

Speech by the Rt Hon J Enoch Powell, MBE, MP, at the Annual Fete of the Mourne Divisional Association of the South Down Unionist Association at Kilkeel, Co. Down, at 2.30 p.m., Saturday, 4 August 1984.

---

British Ulster is in greater peril now than it has been since 1912. Agreement has been reached between Her Majesty's Government and the Irish government at official, if not ministerial, level that, before 1984 is out, a parliamentary body will be established on which will be represented the Republic, Great Britain and Northern Ireland. From the establishment of that body it will only be a short step to what Ulster unionists have always rejected and what your grandfathers were ready to resist, if necessary, by force of arms: Ulster members in a Dublin parliament. They knew, and we ought to know, that Ulster representation in a Dublin parliament means the end of the Union, the denial and destruction of Ulster's right to be British.

Let nobody imagine that Ulstermen, and so-called unionists too, would not be found to take up the places offered them on a parliamentary body such as the authors of the New Ireland Forum and the civil servants in the Northern Ireland Office have devised and agreed upon. There are always traitors enough to do the dirty work of Ulster's enemies: you name them, we have them. Some of them have places, whether they sit in them or not, in the Northern Ireland Assembly. That Assembly was brought into existence for no other purpose than to provide a nest where the future representatives of Ulster in a Dublin parliament would be hatched out. The nest has been lined with bribery and kept warm by patronage, and the brood of traitors is there already, with their yellow beaks wide open.

I said that our danger is as great as in 1912. In one respect it is greater. Unionism is divided now as unionism was not divided then. It is divided because a party now exists which has written the Union off and is prepared to do a deal with Dublin over terms for

Ulster in an all-Ireland set-up. How do I know? I know, because that party played along with Mr Secretary Prior in creating the third leg which FitzGerald always said was necessary for the Anglo-Irish stool. "I give Jim Prior full marks" declared the leader of the D.U.P. "Full marks" for what? Ian Paisley is not such a dunce or a dupe not to know what Jim Prior and the Northern Ireland Office have been about during these past three years - yes, and Humphrey Atkins and the Northern Ireland Office before that.

Take no notice of those who protest to high heaven that they will never join an Anglo-Irish parliamentary body. We have heard such protestations before, and we remember what happened to them. Let but a few individuals be found to sit in the proffered seats, and those who are protesting most loudly now will be heard to say - and it will not be for the first time, either - "We must go along too, and make sure that Ulster's voice is heard". Members of the Assembly will be asked: "What was the point of your being elected if you are going to allow the future constitution and administration of Ulster to be discussed and perhaps decided in your absence?" Make no doubt: that is what the Anglo-Irish parliamentary body will get up to straight away, beginning quite likely with security and the frontier.

Nobody who knows me is unaware where my sole loyalty lies. It lies to the Crown in Parliament. But I say that the men of 1912 were right when they perceived and declared that the mother country would forfeit its right to their loyalty if it put them into a Dublin parliament. The methods and the modalities have been refined and elaborated since 1912; but the substance and the end result intended are still the same. When a British government creates an Anglo-Irish body to comprise representatives of Ulster and to deliberate on the affairs of this island, it will, so far as in it lies, have renounced its claim upon the allegiance of the British people of this province.

fr

At the General Election of December 1918 73 Sinn Fein MPs were returned out of a total of 105 Irish seats. With the exception of three, all were from what is now the Irish Republic. From that moment that part of Ireland had effectively seceded from the United Kingdom. Instead, however, of recognising the fact, the British Government legislated to separate the six counties of Ulster also from the UK by conferring home rule on Northern Ireland (which reluctantly accepted and worked it) and on Southern Ireland (which of course would not look at it). The Government of Ireland Act, 1920, provided for both Northern and Southern Ireland to be represented at Westminster on a reduced scale and to be linked by a Council of Ireland. Why?

In 1972 HMG, which had put troops into Ulster in aid of the civil power in 1969, recognised that the reality of power had passed to Whitehall and Westminster by abolishing the 1920 Act Government and Parliament of Northern Ireland. Instead, however, of accepting that Ulster would thus become henceforward, as it had been before 1921, one part among others of the United Kingdom, HMG created an inherently unworkable power-sharing devolved constitution, plus a Council of Ireland. Why?

Since 1974, when the Sunningdale constitution collapsed, HMG has still not recognised the status of Ulster as an integral part of the UK but has maintained an interim form of government there ("direct rule") pending some constitutional arrangement unique to Ulster, which has been the subject of successive initiatives in 1974-6 (the Convention); in 1979-81 (the Atkins initiatives); in 1982-3 (the Assembly). Each involved recognition in some form of an 'Irish dimension'. Why?