the Southern Irish for its foundation as a nation, ignoring the fact they did not arrive until the nineteenth century and that their universal reputation was one of laziness, drunkenness and unreliability: "NINA" - "No Irish need apply" - was the familiar slogan on the job market. Quite a few Hibernophiles are guilty of warping American history in the same way by fabricating the contribution made by early Irish immigrants. Every St. Patrick's day everybody in America seems to want to be Irish. The green beer flows in the pubs, and areas of New York and San Francisco are fenced off to allow revellers to dance in the streets. Who has not heard that

the signatories of the Declaration of Independence were "born in Ireland" and that five more had "Irish parents or grandparents"? Wrong! The five were all of Ulster-Scots (Scotch-Irish) origin. A letter written to the magazine *Instauration* in January, 1982, asserted that during the Revolutionary War the Pennsylvania Line was "so solidly Hibernian [...] that [...] Lee said it should be called the Irish Line". Such nonsense is a blatant distortion of the truth, as is confirmed by the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, where the prominence of the Presbyterian Scotch-Irish in the Pennsylvania Line is confirmed as historical fact. Even George Washington himself paid tribute to these hardy gunslingers at a time when the War of Independence was in the balance: "If defeated everywhere else," he said, "I will stake my last stand for liberty among the Scotch-Irish of my native Virginia." William McKinley, 25th President and himself of Ulster descent, said that the Scotch-Irish were "the first to proclaim for freedom in these United States; even before Lexington the Scotch-Irish blood had been shed for American freedom." In this 1783 speech McKinley was referring to the battle at Alamance River in 1771 in what was to become North Carolina. Another Carolinian event involving Scotch-Irish was the Mecklenburg Resolution of Independence, which helped to precipitate the historic manifesto in Philadelphia in July, 1776.

Five Ulstermen (*not* "Irishmen") signed the Declaration of Independence: Thomas McKean, Edward Rutledge, James Smith, George Taylor and Matthew Thornton. The Secretary of Congress was an Ulsterman, Charles Thompson from Maghera, Co. Londonderry. The Declaration was printed by an Ulsterman, John Dunlap from Strabane, Co. Tyrone, who is also remembered as the founder of America's oldest daily newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

For forty-six years Presidents of direct Scotch-Irish descent occupied the White House. The eleven were: Andrew Jackson (President 1829-1837), James Knox Polk (1845-1849), James Buchanan (1857-1861), Andrew Johnston (1865-1869), Ulysses Simpson Grant (1869-1877), Chester Alan Arthur (1881-1885), Stephen Grover Cleveland (1885-1889 and 1893-1897), Benjamin Harrison (1889-1893), William McKinley (1897-1901), Woodrow Wilson (1912-1921).

In the field of education, too, the Scotch-Irish made their mark. John Knox gave to Scotland a National Church and also a national system of education. That heritage was brought to America by the Scotch-Irish. It has been recorded that ninety per cent of the primitive religious, educational and university work done in America was done by the Scotch-Irish.

The American leaders of the onslaught against historical and political truth are Southern Irish Roman Catholics such as the Kennedys, Tip O'Neill, Patrick Moynihan and William F. Buckley. Like their ancestors, they tell tales of fiction in the ancient Irish tradition. Leprechauns in suits, they are the comrades-at-arms of the gunmen in suits of Sinn Féin, who rant their lying propaganda to a gullible American public of whom the Scotch-Irish migrations of the 1700's are such ancient history that some of the millions of Ulster Americans living today do not even know where Ulster is.

Ulster's vital role in two World Wars

The people of Northern Ireland have amply shown their willingness to accept the responsibilities as well as the advantages of their British citizenship, alike in war and peace, in hard times and in prosperity. They played a decisive role in shaping history during both World Wars. No one dared to tell the thousands of bereaved Ulster families after the Battle of the Somme in 1916 that they were a liability to the nation. That, too, was the very year in which hard pressed British troops had to be diverted to deal with the Dublin Rebellion, which was distantly patronised by the German Government. While Ulstermen were writing golden pages into the military history of the Mother Country, Sinn Féin elements in the South organised and launched the Easter Week Rebellion of 1916, thus inaugurating a long period of civil strife, outrage and bloodshed. Such was the state of turbulence in Ireland when the World War ended in 1918 that no attempt was made to inaugurate the Home Rule Act of 1914. Instead, Mr Lloyd George introduced in 1920 the Government of Ireland Act under which the Parliament of Northern Ireland was established. In the period following World War I, the doctrine of self-determination was widely popular. It was particularly advocated by President Woodrow Wilson, and when the British Government gave a devolved Parliament to Northern Ireland, it was specifically stated in the Westminster Parliament that this was done to provide for "self-determination".

In the subsequent years the gap between North and South widened. Differences in political outlook, affiliations and loyalties increased.

Ulster's loyalty to Britain and the cause of democracy was demonstrated again in 1939. While Southern Ireland maintained an uneasy neutrality and breached the 1938 Ports Agreement and actually *denied* the use of its treaty bases to the Allied Nations, Ulster gave voluntarily of her manpower and resources in the battle against Hitler's Germany. After the fall of France in 1940, the survival of the United Kingdom depended on the maintenance of the Atlantic supply routes, and Ulster's ports and airfields were crucial in ensuring that the convoys got through. It is well known that Southern Ireland became the shelter of enemy submarines until a stern warning of military invasion by Britain and America brought the Dublin Government grudgingly to heel. The silent complicity of the Republic in denying its harbours throughout the six years of conflict cost the free nations heavily in men, ships and cargoes. Throughout World War II, a German Legation remained in Dublin, and attempts were made by Irish Nationalists, with Nazi approval, to damage and disrupt the British and American war effort in Ulster. Secret arms and ammunition dumps were uncovered by the police and their would-be users apprehended. Irish President Mr Eamonn de Valera protested strongly when American troops landed in Northern Ireland to prepare for D-Day in France, when the combined armies of the Allies were commanded by Dwight D. Eisenhower who later became President of the United States. De Valera was also the only head of government in the Empire to convey personally his country's condolences on the death of Hitler.

In 1943 Sir Winston Churchill paid tribute to Ulster's contribution during this critical period in his famous words:

"We were alone and had to face single-banded the full fury of the German Attack, raining down death and destruction on our cities and, still more deadly, seeking to strangle our life by cutting off the entry to our ports of the ships which brought up our food and the weapons we so sorely needed. Only one channel of entry remained open. That channel remained open because loyal Ulster gave us the full use of the Northern Irish ports and waters and thus ensured the free working of the Clyde and the Mersey. But for the loyalty of Northern Ireland and its devotion to what has now become the cause of thirty Governments or nations we should have been confronted with slavery and death, and the light which now shines so strongly throughout the world would have been quenched. The bonds of affection between Great Britain and the people of Northern Ireland have been tempered by fire, and are now, I firmly believe, unbreakable."

Ulster was the bridgehead where American troops first landed in Europe and trained in preparation for the North African campaign and for the invasion of 1944. The first American troops to enter the European theatre were trained in Northern Ireland. Ulster's ports were a decisive factor in the Battle of the Atlantic. Eisenhower later acknowledged the Province's role by saying:

"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."

Belfast, like other British cities, was severely bombed by the Nazis and suffered heavy casualties and much material damage, but in spite of the serious air raid damage the Belfast shipyards contributed ten per cent of the total merchant shipping output of the United Kingdom. Ulster regiments took part in most of the major engagements throughout the war, and Ulstermen were also prominent in other branches of the armed services. A surprising number of soldiers from Ulster families led the way to victory. They included Field-Marshal Alanbrooke (Alan Francis Brooke), Alexander, Montgomery, Auchinleck, Dill and General (later Field-Marshal) Templer.



2. History of the Troubles Since 1920

Because of their deep-rooted differences the two cultural and religious traditions on the island of Ireland finally parted company in 1920. The Unionists - for the most part the men and women of Ulster - wished to remain part of the United Kingdom; and advocates of Home Rule from Dublin (Irish Nationalists) wanted to break away from the United Kingdom. The partition of Ireland was not the clear choice or wish of the British Government but became inevitable when the Sinn Fein forces which dominated the South of Ireland decided to secede from the United Kingdom. Nor was Northern Ireland's present status as part of the United Kingdom imposed upon it by the British Government but arose from the free choice of its inhabitants.

Ulster defeats Home Rule

The Nationalists, in the area where they formed the majority of the population, pressed their claim by armed revolt; at the same time the Ulster Unionists organised themselves under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson (later Lord Carson) to resist by force, if necessary, any application of Dublin Rule to their area. The two major parties of the time, the Conservatives and the Liberals, took sides on the issue, and there resulted some of the most stormy scenes in the history of Parliament. Finally, the British Government, which would have been willing to grant a limited measure of Home Rule to Ireland but for the deadlock between the Unionists and the Nationalists, offered a compromise. They proposed that Ireland should be divided into two governmental areas - one corresponding to the territory of the South in which the Home Rule element predominated; the other to the overwhelmingly Unionist area in the North. It was accepted that complete segregation of groups was impossible as scattered throughout each area was a minority of the opposite group. Each area was to have its own Provincial Parliament, but both would continue to elect representatives to the Parliament at Westminster which would deal with such general matters as defence, customs and excise, income tax, etc. A Council of Ireland was envisaged with equal representation from both Parliaments to consult on matters of mutual interest. The Unionists appointed their representatives to this

Council, but the Nationalists refused to do so and thus proved themselves to be the real intransigent party.

These proposals were incorporated by the British Government in the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. The two legislative areas were called Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland. Northern Ireland consisted of the six Counties where the Unionists held the overall majority, Southern Ireland of the 26 where the advocates of Home Rule predominated. The Ulster Unionists accepted the Act as an arrangement whereby they would continue to be an integral part of the United Kingdom and be independent of the Dublin rule legislature in the South. The Act was not acceptable, however, to the Nationalists, who demanded a complete breakaway from the United Kingdom for the whole island. Consequently, the Southern Parliament failed to materialise. The 1920 Act marked the parting of the ways for the two groups; henceforth each was to take a separate course.

The Northern Ireland Parliament

The Northern Ireland Parliament was established in 1921 as a subordinate Provincial legislature under Westminster, despite the opposition of the advocates of Home Rule, who not only refused to recognise it, but deliberately set out to destroy it. Sir James Craig (later Lord Craigavon), the first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, had to create a new Provincial Government in the face of armed intervention from the South, supported by extreme factions among the Home Rule minority in Northern Ireland. In 1922 alone, 232 people, including a member of the new Parliament, were killed, almost 1,000 more were wounded, and property worth more than £3,000,000 was destroyed. The Northern Ireland Government dealt firmly with the trouble-makers and restored law and order, thereby becoming established both administratively and in the hearts of the people. The idea of a Provincial Parliament and Government, at first accepted reluctantly by Northern Ireland Unionists, proved an excellent arrangement. The successive Unionist Governments of Northern Ireland achieved positive success in many fields in spite of the boycotts and continuous rebellion on the part of Nationalist sections.

The bandit Southern Irish State

Dominion status was granted to the advocates of Home Rule in 1922, and with a Constitution similar to that of Canada they formed the Irish Free State. Dublin Rule applied only to the 26 Counties area for which a Southern Irish Parliament had formerly been proposed.

In the South, the pogrom against Protestants resembled the massacre of 1641. Within three or four years 146,000 Protestants had to flee from the new Republic. Many more were murdered before they could manage to escape. When the Nationalists obtained possession of the 26 Counties in 1921, there were 30 Orange Lodges in the city of Dublin, four District Lodges, a City Grand Lodge, Trinity College Grand Lodge, and seven Preceptories. Within a few months not a single one of them had

survived. The Irish Government commandeered the magnificent Orange Hall in Dublin and used it as a Post Office. Many Protestant churches were closed for want of a congregation; numerous others had to be amalgamated. The 300,000 Protestants living in the Free State in 1921 have by today been reduced to 30,000.

Moreover, the 1921 Treaty provided that a contribution of £8,000,000 was to be paid annually to the British Exchequer in return for the protection of the Irish Free State from foreign invasion. Not one penny of that money was ever paid. Today the sum due would amount to £440,000,000. Add the £140,000,000 that Britain gave as a 'gift' to the Nationalists in 1921, and the outstanding debt to Britain in 1994 would total £580,000,000, not allowing for inflation or interest!

The granting of Dominion status to Southern Ireland was followed by civil war between the moderate Nationalists who signed the agreement with the United Kingdom Government and an extremist wing which wanted to continue the struggle for full republican status for the whole island. The moderates won and in 1925 the Government of the Irish Free State ratified the border between North and South in the Tripartite Agreement which they signed with the Westminster Government and the Government of Northern Ireland.

The Fianna Fail ("Warriors of Destiny") Party, which has had such leaders as Charles Haughey and Albert Reynolds, is the successor to the extreme Nationalists of de Valera's day, while the Fine Gael ("Gaelic Union") Party with leaders such as Liam Cosgrave, Garret FitzGerald and John Bruton is descended from the more moderate pro-Treaty faction.

Despite this Treaty, which was accepted by Dublin as a final settlement and duly deposited with the League of Nations, southern pressure for the ending of "partition" was revived. In 1937 the Irish Free State unilaterally enacted a new Constitution changing its name to the Irish Republic (Eire) and claiming sovereignty and jurisdiction over Northern Ireland. *The Times* editorial of 31st August, 1994, formulated a very apt description of Articles 2 and 3 of Eire's 1937 Constitution: "an outrageous anachronism of which any modern European state should be ashamed". These offensive Articles respectively define the national territory of the Republic as "the whole Island of Ireland and its territorial seas" and claim jurisdiction over Northern Ireland "pending the reintegration of the national territory". Made unilaterally, they represent a gross infringement of international law, contravening the original Covenant of the League of Nations, the Charter of the United Nations, and the 1975 Helsinki Accord (CSCE), under which all signatories are obliged to respect territorial integrity and recognise the principle of the inviolability of frontiers. A member state, as is the Republic of Ireland, may be expelled from the UN for persistently violating the principles of the Charter (Article 6).

Dublin's illegal claims to Northern Ireland

Therefore Dublin's attempt to persuade Britain to revoke these immoral and criminal claims legally requires no *quid pro quo*. The idea that an exchange should

be made in the form of alterations to Section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act or the establishment of cross-Border bodies with executive functions is totally erroneous and dishonest. Illegal claims made unilaterally must be withdrawn unilaterally. Stolen goods cannot be bartered for legitimate title. A claim by one party which is in breach of internationally binding treaties cannot be offered as a bargaining chip to force the other party to abandon what was legally agreed by those treaties.

The Republic's infamous 1937 Constitution very largely fuels the fire of the intolerable situation still prevailing in Northern Ireland today. Its mediaevalism is striking. It was personally drafted by Eamonn de Valera, a notorious demagogue and Roman Catholic Nationalist, in consultation with the Jesuit Edward Cahill and the "Holy Ghost" Priest John Charles McQuaid. De Valera conceived the Constitution in the spirit of a crusade against Protestantism, hatred of Britain, and revenge for the defeat of the Irish Republicans in the 1922 Civil War. An admirer of Mussolini, he supported Hitler, Franco, and all the fascist dictators of his time who employed terrorist tactics against their opponents - regimes of the type consistently supported by the Roman Catholic Church, the theology of which still enjoys a privileged position under the 1937 Constitution, despite the deletion of the provisions of Article 44.2.3 following the 1972 referendum. The Irish Republic's blunt refusal to revoke its claims to Northern Ireland echo the inflexible position of de Valera, who said in 1918 that the "rock of Ulster Unionism must be blasted out of [the Nationalists'] path" and who told Chamberlain in 1938 that if Ulster stood in the way of the attainment of Irish unity, then "the *coercion* of Northern Ireland would in all circumstances be justifiable". O'Duffy said of Ulster Protestants: "Give them the lead [whip]"; and Corry, another of de Valera's close associates, urged, failing Ulster's voluntary agreement to join a united Ireland: "Let poison gas be used on them." Today the political philosophy and methods of Irish Republicanism - whether of the violent or the conspiratorial brand - have not changed one iota. At the time of the Sunningdale Agreement (1973), an SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party) member said in a speech that the Council of Ireland was the wagon that was going to "trundle the Unionists into a united Ireland, whether they wished it or not". Dublin's present demands that Britain should become "persuaders", where persuasion is a stepping-stone to - or a euphemism for - coercion, reflect the same attitude.



3. The Modern Troubles

Since securing their freedom against Home Rule in 1920, the Protestants of Northern Ireland have been murdered, maimed, bombed, burned, slandered, slaughtered, lied to and lied about. A hostile government of ex-gunmen on their southern border, encouraged by the ambitions of a bandit Constitution, has sought to annex their territory, intervene in their internal affairs, sever them from their fellow-countrymen in Britain, annihilate their prosperity, and ultimately destroy their existence as a community. It has treated their democratic institutions and elected representatives with contempt, been faithless to its pledged word, cynically mendacious and unreliable in its dealings, and emotionally unstable in its reactions.

Eire's Record: Violence and the Repudiation of Treaties

Historical fact demonstrates that Southern Ireland has unilaterally repudiated every single treaty and agreement that it ever signed with Britain. Its iniquitous claims regarding Northern Ireland were unilaterally incorporated in its 1937 Constitution in direct breach of the 1922 Treaty and the 1925 Tripartite Agreement. It defaulted in its payments under the 1923 Financial Agreement and the 1926 Ultimate Financial Settlement. It repudiated the 1938 Ports Agreement and declared neutrality in the war against Hitler, while loyal Ulster gave Britain the full use of the Northern Irish ports. Its illegal change of name to the self-designated "Republic of Ireland" in 1948 was a repudiation of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act, by which it had been known as the "Irish Free State". After the signing of the Sunningdale Agreement in 1973 and the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, both of which begrudgingly recognised Northern Ireland in the interim as part of the United Kingdom, the Republic's territorial claims to the Province were for the first time openly declared by the Supreme Court in Dublin in 1990 a "constitutional imperative" and no longer merely an "aspiration".

Furthermore, the fact that the Irish Republic has consistently harboured - and in most cases failed or refused to extradite - Nationalist terrorists who operate from its territory using force against a Member State with the aim of annexing part of that

State, places it in breach of the 1977 European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism and makes a mockery of Article 29.3 of its Constitution, which commits it to acceptance of the generally recognised principles of international law.

All the aggression across the Irish border has been from South to North. No armed bands from the North have invaded southern territory with the aim of subverting or annexing the South. No Northern Ireland Government has ever claimed any right to determine how its Southern neighbours should govern themselves. No attempt has ever been made from the North, by subversive or offensive propaganda, to undermine the position of any Dublin government.

On the other hand, over the years, the IRA and other terrorist organisations based in the South have launched outrageous attacks on Northern Ireland, murdering police, soldiers and other citizens, destroying both public and private property and stirring up hatred and violence.

Since 1922 the Northern Ireland security forces have repeatedly had to deal with outbreaks of lawlessness by a militant extremist illegal body calling itself the IRA (Irish Republican Army) and by splinter groups formed from it. Based and trained in Southern Ireland and the Middle East, but with some cells in Northern Ireland and amongst Southern Irish emigrants on the British mainland, this organisation has the declared aim of destroying the State of Northern Ireland, taking over the government and State of the Irish Republic, and establishing an all-Ireland Marxist dictatorship. Hence its violent attempts to drive the British Armed Services from Northern Ireland, to undermine the legitimate security forces of the Province, and to sever all links between Ulster and Great Britain. Since the early 1920's when the launching of the first attack on Northern Ireland by the IRA presented a very real threat, campaigns of violence were conducted with the object of preventing the Northern Ireland Government from functioning, and, since the suspension of the Provincial Government in 1972, of forcing Britain to surrender the Province to a united Ireland. These campaigns were conducted from bases in Southern Ireland and were particularly virulent in 1922, the early 1930's, 1939-45 and 1956-62; they were resumed, despite the bogus cease-fire of 1962, in 1968 and continued up to the so-called cease-fire of 1994 with a further bogus cease-fire in 1974. The campaigns caused indescribable death, mutilation and destruction. They were largely financed by money obtained through robberies and from "Irish Republican sympathisers" in the USA. Special Powers Acts had to be introduced to protect the people of Northern Ireland from the subversive activities of the IRA.

The Marxist Agenda

The current spate of IRA violence began in earnest in 1968 with Republican rioting in Londonderry. We have no hesitation in saying that the trouble was instigated deliberately by subversive elements bent on destroying Ulster as an integral part of the United Kingdom. It is not disputed that the leadership of the so-called Civil Rights Movement was in the hands of acknowledged Marxists and Communists.

The President of the Movement, Miss Betty Sinclair, confessed openly on British television that she was a member of the Communist Party. The marchers in the Londonderry demonstration that sparked off the present situation consisted largely of left-wing elements and Irish Nationalists sworn to detach Ulster from the British Crown. What really happened was that with the upsurge of student violence all over the world, the readiness of the Westminster Parliament to believe false accusations to the discredit of the Northern Ireland Government, and, above all, the extreme weakness of the Protestant churches of the Province through inroads made by the Ecumenical Movement and modernism, there was never a more favourable moment to cash in on the world mood of the time to identify partisan extremism with the demand for "human rights".

The fact that, despite changes introduced by the Northern Ireland Government, IRA violence flared up again after 1969 and has continued ever since, demonstrates how the "civil rights" campaign was hijacked by militant Nationalists who regarded it as a way of discrediting the Northern Ireland Government and renewing their undemocratic push for a "united Ireland".

In December, 1969, the IRA, which had practically ceased violence since 1962, split into two factions: one continued as the Official IRA and Official Sinn Féin ("Ourselves Alone"); the other, represented by the "Republican Clubs", was known as the Provisional IRA and was backed by a political wing known as "Provisional Sinn Féin". This was the beginning of a new phase of IRA activity later described as using both the ballot-box and the armalite. As indicated on a BBC programme of January 27, 1993, the formation of the Provisional IRA was encouraged by certain Ministers in the Republic's Fianna Fáil ("Warriors of Destiny") government and financed by laundered government money. Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, a former Minister in the Republic's coalition government, gave the following description:

"Certain members of the Irish government approached those leading members of the IRA who were known to be disgusted with the (then) Marxist leadership on both Nationalist and Catholic grounds. These leaders, who were to become the leaders of the Provisional IRA, were offered money, arms and general support if they would abjure operations against the Republic and concentrate on operations in Northern Ireland."

The result to date has been a quarter of a century of violence, over 3,000 people killed in Northern Ireland as well as several in England and on the Continent and many hundreds of millions of Pounds' worth of property destroyed by bombing.

At this point it is important to remember that the IRA and other Republican paramilitaries are not freedom fighters acting on behalf of a majority, as was the case in some former British colonies. Ulster is *not* a colony but an ancient and integral part of the United Kingdom under threat of colonisation by the Irish Republic. Rather, they are terrorists supported by about ten per cent of the Northern Ireland population in a country where elections are free and fair and where a substantial

majority of the electorate, including Roman Catholics, wishes the Province to remain British. In fact, the correlation between the increased number of Roman Catholics in the Province (38.6 per cent in 1971) and the increased proportion of votes favouring the Union proves the total fallacy of the claim that all or even most Roman Catholics desire amalgamation with the Irish Republic.

In 1973 a referendum was held in Northern Ireland on whether the people of the Province wished to remain part of the United Kingdom or to be joined with the Republic of Ireland outside the United Kingdom. 98.92 per cent of those who voted supported the Union, while 1.08 per cent voted to join the Republic. All the more despicable and incomprehensible, therefore, are the appeasement policies of successive British Governments, which since the days of Harold Wilson and Edward Heath have clandestinely done their utmost to force Northern Ireland out of the Union. Even Margaret Thatcher was tainted, but in her recent autobiography she expressed regrets about having signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

A Repetition of History

Ulster's history is today repeating itself. If we fail to learn the lessons of the past, we will be condemned to relive it. Like our forefather in the days of Lord Carson, who fought for the Union to safeguard their freedom of worship and way of life, we are again refusing to be incorporated in a state which with its backward, superstitious and priest-dominated society decimated our Protestant ancestors. They, too, faced a Republican reign of terror being repeated in the murder, destruction and thuggery of today's IRA/Sinn Féin, who again pose as men of peace and popular heroes. Once more, as Lloyd George did with de Valera, Britain has secretly negotiated with the rebels, without Ulster's consent. Our verdict on Westminster's treachery was well pre-echoed by Sir James Craig's words describing the British Government's capitulation in 1921: "They have given in to murder what they had refused to argue: they have made, at the point of the revolver, what they must know in their hearts is a cowardly and treacherous surrender." John Major's meaningless parroting of bogus "cast-iron guarantees" still smacks of Lloyd George's attempts to "tranquillise the anxieties of Ulster" by assuring her majority that while "new proposals" were being considered "the rights of Ulster will be in no way sacrificed or compromised".

The Anglo-Irish Agreement

In fact, those rights were demonstrably compromised by the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and further weakened by the Downing Street Declaration of 1993, both of which were formulated and promulgated without consultation with or consent from the people of Northern Ireland. Under the Anglo-Irish Agreement, signed respectively by the British and Irish Republic Prime Ministers Margaret Thatcher and Dr. Garret FitzGerald, the Government of the Republic purported to accept

Northern Ireland's position as part of the United Kingdom but gained a consultative role in the affairs of the Province through the establishment of an inter-governmental conference and its membership of the Anglo-Irish Secretariat based at Maryfield in Northern Ireland. The signatories indicated that the Agreement had two main aims: improvement of security through greater co-operation by the Republic; and the furtherance of reconciliation between Unionists and Nationalists. It is now clear that neither aim was achieved. Indeed, violence increased and the gap between the two communities widened. Thus the Agreement achieved the opposite of its stated intentions. Both Dr. FitzGerald (speaking in Londonderry in March, 1992) and Lady Thatcher (in her memoirs) have stated that they miscalculated Unionist reactions and that the Agreement did not achieve the results expected. Unionist MPs at Westminster could have told them this at the time, but they were not consulted. Worse still, the Agreement was negotiated secretly behind their backs while the Nationalist SDLP, which had boycotted the Northern Ireland Assembly, was kept fully in the picture by the Republic's Government. *The fact that the United Kingdom Government decided to ignore the elected representatives of the majority community in Northern Ireland and that the Agreement was later supported by a large majority of both Conservative and Opposition parties at Westminster was a strange departure from the democratic and fair-minded approach normally in evidence there.* Credit is due to the late Ian Gow, who resigned in protest from the UK Government; and even Lord Fitt, the former leader of the SDLP, said that it was wrong to exclude the Unionist majority from the working of the Agreement. The Agreement was also criticised by the late Mr John Biggs-Davison, a prominent Conservative MP, by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, a former Minister in the Republic's coalition Government, and by Senator Mary Robinson (now President of the Republic), who resigned from the Irish Labour Party (part of the coalition Government at the time) because Unionists had not been consulted regarding the document.

Unionists rightly refused to accept it, seeing it as a concession to the IRA and a step towards a united Ireland. It proved, in effect, to be an obstacle to any solution in Northern Ireland, and merely provided a further incentive both for more IRA terrorism and for loyalist paramilitary activity, since it alienated the majority Unionist population generally. Its continuation added to the dangerous precedent already created of allowing an outside power to have a formal role in looking after the interests of a minority.

The Downing Street Declaration

Yet, despite the monstrous blunder of signing the Agreement, the British Prime Minister failed to learn the lesson and went even further down the road to a sell-out of the majority community when he and his Southern Irish counterpart, Albert Reynolds, issued a "Joint Declaration" in London on December 15, 1993, dealing with the future governance of Northern Ireland. This so-called Downing Street De-

claration is a wordy document, but its core is contained in the idea that the Government of the Irish Republic, a foreign State, will work together with the British Government, which declares that it has "no selfish, strategic or economic interest" in Northern Ireland, to achieve "peace, stability and reconciliation established by agreement among all the people who inhabit the island". The agreement would "embrace the totality of relationships". They accept that such agreement may bring about a united Ireland by consent. Even on a generous interpretation this represents a significant dilution in the constitutional guarantee hitherto given by the British Government that there would be no change in the status of Northern Ireland without the consent of the majority of its people. If carried out, the policies indicated in this declaration will materially weaken the Union and encourage Nationalists to believe that their goal of a united Ireland is within easy reach. The Irish Republic, in effect, achieves an equal say in the governance of the UK, since the parts thereof are indivisible under the sovereignty of Her Majesty the Queen until the Union is dissolved by the people of the United Kingdom.

The stated objective of the Declaration is to bring about an end to violence. The IRA is to be persuaded to give up the bullet and work through the ballot-box. In October, 1994, the IRA declared a so-called cease-fire, but no counterfeit cease-fire will convince the people of this Province that the IRA thugs and murderers have had a change of heart. Dublin, like Rome, is the proverbial leopard that cannot change its spots. The predictions of the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party have been consistently correct, and events have already proved us right: punishment beatings continue in the "no-go" areas where the IRA rules, and the IRA has now admitted that it was behind the murder of an innocent Post Office worker in Newry during a robbery which netted from the Royal Mail over £130,000 for their terrorist activities. Clearly, when the IRA realises that the British Government will be unable to deliver the goal of a united Ireland, it will return to the methods of coercion which it knows best - bombing and murder.

Exposing the Concealed Agenda

It has all been heard before, and history is again exposing the British Government's gross ineptitude and contempt for the people of Northern Ireland under the guise that ministers are working for peace, while in reality they are capitulating to the IRA. The ethos and aims of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and its Mark II, the Downing Street Declaration, have been overwhelmingly repudiated by the electorate of Northern Ireland, who gave Dr. Ian R.K. Paisley, Leader of the Ulster Democratic Unionist Party, a resounding poll-topping mandate in the European Elections in June, 1994, to counter the undemocratic goals exposed by these documents. As the treacherous "negotiations" with Dublin continued, both the Republic and the terrorists demanded more and more concessions. It was a warning of the fate that would befall any treaty or agreement or any so-called "settlement" signed with Dublin today; for the moving of the original goal posts, the widening of every initial

demand and the total lack of the concept of permanence in the Southern Irish vocabulary (*cf.* the IRA cease-fire) have already been demonstrated yet again in attempts to go even further than the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the Downing Street Declaration and achieve a "comprehensive settlement", which is IRA/Sinn Fein jargon for a united Ireland. Nor would the process stop there, as augured in the fate of Southern Irish Protestants after 1921.

Terror must give way to Consent

The Ulster Democratic Unionist party's policy is one of openly working to isolate and marginalise IRA/Sinn Fein rather than give this small terrorist minority credibility and credence. Our attitude thus stands in stark moral contrast to the deviousness of the British Government's secret negotiations, the Ulster Unionist Party's degrading decision to meet Gerry Adams in open debate on American television, and the scandal of the handshake of the SDLP Leader John Hume and the former Eire Premier Albert Reynolds with Gerry Adams on the steps of the Dublin Dail (Parliament Building). The UDUP's forthright policy of ostracising IRA/Sinn Fein has, moreover, been completely vindicated by events. We forecast their formal response to the Downing Street Declaration; we warned that they would exploit the opportunities afforded them to extract further concession and enhance their credibility; and we predicted that Westminster would use their fraudulent cease-fire to accelerate the establishment of a constitutional monstrosity which would concede an explicit executive role to Dublin in the internal affairs of Northern Ireland. Our attitude to IRA/Sinn Fein will therefore remain consistent and unflinching. It is based on fundamental moral principles and inalienable human rights.

The UDUP will not sit down with any organisation which rejects the *civilised principle of democratic consent*, which must be paramount in the future governance of Northern Ireland. This principle precludes any compromise with the terrorists of IRA/Sinn Fein, who are a small minority currently supported by only 9.6% of the electorate in the Province and 2% in the Republic. Democracy is a concept alien to IRA/Sinn Fein's political philosophy and totally perverted in their party jargon. They equate the concept of democracy with all-Ireland Nationalism instead of applying it in the legal context of the 70% pro-Union majority electorate of Northern Ireland alone.

By the same token, IRA/Sinn Fein's vocabulary of a "just and lasting settlement" distorts the democratic concepts of justice and permanence, by which they understand the coercion of Unionists into a united Ireland.

President Clinton's Political Chicanery

As a party committed to democracy we stand by the principle that the freely expressed democratic will of the people of the legally constituted state of Northern Ireland - and that alone - must be respected and implemented. We will therefore not sit down with those whose aim is that the bullet, not the ballot-box, should

prevail. We will not be deflected from the democratic consent principle through being forced into looking down the barrel of an IRA gun or suffering the lying propaganda war conducted by Gerry Adams in America, by means of which President Clinton strove to bolster his flagging fortunes by seeking the Roman Catholic Southern Irish immigrant vote. He authorised his Administration to fraternise with the thugs and murderers of IRA/Sinn Féin, granting a visa to their spokesman to tour the United States and spread the vicious, lying propaganda of a terrorist organisation whose arsenal of death weaponry was and still remains totally intact. Breaching the terms of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Agreement to which his country is a signatory, President Clinton interfered both directly and indirectly in the internal affairs of another country by becoming part of a calculated conspiracy to impose on Northern Ireland a form of government dictated from outside without the consent of its own people. In so doing, however, he both overlooked the facts of history and misjudged the mood of the American people, who remembered their history, especially in relation to Ulster.

September 1994 also produced the extraordinary spectacle of the Irish Foreign Minister pacing a lawn at Martha's Vineyard in discussion with President Clinton. Their subject was British citizens living in the British Isles. No British Minister, Ambassador, or even a civil servant was present.

The IRA's Killing-Machine remains intact

This is a process which has led by stealth to an attempt to force upon us a system of government in which a foreign government usurps the democratic will of the Ulster people. There must be a complete end to the policy of folly whereby IRA/Sinn Féin terrorism is rewarded in this fashion while the national and international legal status of Northern Ireland and the views of its democratically elected politicians are ignored. There must be a total and unconditional IRA surrender to replace a truce already proved to be phoney.

Nor will we sit down and talk to an organisation whose arsenal of a hundred tons of weapons and explosives remains totally intact, moved into the Irish Republic and hidden in remote locations in that country in breach of the fundamental principles of international law to which the Republic is subject under the UN Charter, the Helsinki Agreement and the Treaty of Rome. We will not sit down with men who have made no apology and shown no remorse for their evil deeds of genocide, ethnic cleansing, destruction and terror inflicted on the whole community over decades, and who now, like Gerry Adams in the United States, suddenly pretend to extend to us the hand of brotherly friendship. To sit down at the same table and shake that blood-stained hand would be to give them credence, legitimise their atrocities, and betray our people; it would be a peace of surrender, a formalisation of the mandate for the genocide of our people. To believe that we would do that would be a grave misreading of the character of Ulster Protestant men and women. There must be a peace of victory, not of surrender.

Self-Determination - a Basic Human Right

Since the imposition of direct rule from London in 1972, the British citizens of Northern Ireland have been prevented from exercising any real democratic control over their own affairs or their own destiny. Roy Bradford, writing in the *Belfast News Letter* on 28th November, 1994, gave a very pertinent analysis of the present deplorable state of democracy in the Province. Referring to the IRA's campaign to wrest Ulster from the UK coupled with the minority SDLP's demands for "parity of esteem", he said:

*"[...] we are not talking about multi-culturalism. We are talking about granting to Irish Republicans the same constitutional validity as that granted to the British Crown with all that such validity entails. We are talking about **minority rule**, about the **subversion** of the British allegiance passionately held and professed by the **democratic majority** in this part of the United Kingdom."* [Emphasis ours.]

Such a blatant travesty of democracy is unparalleled in any civilised country of the Western world and reflects the high-handed and arrogant attitude of successive British Governments to part of their own country. It explains the Ulster majority's frustration and anger towards their political overlords and the urgent need for the restoration of a meaningful system of devolved government for the Province.

For the people of Northern Ireland, the principle of consent freely given must prevail over the bomb and the bullet in the way in which they are to be governed in future. There can be neither compromise with terrorist minority pressure nor external interference by a foreign State in their internal governance. The UDUP welcomes the Prime Minister's promise of a referendum in Northern Ireland to obtain the electorate's consent for any outcome of political talks. The consent of the people of Northern Ireland was not sought before the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement or the Downing Street Declaration, both of which ironically reiterated the traditional guarantee of "consent" given to the Unionist majority. These documents were carefully worded so that the term would apply only to the *constitutional* issue of the severance of Northern Ireland from the Union: the consent principle did not apply to any *intermediate* step which might lead the Province out of the UK, in particular any changes in the *governance* of the Province and the creation of any *institutions or structures* affecting it. The limitations of this sort of majority consent were clearly recognised by the UDUP even before the Irish Republic's Premier stated that it did not extend to "all forms of political progress or other decisions by the two governments". Even though the Prime Minister's commitment to a referendum expressly applies only to the outcome of three-stranded talks, the UDUP recognises it as an advance successfully forced by the Party on Mr Major, who had previously refused to grant it. Our position is that the principle of consent should apply in all sets of circumstances and for all time.

Self-determination is a basic human right: it is incorporated as a principle of the Charter of the United Nations, and the people of Northern Ireland must be unflinching in their fight to see that it is upheld in how they are governed in future. Although Northern Ireland is *de facto* and *de jure* indisputably part of the United Kingdom, it is a universally established principle that the inhabitants of any territory subject to claim by another country will decide their own future.

Therefore the ballot-box, not the bullet, must prevail in Northern Ireland. The freely expressed democratic will of the people of the Province must be respected and implemented. By the same token, a commitment to the principle of democratic consent rules out not only any compromise with the terrorists of IRA/Sinn Fein, but also any imposed solution. Neither will work. The former is morally unthinkable; the latter, already tested in principle through direct rule and the Anglo-Irish Diktat, has had nothing but disastrous consequences. Both conceptions breach the right of the people of the Province to decide their own future, including how they are to be governed, democratically without pressure or interference.

For the avoidance of any doubt we call on Mr. Major to clarify unambiguously that Her Majesty's Government will: (a) accept and abide by the verdict of a majority in the referendum; (b) accept that a referendum of the people of Northern Ireland alone will determine any change; (c) undertake to implement a referendum prior to implementing any change; (d) commit itself to holding a referendum on change affecting Northern Ireland in all circumstances and for all time; and (e) seek Parliamentary endorsement for this principle of consent.



4. Defending the Free World

Abraham Lincoln warned the American people never to forget the lessons of history. It is a warning even more vital to ourselves, as we analyse the wider implications of events in Northern Ireland.

A Matter of National Survival

It is difficult for ordinary observers to penetrate the smoke-screen of lies which surrounds recent and present events in Ulster. The issue in Ulster today is more far-reaching than most people realise. It is not just a question of Irish Nationalism. What is at stake is the future of Great Britain - of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. More important still, it is the survival of those liberties, religious and political, which hitherto have made these islands of ours a sanctuary of divine Truth and public justice. Let no one suppose for one moment that what is happening in Ulster is a domestic quarrel in a traditionally explosive part of the British Isles. If Ulster should fall, she would drag down with her the religious and political future of mainland Britain as well - already so grievously compromised through membership of the European Union. Lying on Britain's vital and strategic seaward flank, the island of Ireland forms an integral and inalienable part of the grouping known as the British Isles, which must live together or hang together. Churchill's already quoted words prove the point of Ulster's strategic importance to Great Britain. Already the larger part of the island of Ireland has fallen into hostile hands. Only through providence did Southern Ireland remain officially "neutral" in World War II. In fact, as previously indicated, the Republic actually *denied* Britain use of her treaty bases there, and it is well known that Southern Ireland became the shelter of enemy submarines until a stern warning of military invasion by Britain and America forced the Southern Irish Government to fall into line. Only the existence of loyal Ulster saved the British Nation and the world, including America. What would Britain's fate have been if the Irish Republic had put its ports at Hitler's disposal? If Britain had not survived, the combined assault of Germany and Japan on an unprepared USA would have destroyed the American continent, and Hitler would have won the race for the first atomic bomb.

European history decisively demonstrates that Britain is secure only as long as no Power or groups of Powers on the Continent can obtain supremacy that would enable them to attack her. When practically the whole Continent was ruled by one Power, Great Britain lost her liberty. Ancient Rome's supremacy on the mainland of Europe inevitably led to the invasion of this country on Caesar's plea that the Britons had assisted the Gauls against Rome. There followed centuries of national servitude. The lesson of the Roman conquest was never forgotten. Therefore, when Spain, France and Russia in turn tried to obtain supremacy in Europe by land, and when Holland did so by sea, each of those nations came into collision with this country, and each was prevented by Great Britain from attaining that supremacy which would undoubtedly have endangered our national existence. The ganging up of all Europe in Napoleon's European System to crush Britain is another lesson. Socialist and Pacifist elements had their way between the two World Wars, despite the unheeded warnings of Sir Winston Churchill, and we relied so well on the policy of collective security that we disarmed ourselves blindly, almost to the point of national suicide. The fate of the Franco-British Alliance in the Second World War, when Britain was left alone in the world to face her "finest hour" (which could easily but for the grace of God been her last hour), is again fresh in the mind following the fiftieth anniversary of D-Day. Nor has the lesson of Southern Ireland's treacherous dealings and repudiation of treaties with Britain yet been learned.

The Hidden Players

History has consistently taught us that our safety lies in supporting the weaker Powers in Europe against the stronger; but Britain is today, through her European policies, actively supporting the strong, and the Clinton Administration has been doing likewise. The *Daily Mail* headline of July 26, 1994, must have instilled in the historically wise a sense of disbelieving horror: "HURD'S AMAZING SUPPORT FOR MAJOR REARMAMENT. ALL POWER TO THE GERMANS." Unfortunately it was no daydream, but the latest and hitherto greatest folly of Major's sinking ship of fools. Not content with the progressive sell-out of the United Kingdom's sovereignty to Brussels, this discredited Euro-quisling administration has been busy diminishing the United Kingdom's defences through substantial reductions in our air and naval bases and our weaponry of war; but the final touch on the treacherous trail of madness is the call and active support for the rearmament of a country whose periodically recurring political extremism resulted in two world wars and the organised massacre of six million Jews. President Clinton, in his naively immature schoolboyish ignorance of history (including, demonstrably, that of his own country), embarked on a similar disastrous policy of germanophilia. To the detriment of America's "special relationship" with Britain, he actively encouraged the Germans to play a more significant and forceful role in world affairs. Thus our two nations have thrown aside the repeated lessons of our past history.

More specifically speaking, a pattern is developing today over a very wide international field, leading to the inevitable conclusion that there is a consolidated attempt to wrest Ulster from the British enclave. Were that day to come, a serious alteration would have been made in the status of Great Britain, which would have received a fatal wound. Should Ulster be expended and the ensuing disaster come about, the traitors in Westminster would have a moment of glory as they strutted before their masters in perfidy, but the moment would expire in the inevitable collapse that would follow. The Irish Republic, the Clinton clique, the European Union, the Afro-Asian bloc at the United Nations, with China and Russia thrown in, would rejoice, and the Vatican would emerge from the background, with a smile of pious complacency on its Jesuitical countenance, free to proceed with its plan to eradicate all opposition to its evil system.

Protestant Liberties under Threat

Only the evangelical believer can view this vision with clear insight. Like Daniel in Babylon he presides at the rise and fall of potentates and dominions and makes known the divine verdict on systems which have worn out their usefulness or capitulated to error and wickedness. Let Britain and America, the nations whom God chose above all others to propagate His Truth to the world, awake to the situation which would face both of them should Ulster be expended. For whatever pretexts are being put forward today in the attempt to destroy Ulster would by the same stroke destroy evangelical liberty in Great Britain. Should the plot succeed in Ulster, it would be on allegedly religious grounds. The Pope's attempts to turn the European Union into what his predecessor called "the Greatest [Roman] Catholic Super-State that the world has ever known" would make the climate favourable to the enactment of legislation at Westminster to prevent any criticism of Romanism or Ecumenism, on the grounds that it would give offence and stir up hatred. Such provision may already be included in the amendments to the Maastricht Treaty that are planned for 1996. The only persons to be interdicted under such legislation would be evangelical Christians who alone have interest in proclaiming that body of Truth - the Holy Scriptures - which exposes error. America would then have no ally on the western flank of the European Continent, and the Pope's next goal would be the North American Continent.

It becomes us as British and American citizens grateful to God for the dearly-bought liberties and privileges handed down to us by godly men of former times who fought and bled - it becomes us to sound a warning note when we see those liberties and privileges being subtly but ever more arrogantly undermined.

Henry Maxwell, in his book *Ulster was Right* (Hutchinson, London, 1933, pp. 308-309) stated a formula which was not only vindicated in 1939-45, but is valid more than ever today:

"The danger of any policy of surrender is that it is always of extreme difficulty, and very often impossible, to set a check

on it. Concession after concession has been made to Ireland, always with the same excuses and upon the pretext of a golden harvest of affection from a small seed of propitiation. In every single instance that promise has proved entirely delusory. In every single instance the British Government has deliberately pursued a policy of surrender against which the voice of history echoed the entreaty of Irish loyalists in protest against the folly of such speculation [...] The British public does not realise the peril that is latent in the granting of complete independence to Ireland. [...] That a hostile Ireland continues a peril to England in times of war was fully demonstrated in the last conflict. [...] American naval and military experts have publicly declared that England could not safely tolerate an Irish Republic, owing to the geographical relationship of the two islands. [...] Has not Ulster vindicated her claims to the protection of the British Government? [...] She endured untold hardships and tribulations rather than join hands with those whose fingers were red with British blood, and whose steel was double-edged with the sharpness of British indifference. Not even when the Constitution which was given to her was shamefully revoked, leaving her weakened and incapacitated to sustain those responsibilities which the British Legislature had somewhat cravenly abrogated, did she allow bitterness or despair to unnerve her in the unequal struggle. By her own efforts she has emerged, and she continues, though still beset by difficulties and dangers, to preserve her territory as a bulwark against anti-British aggression."