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DR. PAISLEY'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF D.U.P. 17/9/88.

That discredited and treacherous Unionist Leader, Terence O'Neill, once made a speech which became known as 'The Ulster at the Cross Roads Speech.'

It was written, so we are told, by one Kenneth Bloomfield as he then was. In fact Sir Kenneth takes very great pride in those speeches which O'Neill parroted for him.

The Cross Roads speech was a denial of democracy - no appeal to the electorate but a coupon signing gimmick appearing in certain Ulster Newspapers whose record under O'Neill's regime they now wish to forget or even renounce. It was an onslaught on democracy, and a conspiracy to take power from the people and destroy traditional Unionism. It was the sowing of the wind of treachery and it led to the reaping by Ulster people of the I.R.A. whirlwind of villany.

I wonder did Sir Kenneth think of it when four bombs were laid by the I.R.A. at his home the other day. He and his wife and family were fortunate, thank God, but many of our people have not been so fortunate and their tombstones are the dark milestones on that destruction slope down which O'Neill took our Province.

My recollection of the last talk I ever had with Lord Brookborough looms before me now. He expressed his utter disgust at O'Neill's actions and the dreadful results which without doubt he sparked off.

Without controversy, however, Ulster today, is at the Cross Roads and we must take very great care that we don't, either for short term advantage or popular pressure or political intimidation or a season of false peace, take another wrong turning.

I am no Johnny-come-lately Loyalist. I was O'Neill's prisoner on two occasions. Unfortunately my warnings went unheeded by those in high places who had it in their power to do something about it.

Today I have the honour to lead this party which was born to resist the curse of O'Neillism. I have also the responsibility of being, with Mr. James Molyneaux, a joint leader of the Unionist people and I am determined, come what may, to be true to the

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the sacred trust reposed in me.

I have no personal ambitions. I seek no honours from any British Government. I have one object and one only, that is, to see this Province through to a proper democratic settlement where law will take the place of lawlessness, order the place of disorder and proper debate and decision the place of paramilitary destruction and dictatorship. In such a settlement all who respect the law and the process of democratic government would both experience and enjoy civil and religious liberty. There would be no special privileges for the majority and there would be no special privileges for the minority. The operation of two laws which prevails today would cease. All men, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, would be equal under the law and equally subject to the law.

In such circumstances no Roman Catholic would have anything to fear. I am a Protestant, my Protestant principles I openly state. They are inflexible. I declare them with great plainness and fervency. I have nothing to hide. I grant the same right to my Roman Catholic fellow countrymen to do the same with their principles.

As an elected representative let me state where the Roman Catholic has a problem which I can help him with I have always been at his service. Hence the Roman Catholics from all over Ulster who come to my advice centers and seek my help.

I put it to them if that has been my practice since entering public life do they think that if I had more power in public office I would suddenly turn against them?

No, a thousand times no. I believe in civil and religious liberty for all men. What I claim for myself I will deny to no one else.

I want, and the Protestant people for whom I speak want, a Province governed in such a way that no right thinking, law abiding person will have anything to fear. Our aim is the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophetic vision, 'But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree and none shall

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make them afraid.' Mic. 4:4. By God's help may that day soon come.

There are some things which I need to say today for necessity is laid upon me.

First, I must state that except the British Government reverses its wrong diagnosis of the Ulster problem, and changes its disastrous prescription there is no future for this Province but bombings, bullets, blood sheddings and increasing bitterness.

A 'U' turn by Margaret Thatcher on security and on the constitution is our only hope humanly speaking. Short term military and political re-actions to the I.R.A. and Dublin are useless sticking plaster operations. They cannot staunch the awful hemorrhage of Ulster's gaping wounds.

I say to Margaret Thatcher, you have failed to recognise the nature of the enemy you fight namely the Roman Catholic Nationalist Republican terrorists. I use the term deliberately. It is the only proper description. Irish Republicanism, no matter how often Mr. Hume quotes Wolf Tone, is the product of the teaching of Rome in this island of Ireland. It practises Rome's machinery of forgiveness to give conscience and soul rest, after its adherents have committed the darkest deeds of blood ever perpetuated by man.

Only those who live on this island understand its nature and know that, only the greatest resolution, which will not be balked by the velocity and ferocity of public outcries, can put it down..

Kevin O'Higgins, the Southern leader, knew its nature and with the sternest of measures subdued it thus saving the newly born Irish Free State. De Valera himself steeped in it, knew the way to deal with it and was ruthless in its execution thus saving his own political skin. Michael Collins knew its nature and accurately predicted his own murder by its blood men.

Of this evil monster that soaks our soil with the best and richest of our blood; which has Protestant genocide as its ultimate goal; and the reduction and final extinguishing of Reformation light from this island, I can but repeat the lines:-

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"You may as well go stand upon the beach, and bid the
main flood bate his usual height,
You may as well use question with the wolf, why he
hath mad the ewe bleat for the lamb,
You may as well forbid the mountain pines to wag
their high tops, and to make no noise,
When they are fretten with the gusts of heaven;
You may as well do anything most hard, as seek to
soften that, than which what's harder? - the
Irish Republican terrorist's heart."

That is why we will never work in Councils or Assembly or
Parliament with the I.R.A. under their alias Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein
must be banned. It has no place in democratic politics.

One would have thought that with the flowing of the blood of her
great friend Airey Neave and the killings and carnage of her
friends at Brighton Mrs. Thatcher would have learned that. Alas,
for Ulster's dead she is a slow starter.

And what shall I say of Ulster's Munich - the so-called
Hillsborough Accord. So duped with Irish blarney Mrs. Thatcher
added insult to injury by proclaiming that she owed it to the
Ulster dead to put her signature to that Act of Treachery,
Bloodshed and Shame.

When Chamberlain flew back to London waving his peace paper with
Hitler's signature, the out of favour, out of power Mr. Winston
Churchill said,

'Britain and France had to choose between war and dishonour. They
chose dishonour. They will have war.'

Aye, and what a war they had, with France overthrown and Britain
with her back hammered against the wall.

At Hillsborough Mrs. Thatcher had to choose between war and
dishonour. She chose dishonour and she has had war. Aye and what a
carnage it has been with renewed promises from Jack Hermon of more
and worse to follow. Yet it was hailed as the only way to peace,

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stability and reconciliation.

I just want to make one indictment of the Diktat.

When Mrs. Thatcher signed that monstrous paper she put her hand to the most sectarian and racial document ever produced amongst nations. No wonder it appealed to the bigoted instincts of the Southern politicians.

The document put on record that an Irish Roman Catholic majority - mark just a majority, no requirement to its size - was of such a sacred and holy nature that she would hasten to implement its desire to kick out of the United Kingdom this loyal Province and annex it to the Irish Republic, that benevolent neutral to Hitler in World War II.

Now in the name of the Ulster people I say that the time has come when Mrs. Thatcher had better cease from her racial and sectarian stance and accord to the British and Protestant present majority in Ulster that same right so enshrined but only for Irish Roman Catholics, in the Accord. Instead of accusing the Ulster Loyalists of discrimination behold the greatest discriminator of all time - Margaret Thatcher. What she promises to a future Nationalist R.C. majority she must concede now to the present Unionist Protestant majority.

She stands condemned for deliberate and bigotted racial and religious discrimination. Remember the Agreement is not the law of the land yet it is used as such. Tom King rules by lawlessness. The racial and religious persecution which has flowed from the Diktat should be noted.

Under the Public Order Order processions, meetings and literature which constitute no illegality in any other part of the U.K. are criminal offences calling for heavy fines and imprisonment. This Order was begotten in the Anglo/Irish Conference and refused proper debate in Parliament. It is possible that to possess in your home a copy of the Holy Scriptures could make you guilty of an offence under this Order. Some of us have felt already the finger of this law and its jack boot is not so far away.

Under the Fair Employment directives, not laws remember, the witch

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hunt has started to list the names and addresses of every Protestant employed in Ulster in order to hound them from their employment by reverse discrimination or posting them to Republican areas where their lives would be in danger.

The Fair Employment Agency files are not, I repeat not, secure from I.R.A. informers and your name there, could be the very place where the plan originates for your loss of livelihood or worse than that your very life. Snooper Cooper and his hyenas are at their work with I.R.A. moles always at hand.

I see that an aide of Mr. Bush, the Republican candidate, has had to leave the election team because under Nixon he was employed checking upon the numbers of Jews in a government department. The Democrats have made it rough for him. Yet these same American Democrat politicians, the Kennedys etc. hound on the British Government to prepare lists of all Protestants and to take measures to deprive them of their livelihoods - such is the stinking hypocrisy of America's Tammy Hall reprobate politicians and all 'good Catholics' they claim to be at that.

I see that at long last Biaggi, the New York Congressman, whose vile propaganda against Ulster was given wide publicity by our news greedy media has been exposed for what he was - an immoral thief, a low down lying criminal. How quiet the local press has been on Mr. Biaggi, up for, among other things, various paternity charges. If some Unionist politician had so fallen what headlines would have yelled his sins across front pages. The Media however, suppressed the wire service reports on these matters. How could Biaggi have been good when he lived so long in the company of one Priest McManus?

Worst of all the Diktat has encouraged the I.R.A. to launch a campaign of bloody carnage and turned the clock back ten years. Smoke bombs, smell of blood, sorrow of broken souls - is the order of the day.

No honourable Unionist can live under such conditions. We must rid ourselves of the Diktat's iron yoke and enslaving fetters. We are neither the pawns of Downing Street nor the serfs of Dublin nor

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will we ever be. We will neither cringe at the feet of Thatcher nor run to Haughey for aid.

Let us see how sincere Mr. Haughey really is. He wants to be tested. We bring him to the test.

The Unionists did not build the walls which separate the two states in Ireland and destroys good neighbourly relations between them. You, Mr. Haughey, helped to build and reinforce those walls. If you are so keen to hear what Unionists have to say it is you not them which must take the first steps. Before you hasten to cast the mote out of the Unionist eye cast the beam out of your own Republican eye.

Demolish the Berlin wall which you and your party have made such a sacred cow of - the claim of jurisdiction over this part of Her Majesty's Kingdom. If you want to argue about the rights and wrongs of whose territory it should be, then go and argue with your own Pope John Paul II for it was his self professed "Infallible predecessor and vicar of Christ" Pope Adrian IV who gave Ireland to the English King Henry II for suitable payment of course.

Ulster Unionists are in Ireland as your folks also are in Ireland by right of conquest and right of survival and, whether you like it or not, we intend to stay. You may have succeeded in reducing the Protestant population in the South from some 10% to a little over 2% but you will never succeed in destroying the Northern Protestant population.

Why not face that fact and act accordingly. Give up your aggression, stop claiming what you cannot get, cease giving sanctuary, hope and encouragement or anything else to the IRA. Let your actions speak louder than any words.

Why do you wonder that Unionists are suspicious of you when

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1164 know your background at the birth of the Provisional I.R.A.

Stop maintaining that Northern Ireland is a failed entity and have a hard, sobering look at your own bankrupt back yard.

Instruct your Foreign Secretary to stop raving that an Ulster state is madness.

Start showing real concern about Roman Catholics and Protestants and security men whom the I.R.A. are murdering on this island instead of demanding and calling Conference meetings under the Anglo/Irish Diktat to complain when these murdering thugs get their just desserts, shot down in the same way as your own security forces have shot them down in your territory.

You know you can't achieve a 32 County Republic except over the dead bodies of the Protestants of the North. Is that the sort of Ireland you want? Are you going to keep up your agitation of the problem riding on the backs of the provisional murder gangs. You know if the I.R.A. were wiped out you would have no stick to continue to stir the pot. Do you prefer that blood soaked stick to the apparatus of peace? In grasping for an unreachable monopoly are you going to sacrifice the opportunity for peace?

You opposed the Anglo/Irish Diktat. It was not of your making. Why then can you not agree that it cease to be implemented and its joint British/Irish Secretariat be closed down while attempts are made to seek an alternative to and a replacement of it. Is that unreasonable? Is it not sensible if one wants to replace something with something better that one ceases to strengthen that which is to be replaced.

You know very well that Unionists will not and cannot accept interference by you in their internal affairs as you would not accept a Stormont Parliament or Westminster Parliament interfering in your internal affairs.

The representatives of Northern Ireland must meet without the stranglehold of the Agreement or any pressure from Dublin or

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London to find a way to govern Northern Ireland.

When that structure is arrived at and approved by a referendum of the Northern Ireland people then those entrusted with the working of that structure will deal directly with any government of the Irish Republic on those matters of mutual interest to the both states on this island home of ours.

Don't be deceived by what John Hume says, that it is because of lack of self-confidence we won't speak with you. It is he who lacks self-confidence. Has he not abdicated his authority to speak for his own Nationalist voters to you, and agreed to the setting up of a Conference to which he has no access?

We have not agreed to and will never agree to any such Conference. We have not abdicated our authority to Tom King. He speaks for not one Unionist voter and when the circumstances, as I have set them out, are achieved the Unionist leaders will replace the London Ministers and speak for the people who have mandated them to speak for them.

We do not claim any of your territory Mr. Haughey. We have no interest in interfering in your internal affairs or elections. We mind our own business and in the interest of achieving an end to the violence which effects the whole island we feel that you should do the same. This is the sure way to peace. You can make your contribution. Are you really prepared to do that?

Let me in closing turn to the way forward.

If Unionists had been divided then the Anglo/Irish Diktat would have taken root and would have been strengthened.

The fact that Dublin and London and the S.D.L.P. are now crying so loudly for what they were so eager to reject at the signing of the Agreement, namely consultations with the Unionists, is the best possible proof that the Diktat has failed. This rock of Unionist unity cannot be navigated by the Accord. It is the rock on which the Accord is wrecking itself. This party has made many and great sacrifices to keep that unity and that policy has been and will be

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be further vindicated. Unionists must not panic but be confident in their course and must persevere to the end. They must have the same staying power as their forefathers had on the walls of beleaguered Londonderry.

Some wanted us to give up those essential preconditions to successful negotiations, namely:-

- (1) The suspension of the working of the Agreement - no Conferences.
- (2) The closing down of the Secretariat.
- (3) That an alternative to and a replacement of the Agreement must be sought.

Now after all these years of unyielding and strong resistance the Secretary of State admits that these conditions were not insurmountable.

Then this very week in a talk back programme with our Deputy Leader, Seamus Mallon admitted that if these were conceded the S.D.L.P. would still be prepared to talk. What then is Mr. King waiting for?

Mr. Hume has mentioned about a forum for talks.

The nature of these talks and the results of the same are of such great importance to our people that I have become convinced that these matters can only be properly addressed in a democratically elected Assembly of the Ulster people.

When the Agreement is suspended I believe we should proceed to the election of a new Assembly, charged with the task of negotiating an alternative to the Agreement.

Ulster needs such an Assembly of the people to do this job. The debate must start and that debate must be democratically representative.

The imperative need of this hour is to restore the processes of common counsel and to substitute such processes in the place of

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private arrangements. Our future cannot be properly determined by back room, secretive, private confabs. There must be open discussion and debate in which all freely participate.

It must be candid. It must have for its purpose the airing of questions and the establishing of the truth.

Often times political debate has for its sole purpose the confounding of a political opponent. Its purpose ought rather to be the finding and founding of truth.

Ulster requires now such a forum to restore faith in debate and democracy.

If and when that Assembly has agreed its report, the recommendations of structures of government for Northern Ireland and the way forward must be put to a referendum of the people of the Province. The form of the government of this Province must be copper fastened by the will of the people. Those then who refuse to bow to that will cannot be allowed ever again to stop through boycott the implementation of the same. Boycotters will have to be passed by.

The Assembly should then be given a period to set up the approved structures and work the system which they have helped to devise. This, in my opinion, is a sensible, responsible and sure way to move towards a peaceful and hopeful future.

Make no mistake about it. The way will not be easy. The road will be most difficult. The task daunting. The problems seemingly insurmountable. It is a labour from which we must not shrink for our own future and the future of our children and our children's children are all wrapped up in it.

This is no easy option nor is there any easy option as some inexperienced come lately wiseacres would have the country believe.

I have pointed the way to London and Dublin in this speech. I quote the words of our founding father Lord Carson,
'We are out for business. We are not children, and we are not'

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fools, and they must deal with us as men, and honest men, and not as knaves.'

If they refuse to take this or a similar road and further attempts are made to allow the I.R.A. to destroy us while Britain prepares for a withdrawal, then we all must do some very hard and unpleasant thinking indeed.

I am a Unionist. I have always been rock solid on the Union, even my enemies admit that. As a son of a Carson UVF man could I be anything else?

If the Union becomes but a camouflage for joint authority and eventually annexation with Dublin then I for one will have none of it. I am totally committed to what Lord Carson said, 'Only a fool would fight if there is hope of accommodation.' It is such an accommodation as I have set forth we seek.

But let me add to that statement, 'Only a traitor would surrender rather than fight for his faith and his freedom.'

It is because of that you will be invited this afternoon to endorse a composite resolution which proposes, among other things, that the Party Executive sets up an enquiry into Constitutional alternatives. I believe it is essential that this be done by a proper representative democratic unionist party.

Let me make this comment to those who envisage a sudden change of heart in the Church of Rome, the S.D.L.P., the Nationalists and some Republicans. We are confidently told if we went for an Independent Ulster they would suddenly have a change of heart and would all give their allegiance to a new nation Ulster. I say to such people, you speak the language of folly. You don't know the essence of Romanism, Nationalism or Republicanism. If we were forced out of the U.K. and rightly refused to enter a 32 County Ireland then we would have to fight the Church of Rome, the S.D.L.P., Nationalists and Republicans and the I.R.A., yes and possibly the British Government as well for the right to go it alone and that fight would be terrible and bloody indeed.

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Those that wouldn't even stand up to the Public Order Order because of the fear of spending some days in jail could hardly be expected to stand up to death itself, nor would they. Indeed those on a certain committee, advocating this very policy are afraid to ever let their names be known. Faceless men are not what Ulster needs. Such who think that some form of independence is an easy option are fooling themselves.

It would be the hardest possible option but, in the circumstances which I have mentioned, our only option. That was the view of Carson and Craigavon.

In such a day all Ulster Loyalists will be tested. Policemen, U.D.R. men, civil servants, public officers, lawyers, professional businessmen, farmers workers, journalists and all others. Then the men would be separated from boys.

We must however work and hope and pray for the best but prepare for the worst. Remember, for example, Lord Carson refused to move an inch until a benevolent fund of a million pounds was raised for the prospective disabled and widows and orphans of Ulstermen.

I pray God we may not have to make such a decision but if we are forced to please God we will not be found wanting.

Finally I ask you, are we going to permit ourselves to groan any longer under the galling chains of I.R.A. terrorist victimisation? Are we going to permit the British Government through evasion and indecision, hypocrisy and lying to take us farther down this road of carnage upon which the Hillsborough outrage set us?

Remember Whitehall thinks our patience cowardice and our Protestant faith hypocrisy.

This day this Party presents Mrs. Thatcher with an ultimatum.

Protect us, as Her Majesty's subjects we have the right to be protected or we will have no other option but to organise ourselves unto a state of defence.

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Act now against our enemies before more of us are slaughtered or we will have no other option but to act ourselves.

Cease to discriminate against us because we happen to be Protestants or we will have to resist and destroy your apparatus of discrimination.

If you are neutral concerning our constitutional position within the Kingdom as the S.D.L.P. boldly proclaims and your appalling silence gives consent to, then be assured that the majority of us have not one pin head of neutrality in our souls but will die rather than surrender to Dublin.

You have the authority, the power, the security forces and the wherewithal to destroy the I.R.A. In God's name we demand that you use them or else you will be responsible for the inevitable, happening, in the fierce conflagration of the smouldering embers of pent up righteous indignation, resentment and frustration.

Play not with this situation. You can defuse the awful time bomb which is so dangerously near. We have pointed you a clear and reasonable way forward.

We urge you to take that way now. To delay could bring us to the place of No Return which God forbid.

I call this Conference to acknowledgement of the sins of our Province and of ourselves to faith in the God of our fathers, to the strength of patience, the labour of preparation, and the diligence of vigilance.

A total dedication is required of us all, dedication of ourselves, our possessions, our talents and our strength all dedicated to achieve those goals of which I have spoken.

In order that Ulster might be involved I, with others, have launched again Ulster's Independent Protestant Newspaper - The Protestant Telegraph, under the banner The New Protestant Telegraph. This fortnightly paper will keep you informed of what is happening and give you direction on what you should do. May the pen indeed prove mightier than the sword.

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We must give all we have to deliver our beloved homeland from the scourge of tyranny and arbitrary power. In these anniversary years 1688 -1690, 1988 -1990 may we achieve those inalienable rights and liberties taken from us by a perfidious and vacillating government at Westminster.

You all know your duty. Then do it. We can win. We must win. We shall win. We will win.