

It might be too soon to echo the 12th Century Easter Hymn - "The world is over - the battle done" but we are seeing the beginning of the end of terrorism in this land. It is a sobering thought that international terrorism will soon have to make room for a new kind of terrorism - one that has nothing to do with Northern Ireland or even the British Isles. The danger that it may be made their point is modern industry, the most vulnerable element of which is the power grid. That is why the securing of air passengers will continue to be a struggle in the years to come.

The last day of 25 years of terrorism has been difficult to read. However, it has been a lesson of unity. And the will of the greater number, of which law abiding citizens have always been the vast majority, has finally won. That was always inevitable. Those who refused to be silenced will have a right of being the long dead - those it would seem, and also to living.

Many would say that this was the end of the road. But I believe that the road is still open. It is a road that leads to a new beginning. It is a road that leads to a new dawn. It is a road that leads to a new day.

**SPEECH**

**BY**

**THE RT. HON. JAMES H. MOLYNEAUX M.P.**

**TO**

**THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY CONFERENCE**

**AT**

**THE FERGUS INN, CARRICKFERGUS**

**SATURDAY 15TH OCTOBER 1994**

The road is still open. It is a road that leads to a new beginning. It is a road that leads to a new dawn. It is a road that leads to a new day. The road is still open. It is a road that leads to a new beginning. It is a road that leads to a new dawn. It is a road that leads to a new day.

**NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR REFERENCE TO  
CONTENT BEFORE 4.30 P.M., 15/10/94**

The road is still open. It is a road that leads to a new beginning. It is a road that leads to a new dawn. It is a road that leads to a new day. The road is still open. It is a road that leads to a new beginning. It is a road that leads to a new dawn. It is a road that leads to a new day.

It might be too soon to echo the 12th Century Easter Hymn - "The strife is over - the battle done" but we are seeing the beginning of the end of terrorism in this land. It is a sobering thought that international terrorism will from time to time rear its head and find it easy to "make a point" about issues which have nothing to do with Northern Ireland or even the British Isles. Evil doers find it easy to make their point in modern society, the most vulnerable element of which is the jumbo jet. That is why the screening of air passengers will continue to be as stringent at Brisbane as at Belfast.

The hard slog of 25 years of terrorism has been different in kind because it has been a battle of wills. And the will of the greater number, of solid law abiding citizens has prevailed. In short, democracy has finally won. That was always inevitable. Those who refused to be unnerved and were capable of taking the long view - knew it would come, and saw it coming.

Many would now say that they too knew democracy would win. I can only assume that chronic laryngitis prevented them from giving voice to their accumulated wisdom.

I am in a more fortunate position - an unassailable position as Mrs Thatcher told one of her Ministers. I have been spared blushes by the Irish News - not a Jim Wilson publication. On 20 April 1994, the Irish News led with this headline:

"Unionist Chief predicts end to Violence"

The report stated,

*"Speaking to reporters in Washington, Mr Molyneux said that if asked where Northern Ireland would be this time next year '... we're going to see an end to violence as far as the main forces are concerned'. While not ruling out what he called 'the occasional Mafia-type operation', Molyneux added that once terrorism which had plagued Northern Ireland for 25 years was ended then a united community, Protestant, Catholic or those with no religion at all would sit very firmly on anyone who sought to disturb the peace settlements which were now beginning."*

That prediction was not based on what Mr Adams might do or what Mr Reynolds might say. It was, rather an instinct that the ice would break up and like Humpty Dumpty it could never be put together again.

By the time of our Washington visit the Joint Declaration had effectively been rejected by the IRA & had run its course. For terrorists it provided no pedestal which would elevate failed terrorists above the rest of humankind. It merely charts the course for a terrorist organisation after forsaking violence, in all its forms for good, could take the first faltering steps on the democratic path. The first such step was taken on 31 August and on that day I welcomed the decision to call a "cessation of military operations". I went on to express the hope that all who have influence over the IRA would then persuade them to take the necessary subsequent steps to end terrorism in all its sordid forms. I regret that the persuaders have not been successful in making progress over the past 7 weeks.

Hard evidence provided by progression could transmit a more convincing message than that word "permanent" used in last year's declaration - for it is deeds and not words which will provide the necessary assurances.

The leaders of loyalist paramilitary bodies have been much more decisive. Having calmly assessed the issues they have refused to be stamped by all manner of irresponsible statements. Thus far, it is clear from what they have said that they accept their share of responsibility in shaping the future of this Province. As they too work through the period of verification and confirmation, they too will earn the right to be consulted. In a public statement last May, I expressed that view on behalf of my

own Party, and in the light of Thursday's announcement I am determined to ensure that the loyalist voice will be heard and heeded.

I have never been able to understand allegations that the Prime Minister did a secret deal with Adams to secure the cessation statement of 31 August. How come then that they are the 2 people most at loggerheads?

Anyone criticising John Major for seeking convincing evidence that terrorism will end conclusively, need only look at the present situation in the Gulf. In 1991 President Bush halted the Allied Armies when Kuwait was freed, which was the limit of UN authorisation.

Saddam retained the capacity to intimidate his own citizens and now to threaten another invasion designed to blackmail the UN into conceding his demands.

The one remaining superpower, the United States, has decided that threats to turn on the tap of armed force must not prevail.

It follows that America will be consistent and support the British Government's insistence that no terrorist body can be entrusted with the capacity and means to resume violence just because democracy declines to give priority status to those who have devoted 25 years to the destruction of democracy.

The Conference season now concluding has seen Parties planning new structures and producing fresh policies.

The Ulster Unionist Party has been well ahead of the field.

On the structure side - a team of senior officers have produced and circulated suggestions for a constitution to take us well into the next century. Their suggestions are being debated and studied and my colleagues are greatly encouraged by the response.

I need hardly remind you that the current rules include a clause which reads, "no Unionist shall be ineligible for membership of the constituency association, division and/or branch thereof on any ground of race, religion or creed" and we can safely assume that such provision will be embodied in the new Constitution.

In the realm of policies too we are years ahead in our published ideas. It is therefore amusing to read and hear demands that we should strive for that which has already been achieved.

Only 2 days ago a commentator noted for his conceit accused our Party of dragging behind and sitting on its hands. He will be disappointed to know that for the past 10 months our Parliamentary Party in consultation with Government and Industry has been finalising plans to create at least 20,000 new jobs as security occupations are phased out.

In recent weeks we have been exhorted to face up to a changed situation; to project a vision of a pluralist state; and to adopt a more positive approach. Only last week we were told to wake up to the fact that support for the Union crosses the religious divide.

I have a right to ask, where have these Rip Van Winkles been all these years? Why have they ignored that key phrase "the greater number" which provides the theme of this year's Conference. Why has it been suppressed for over a decade since I first used it in 1983 in my speech to our Annual Meeting - page 9, paragraph 2 - and in practically every annual address since.

This week, when our Conference programme was published, a journalist of renown said, "I see you are still pressing for Unionist rule" - so in case he should be within earshot, let me provide the interpretation of the "greater number" as I explained it to one of the 28 Anglican Primates meeting at the Slieve Donard Hotel on 7 April 1991. One Prince of the Church asked why didn't I use the word majority? I answered - "because your Grace might have imagined I was talking of the Protestant majority" and I went on to quote Father Dennis Faul who has repeatedly said that in a poll on a United Ireland only 20% of his flock would vote themselves out of the United Kingdom. His Reverence's assessment was recently vindicated by the Coopers and Lybrand poll commissioned by the Irish Times.

So we need no lectures on the need to respond to changed circumstances or to demographic trends - distorted demographic trends incidentally.

We have paved the way many years before such issues rose above the horizon.

The great news for all who cherish stability is that inherent in that theme "the greater number" is the proof that Northern Ireland is inhabited by one community - not two as some within the SDLP would have the world believe.

It is that greater number, bridging the religious divide - that one community of ordinary people like us, which has won the battle over terrorism.

The responsibility of our Party is very great. Ours is the task of drawing together the various strands of the Northern Ireland people.

The damage caused by 25 years of terrorism can be repaired only by drawing upon all the energy, skills and talents which made Ulster great in centuries long past.

For a start - confidence must be restored in the democratic system. That is more likely to be achieved by patient reconstruction rather than by a flourish of trumpets. It is at local government level that citizens have closest contact with democracy, but the high quality of council members must be matched by powers to redress the problems of those who elected them. For far too long Government departments have encouraged electors to blame councillors for unpopular decisions made by the departments or their appointed quangos.

There need be no upheaval of administrative arrangements - only a streamlining and redefinition of spheres of responsibility. Whitehall is constantly engaged in such reorganisation - why not widen the terms of reference in the interests of greater efficiency? Successive Governments have, perhaps without realising it, helped the terrorists by fostering the type of alienation from normal politics on which terrorists thrive. In this new Ulster, democracy must be restored to centre stage and the local governance of Northern Ireland must be the No. 1 objective.

The present Government has done much to redress the democratic deficit in Parliament. There has been a phasing out of the use of Orders in Council to make primary legislation for Northern Ireland; the establishment of a Northern Ireland Select Committee; the upgrading of Harold Wilson's Northern Ireland Committee to Grand Committee status. Naturally, these achievements are being down played by some elected representatives, perhaps because it was more comfortable to issue daily statements from their own sitting rooms than daily attendance at Westminster which they are all paid to attend.

But even more needs to be done to bring Government closer to the people in Northern Ireland. We have proposed an assembly with initially an administrative role. We have reasons to believe that such a structure would be welcomed by most in the 4 main constitutional parties and there is a strong

conviction that it would work. In the words of Willie Whitelaw - the people of Northern Ireland had enjoyed close contact government for 50 years - unmatched in any other part of the Kingdom. We say - let close contact return!

There are 2 obstacles to be overcome.

First - the now unworkable stipulation that nothing can be agreed until everything is agreed. I have to ask the authors - in what part of the world has such a formula ever been successfully applied?

Secondly - there is not at this moment sufficient cohesion between the 4 constitutional parties to enable a devolved administration to be sustained. There is nothing approaching the degree of mutual confidence and trust which existed during 1991 & 1992. Fortunately the power to remedy that defect resides within and between the parties themselves.

I have another concern - the future of our young people. Some observers have blamed the troubles for the brain drain. Not only is that a libel on an entire generation but it is largely untrue. In the course of my globe trotting travels this year, I have found that Ulster's youth stand head and shoulders above all others. They have earned the right to be consulted; to be rewarded with something more than empty slogans. We look and we look with confidence to our own Young Unionist movement to build the bridges over the generation gap.

I trust that in this critical period our southern neighbours will stay their hands. Only distrust and suspicion can result from chatter about joint sovereignty, joint authorities and joint executive bodies. I hope they will take it from me that such indulgences keep wounds open and render impossible the task of those of us who genuinely strive to construct an Ulster at ease with itself before anything else will be possible.

I say to Dublin - don't blight the buds of progress in an attempt to fulfil an outdated ambition. Rather, join with us and the other peoples of these British Islands in eliminating bitterness which had its beginning more than two thousand years ago.

To the people of Ulster I have this to say. You are well on the way to completing your victory over militant republicanism. Democracy is going to win, although the battle is not yet over.

For over a century the German General Staff warned German rulers of the danger of fighting on 2 fronts. The Field Marshals were heeded until Corporal Hitler came on the scene and ignored their warnings - with fatal consequences.

In Ulster, the greater number who may still have to contend with terrorism would be guilty of criminal folly if they opened up a second front with Britain as the other enemy. Some are heading in that direction when they proclaim that the British nation is set to expel them; that the Crown in Parliament is ranged against them; that no Government can be trusted; that they are not being told everything and would not believe anything they were told.

As an old soldier who saw what the second front did to Germany, I beg the advocates of such a course to think well on the consequences.

My final challenge is addressed to the greater number. Against all the barrage of claim and counter claim, Is it really a matter whether you have confidence in this or that leader, or is the question not, "Do you have confidence in yourselves?" That is the key question.

If, as I believe, the answer is "yes" then without frantic boast or foolish word, that self confidence becomes the solid base for all our endeavours now and in the future!