

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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FROM: W K LINDSAY, PAB  
DATE: 28 OCTOBER 1991

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Mr Dodds  
Mr Cooke  
Mr McNeill  
Mr McKervill, Dublin

WHITHER THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY

I attach a copy of the speeches made by Ulster Unionist Party Leader Mr Jim Molyneux and Chairman Mr Jim Nicholson at the UUP Conference on Saturday 26 October. A note on the business of the conference will be circulated separately though I think it fair to summarise the event as comparatively low-key and lacklustre. The underlining in the speeches is mine, but based upon conversations I had about them with both the Chairman and Party Secretary and also the emphasis with which they were delivered.

2. Mr Molyneux was clearly drawing a line under the previous talks process and outlined his strategy for the future; in summary this was to hold discussions at Westminster with the objective of getting a select committee, more powers for local councillors and a regional administration. Mr Nicholson's speech was complementary in seeking a remedy for the democratic deficit. Mr Molyneux talked about what needs to be done "in the time that remains" and the "challenge of the next 12 months" almost as though this or the next conference was to be his last as leader.

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3. I had dinner with Jim Nicholson, Jack Allen (Treasurer), Joe Cunningham (President), Jim Wilson (Secretary) and others the evening before the Conference. Nicholson had just come off the plane from Strasbourg and told me that he had a number of conversations recently with John Hume in relation to the possibility of the UUP, DUP and SDLP leaders meeting on their own at Westminster to discuss a way forward. According to Nicholson the SDLP were unhappy with the talks process at Stormont and he has reason to think that John Hume would in fact support this new proposal, provided the other members of his team could be given useful work on sub-groups, building on the idea of the business committee which was seen as quite successful.

4. Nicholson gave three main reasons for not going back to the previous approach. Firstly, the unnatural environment and unsatisfactory working arrangements, with people often sitting around for hours on end waiting for a meeting which often never happened, produced considerable tensions within all the parties, which were not conducive to reaching accommodations. Secondly the format gave, in Nicholson's words the backwoodsmen like McCrea, Vitty, Gibson etc the opportunity to impose their will and deny any movement. Finally it was his belief that it was not possible to get agreement (never mind total agreement) in such a high profile setting. He pointed out that much of the work of summit meetings and the like was done in the careful preparation between officials prior to the event.

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5. Looking to the future, he said he could foresee a situation where the SDLP might agree to a select committee in return for some concession from the unionists and so on through the agenda. He thought that if there was 60 or 70% agreement between unionists and nationalists the Government could then come in with a proposal, both sides would complain about it but would get down to work the system. In all this he saw Mr Paisley as being the main stumbling block because of his need to keep looking over his shoulder, yet he recognised that he was the one who could deliver any settlement on the ground. Interestingly, Nicholson said that in this regard the only politician in the Republic who could deliver at present in relation to North/South arrangements was Mr Haughey.

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6. There is no reason to suspect that unionists will return to the "high wire circus act" of the talks process. Mr Molyneaux did make a point of suggesting that there could be progress before the General Election and after it. Certainly Jim Nicholson, who is a pragmatist, realises that the unionists have to deal with the SDLP and he clearly said to me that he thought, given goodwill on both sides they could reach an accommodation with them. His line would be taken by others among the party officers like Reg Empey, Chris McGimpsey, Ken Maginnis and Jeffrey Donaldson. Interestingly the devolution verses integration debate did not surface this time and in fact was played down by Reg Empey.

7. The only part of Mr Nicholson's line of argument where I was not totally convinced was in the measure to which Mr Molyneaux is determined to make real progress and not just indulge in a veneer of negotiation. It has to be remembered that the parliamentary party is largely made up of people who either take the Molyneaux line (like Willie Ross and Martin Smyth) or are not actually involved in the political development process. Just how imaginative and persuasive Mr Molyneaux intends to be at Westminster should become clearer over the next few weeks. He said in his speech that "first installments will soon be submitted to Government".

[Signed WKL]

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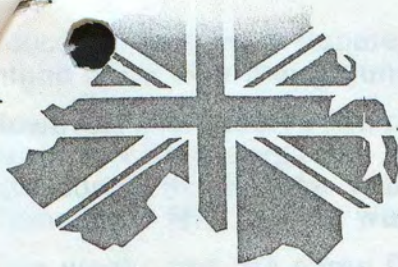
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SATURDAY 26TH OCTOBER 1991

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR REFERENCE TO  
CONTENT BEFORE 4:45PM 26.10.91

C O N F I D E N T I A L





## Ulster Unionist Party PRESS RELEASE

RELEASE TIME:

### SPEECH

BY

THE RT HON J H MOLYNEAUX MP

TO

THE ULSTER UNIONIST PARTY  
CONFERENCE

IN

THE WHITE HORSE HOTEL,  
LONDONDERRY,

SATURDAY 26TH OCTOBER 1991

NOT FOR PUBLICATION OR REFERENCE TO  
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Education has been debated at some length today and you will be glad to know that I do not intend to go over that ground again.

However, I do reserve the right to offer educational guidance to some would-be politicians. For example I have neglected the education of Dr Alderdice. I should have done more to enlighten him during the Brooke Talks on the day he questioned me about our proposal for a Select Committee. His difficulty was that he asked the wrong questions but received the right answers.

Two weeks ago the same Dr Alderdice, egged on by that select band who opted out of politics when it ceased to be profitable, parroted the ridiculous smear that the Unionist leaders were responsible for the murders in North Belfast. Another circus would do the trick provided the tent is at Stormont - not at Westminster. But only five months ago Dr Alderdice was telling the world he would talk about anything, any time, anywhere, which is what you would expect of the leader of a wheely bin party.

His deputy, Mr Close, accuses me of whipping myself into a "fury of lethargy". At least he has been taking lessons - presumably from Willie Whitelaw who once accused Harold Wilson of "going around stirring up apathy".

Following our meeting with Mr Brooke on 20 September I suggested that the three Parliamentary Parties representing Ulster at Westminster should continue to do their plain duty in the place where they are paid to be. Up bobbed Dr Alderdice to complain that I was excluding him. Of course he is excluded - not by the devious Molyneaux but by the Ulster electorate which decided unkindly not to elect him.

That electorate was even more unkind in the 1989 European Election when the good Doctor got only 5% of the Province wide vote - a mere .34 of one percent ahead of the Conservative candidate.

The Northern Ireland Conservatives too have neglected their lessons. So let me try again.

From 1970 to 1974 the Ulster Unionist Members of Parliament loyally supported the Heath Government but begged to differ on the Northern Ireland Office experiment conducted at Sunningdale. For that crime we were excluded from the Conservative Parliamentary Party when the General Election results were declared on 1 March 1974.

Ignoring that lesson the Northern Ireland Conservatives, until a fortnight ago, imagined that they could oppose and condemn Northern Ireland policies and get away with it. They knew better when they arrived in Blackpool to be politically kneecapped and given a hundred lines - "I must obey the Northern Ireland Office".

If in their manifesto they dare to wander from Stormont paths they will need no modern Daniel to interpret the writing on Holywood walls - you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting!

Now that they are home from Blackpool, sadder than when they arrived they would do well to remember that you can not live in Rome and fight with you know who - neither can you live in North Down and be uncivil to the present squatters in Stormont.

For the past six months we have been bored stiff with the guessing game about the date of the General Election and the news industry will return to that with a vengeance after Christmas. The current fad is the prospect of a hung Parliament. It is unlikely that there will be a hung Parliament because the English electorate is less stable than ours. They are going to be bombarded with predictions based on astrology and anything other than sound political perception. At the end of it all mainland British voters will have a rush of blood to the head. They will be frightened and stampeded into whichever camp finds favour with the news industry. So let's have done with idle chatter about a hung Parliament.

That advice will upset the calculations of the opponents of Unionism whose fevered imaginations compel them to believe that any of Her Majesty's Ministers who utter a word of sense about Ulster has done a dirty deal with the dreaded Unionists. Such fanciful notions are without foundation.



For opponents the real truth is far more terrifying, because the obvious shift in attitudes in Government and in Parliament results from an overdue recognition of the justice of the Unionist case; from a discovery that we were right and they were wrong; from a realisation that Roman Catholicism is not synonymous with Nationalism. Above all, a conclusion that Unionism and Nationalism owe allegiance to two separate sovereign states.

London misconceptions are being steadily eroded and Unionists need to step up the process of education.

Gone already is the notion that Ulster's problems spring from religious intolerance - it was easy to sell that to people who had no religious beliefs themselves. A former Leader of our Party - the late Brian Faulkner was the first to expose that fallacy when he said:-

"Given the history of the SDLP and particularly their attitude that Northern Ireland had no right to exist, it was natural that Unionists should feel strongly against SDLP in government".

Even now, Nationalists require a guaranteed place in government not for Roman Catholics but for Roman Catholics who are committed to Irish Unity.

In Britain it is now seen as unreasonable to demand that a privileged place be given to those who do not wish to belong to the United Kingdom and who have demanded (and in the Anglo-Irish Agreement have been given) institutions designed to obliterate Ulster's right to exist.

It has not escaped notice that when Unionists are exhorted to engage in summits they are expected to bargain with three Nationalist parties in the south and one in the North - four parties united by the one objective of removing Ulster from the United Kingdom.

Nationalism is an Irish and not an Ulster philosophy and stands opposed to Unionism which speaks for Protestants and Roman Catholics who wish to be British citizens.

While Unionists and Nationalists can and do co-exist and co-operate they can not be laced into one straightjacket any more than the people of Yugoslavia.

British Ministers have also become aware of the difficulty in linking their comparatively stable political system with a permanently unstable system in Dublin which has its instability guaranteed by proportional representation elections.

Newspapers prosper on weekly forecasts of the defeat of Irish Governments and such uncertainty is no base on which to build stable arrangements.

With Europe and the world in a state of flux we need to be clear headed about The Union.

It is natural for some to imagine that the Union exists merely in written documents. But the Union is far more than that.

It is a feature which has evolved over centuries until it has become a constitutional fact. It has drawn together four widely different regions and cemented them with political institutions which are flexible enough to adapt to change without weakening the structure. Even the sheer villainy of the Anglo Irish Agreement has failed to dent it to any great extent.

Indeed the misguided draftsmen of the Anglo Irish Agreement failed to see that the solid obstacle of the Union would be their undoing.

Regrettably the tension and the instability they created remains with us and manifests itself in steadily increasing violence.

Mrs Thatcher, who mistakenly lent her authority to the Agreement, has confessed to a feeling of guilt over the treatment of the people of Hong Kong. Last week she apologised and bitterly regretted her role in the Television franchise muddle. It is unthinkable that she will withhold her regrets from the people of Northern Ireland and not assist John Major to right so great a wrong - particularly now that Dr Fitzgerald has revealed the extent of the conspiracy, and we have separate documentary evidence of the bullying activities of the Reagan administration.



As guardians of the Union we need to be particularly alert to efforts being made to supersede the Union by the imposition of an undemocratic monolith. At Maastricht in December the Foreign Office will fall victim to the "form of words" tactic which has been so often employed against us.

I said at the Brooke talks that we are approaching the last meaningful General Election in Britain's history. Thereafter the authority of the Westminster Parliament will be reduced to little more than that of a County Council, in administrative and legislative terms. I did not expect to be vindicated only last week when our Brussels masters told Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Transport that he must not construct in the County of Kent the channel link railway he had announced with a flourish of trumpets at the Conservative Party Conference.

If the Maastricht Agreement is not repudiated by the British people at the general election, then what is left of the Westminster Parliament will have lost its authority to continue to impose direct rule - and for that matter the Anglo Irish Agreement on Northern Ireland. Because of this probable surrender of authority our MEP and Party Chairman Mr Nicholson; the Officer Team and the Parliamentary Party will be taking the initiative in staking out our right to regional administration. We could not contemplate a situation where administrative decisions were taken by a United Kingdom Parliament which had surrendered its own authority to Brussels.

The Party Chairman has, quite rightly, advised us to continue the avoidance of recrimination; to adhere to our opinion that no good can come of post mortems on the Stormont talks.

We must look ahead.

The Secretary of State was doing just that on 3 July when he informed the House of Commons that he had concluded that the talks should be brought to an end. He repeated the message a few minutes later when he said "I hope it might be possible for fresh talks to take place".

We stand on common ground with the Secretary of State who has never used the word "resume". He, too, is prepared to put the past behind. It is not in his nature, nor mine, to look back in anger - if only because it is bad for the blood pressure and worse for the soul.

Mr Chairman, you know that the team of Party Officers and staff have been beavering away steadily since 3rd July. Strategy has been outlined and tactics decided. First instalments will soon be submitted to government. Fresh discussions got under way a month ago and contacts are developing steadily. I intend that these discussions should broaden to include senior and junior Ministers from various Whitehall departments and with other parties. That wide approach is essential if we are to make real progress in extirpating terrorism from whatever source; if we are to repair constitutional damage and bring our influence to bear on law making and law enforcement. We shall fearlessly do our duty as the fourth Party in the Parliament of the United Kingdom because in all these great issues there is a United Kingdom dimension. Just as we made our contribution to the nation in time of war so shall we not shirk from whatever it takes to cope with the evils which seem to increase as the shadow of war is lifted.

The Parliamentary Party, more than any other element, is aware of that challenge. Every day it is strengthening the Union. A record number of Ulster Unionist Members of Parliament serve on United Kingdom Select Committees; are taking their places on various Commissions; ensuring that there is an Ulster voice on bodies such as the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and on the Inter Parliamentary Union.

With our co-operation the Northern Ireland Committee was established in the time of the Labour Government. We are coming close to the setting up of a Select Committee for Northern Ireland affairs.

All parties are coming to see the justice of legislation by Bill and away with those wretched Orders in Council.

I address a special appeal to Officers of Associations and Branches. Do not expect Unionist members of Parliament to absent themselves from the place to which you elected them. They are the advance guard - not the Home Guard!



We must step up the fight for our Councillors to be given a real job of work. It is nothing short of an insult to Councillors and those who elect them to be deprived of real opportunities to demonstrate their ability to serve the community ten times better than that monstrous regiment of quangos which behave as if they have a divine right to rule.

It is an even greater insult to impose upon Councillors curbs, restrictions and penalties, in the form of the proposed Code of Conduct, which no government would dare to impose upon Members of Parliament.

This is probably the greatest conference in the past decade. No one could stand in my place and be unaffected by the sheer determination, enthusiasm and vitality of it all.

In the years which have passed since you invited me to lead you I hope I have never seemed to embark upon an ego trip.

Today I cannot conceal from you a feeling of humility mixed with pride. I have never been more conscious of my historic responsibility to lead - not just this great Party, but the thousands who trust us to care for them and protect them. The clear signal from all of them is that they are frustrated beyond measure by the blind refusal of successive governments to forswear futile summitry and take practical steps to reinstate democracy. We owe it to our fellow citizens to send an answering signal from this Conference in Londonderry proclaiming the resolve of our Officer team; our Parliamentary Party and all our Councillors - plus all who have come here today, to take an initiative for which we invite the support of every citizen.

I have become aware not of the years that have passed but of what needs to be done in the time that remains.

It is a curious feeling that all that has happened to me since I made my first speech at the age of thirteen, has been a preparation for the challenge of the next twelve months.

I get impatient with soothsayers who predict that nothing will happen this side of the General Election.

I reject utterly such pessimistic chatter. There is work to be done from Monday.

There are opportunities to be grasped in the new Session which The Queen will open on Thursday.

The Foreign Secretary has admitted that the debate has moved on.

The world is a different place.

There is no room in it for the faint-hearted.

Of course, we have a General Election to win.

Of course, we must go flat out to grab pole position

And, above all, we must resolve to win.

To win - not because an election is an end in itself.

But to win decisively, to prove that we have bounced back from the betrayal of 1985;

That we have reasserted our authority and gained a mandate to put a reasoned case for the people of an Ulster inseparable from the Kingdom to which they wish to belong.

SATURDAY 26TH OCTOBER 1991





honour to address you as Chairman for a second year and it is  
In the North West which has displayed such fortitude over such a  
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our debate We will find a renewed sense of purpose and vigour in  
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a peace enjoying a new stability and prosperity and providing hope for all  
the people of Northern Ireland.

Since we last met there was a period of hope that a political breakthrough was about to happen  
but the electorate was misled by media hysteria and in retrospect it is probably wrong to speak  
of the Brooke Talks because the process has not even begun. The procedural  
weaknesses, the machinations of the various parties and the shuttle diplomacy with Dublin  
all conspired to place Unionists in a position where the people of this province  
stood against hope that politicians could agree a system which would begin the process which  
in turn would bring an end to murder, violence and a totally unsatisfactory system of  
government.

RELEASE TIME:

It is probably best to end the post mortem on the Brooke Initiative and because the emphasis  
was shifted it is quite proper to address future aspirations rather than review the past.  
From recent statements by leading mainland conservatives it would seem that at long last there  
is recognition of the Unionist case and although not admitted publicly perhaps there is an  
acceptance that Dublin's contribution has not been helpful in any way with regard to resolving  
the stalemate so long endured within this Province.

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I match the present  
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Government in which we should be able to  
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and at times retreat.

People are being murdered day after day and as long as too many are not killed in any one  
week those responsible for law and order  
less platitudes as they have done since the  
introduction of Direct Rule and so the spiral of violence.

We do not intend shouting "No Surrender" and "Not an Inch" all the way into a United Ireland  
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and are symptomatic of the substantial democratic deficit which this system  
has engendered within this province.

This deficit could be converted to a healthy balance with relative ease. It is commitment to the  
people and the promise of the required activity which I want to hear.



It is a pleasure and an honour to address you as Chairman for a second year and it is particularly pleasing to be in the North West which has displayed such fortitude over such a lengthy period. Your determination and initiative to sustain and develop the Londonderry region are deserving of the highest praise.

I hope that in the course of our debate we will find a renewed sense of purpose and vigour to achieve not only electoral success in the forthcoming general election but that most desirable of objectives a country at peace enjoying a new stability and prosperity and providing hope for all the people of Northern Ireland.

Since we last met there was a period of hope that a political breakthrough was about to happen but the electorate was misled by media hysteria and in retrospect it is probably wrong to speak of the Brooke Talks because talks on key matters simply did not even begin. The procedural wrangles, the machination of the Northern Ireland Office and the shuttle diplomacy with Dublin all conspired to place Unionists in an impossible situation while the people of this province hoped against hope that politicians could agree a system which would begin the process which in turn would bring an end to murder, violence and a totally unsatisfactory system of government.

It is probably best to end the post mortem on the Brooke Initiative and because the emphasis has shifted it is quite proper to address future aspirations rather than review the past.

From recent statements by leading mainland conservatives it would seem that at long last there is recognition of the Unionist case and although not admitted publicly perhaps there is an acceptance that Dublin's contribution has not been helpful in any way with regard to resolving the stalemate so long endured within this Province.

We are constantly told that we Unionists are unable to present our case in that we do not project an image of an outgoing sensible and reasonable people. In seeking to understand this reaction I believe that our directness of approach and response does not match the present media expectation of double speak so beloved of certain leading political figures. I would not pretend that we are totally innocent or that we could not have offered a more sophisticated presentation before a world audience but there is one overriding reason for the beleaguered look - the careful response - the feeling of being under constant attack. When one has been betrayed on past occasions ----- when one has a neighbour whose principal aim and ambition is to annex ones territory ----- when the sovereign Government in which we should be able to have total confidence has continued to give comfort and succour to our enemies ----- is it any wonder we are careful and at times reticent.

People are being murdered day after day and as long as too many are not killed in any one week those responsible for law and order express platitudes as they have done since the introduction of Direct Rule and so the spiral continues.

We do not intend shouting "No Surrender" and "Not an Inch" all the way into a United Ireland. We in the Ulster Unionist Party can no longer sit back and accept as inevitable a continuation of policies and procedures which have not given our people a standard and quality of life comparable with that in other areas of the United Kingdom. While we must stand by our convictions as Unionists we must also achieve for and on behalf of our people.

Later in the proceedings we will hear the debate upon Motion No. 8 which addresses the total dissatisfaction with lack of accountability operating through structures devised under Direct Rule which have robbed the entire Northern Ireland electorate of responsible and accountable decision making and are symptomatic of the substantial democratic deficit which this system has engendered within this province.

This deficit could be converted to a healthy balance with relative ease. It is commitment to the principle and the promise of the required activity which I want to hear.



I do not believe that any proposals put forward to date can on their own correct the Democratic Deficit. We have always said the present system of order in Council must end, and should be replaced by a Northern Ireland Select Committee at Westminster. This should not be denied to us but of itself would not be sufficient to redress the present deficit. If one looks to the evolution of the concept of subsidiarity throughout Europe and the policies designed to achieve Social and Economic cohesion I believe that only when we achieve a greater control over the day to day management of our own affairs can these matters bring maximum benefit for all our people. Without a degree of control over our own affairs we simply issue an open licence to those in whom we place no trust and who will control the future of this province as they have done since 1972. The old Foreign Office device of divide and rule has allowed it to manipulate Unionism which like a wounded animal can only whimper, and trust and hope that someone comes to its aid. I feel that we must continue to maintain a united front for the broad stream of Unionism at home and continue to cultivate alliances and friendships on the world stage so that our case is clearly understood and that Unionism speaks for the people, demands a better quality of life for the people and achieves a social and economic cohesion for all the people of this Province.

We are approaching another General Election the outcome of which remains uncertain. I consider the preoccupation with the result of the General Election to be red herring politics - we have a case to put and an argument which is irrefutable so let us state our objective with vigour. We can no longer afford the luxury of an internal debate on best policy objective nor should we be content to settle for the political crumbs dropping from a Conservative table. It is futile to speculate on hypothetical situations away from the more important issues. Security and the quality of life in Northern Ireland have to be paramount. To those who say that we are preoccupied with security let me respond that we would be delighted if this were not the case. Then we would have a normal society and concern with the subject would have no place in our thoughts.

We should not allow this to distract us from other issues we have concerning our people at the present time. The future of our principal Services - Health, Education, Environment, Agriculture and Unemployment (which have been placed in the hands of faceless bureaucrats) must be addressed to provide for the future.

We in the Ulster Unionist Party the longest enduring Political organisation within Ireland can be proud of both our history and our more recent record under Mr Molyneaux's leadership. We can stand any scrutiny as we have proved that we have the determination to endure no matter how mischievous or devious the Northern Ireland Office may be. But please bear one point in mind, no matter how good we may believe we are, we do not have the right to assume that the rest of the world will automatically share this view. To this end I ask you to look at what has happened elsewhere in the world. In Eastern Europe, states held together by force based on outdated dogma crumbled before our eyes and Eastern Europe is changing with unbelievable speed and this will have long term effects in Western Europe. So I say to you to day with all the conviction I can muster, you cannot defend your heritage with the slogans of yesterday. The challenge is there for Ulster Unionists to lead our Province within the Union into the 21st century. So as in Eastern Europe the present Direct Rule cannot survive no matter how sustained the support happens to be from the social elite and those who consider themselves above the Democratic process. So take heart, Victory lies before us.

Let the message go today loud and clear to Stormont Castle, Downing Street and Leinster House we are serving notice on you, your days of manipulation of this province are over. Your policies have brought us to the brink of disaster but you can not ultimately deny us the most basic of all Civil Rights ----- the right to control our destiny.

I want to say this sincerely to the Secretary of State. "It is the realities and requirements of our times which you must address." ----- You must deal with us and that can only happen when you recognise our existence, our need, our objectives, and we will not rest until the Democratic Deficit has been corrected and all the people of Ulster have restored to them their dignity. Fellow Unionists and the people know this is the right direction.

So let us achieve our mandate at the Election and then take what is rightfully ours so that we can offer every citizen of Northern Ireland a quality of life so long denied.