



**An Chartlann Náisiúnta**  
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① Text of Address of James Moynihan to Annual Meeting  
of Ulster Unionist Council, 26 March 1990.

Unpopular and unloved is the politician who in the aftermath of failure says - "I told you so" so I shall resist the temptation to grate on raw nerves. I shall allow facts to speak for themselves.

It was not Unionists, but two all-wise sovereign Governments who sold the Anglo Irish Agreement as a recipe for peace, stability and reconciliation. Five years on it is clearly seen as a confounded deceit.

Another claim was that the Agreement would transform security and make extradition automatic. It was easy to make that claim from the deep leather armchairs of the Athenaeum Club, on the grounds that the Irish are bound to be grateful to us for facing down the Unionists and lancing the Unionist boil. Where stands that prophecy now? It is repudiated from the graves of the murdered since that act of treachery on 15 November 1985.

The sheer villany of that treachery is confirmed in the words of the port-swilling authors of the Agreement "yes it was a matter of timing - we had to wait for a Conservative Government to betray the Ulster Unionists, just as we are now waiting for a Labour Government to betray the Falkland Islanders."

To those who ask if I suspect that an element may want to get rid of us - my answer is that I do not suspect - I take it as read. I also know that if it lay in their power they would dispose of Gibraltar, the Falklands and Hong Kong. More than that, one has only to listen to their jibes about Glasgow, Cardiff, Liverpool and Newcastle, to be convinced that their ideal would be a little England south of the Severn to the Wash. And they have done their level best to surrender even that to their masters in Brussels.

Time was, and not so long ago, when I - and others - were said to be in the grip of paranoia when we revealed the nature of the opponent. We don't need to warn now. The conspirators have shed their cloaks.

I do fear for Her Majesty's Ministers. I am worried for their safety. They can't take care of themselves. They are made to look and sound like parrots repeating obscenities like "The Anglo Irish Agreement is actually working rather well" or "The Conference provides a valuable opportunity for an exchange of views."

Foul scorn is a fitting reward to those opinion formers who contribute to brainwashing the general public. They betray and debase their own professions by insisting that a given policy is succeeding when they know it is doomed.

Those who dishonestly stand facts on their heads are either corrupted by promises or blinded by prejudice.

Only this month we had a cynical commentator lamenting that the first Dublin Supreme Court Judgment was regrettable because it vindicated Unionist attitudes over the past five years. He did not argue that we were wrong, but was livid in case we derived some satisfaction from being right.

Such is the despicable immorality of Ulster's would-be intelligentsia.

I am much more charitable towards the great mass of Ulster folk who in their innocence believe that others are as honest as themselves. It is a great handicap to imagine that Government Ministers mean what they say. I do not accuse them of lying -

(2)

they are just strangers to the truth. They have to be. They have to lie together or sink together. A Cabinet is never of one mind about anything, but they have to present a facade of unity.

Look what happens when a Minister leaves the Cabinet, whether he jumped or whether he was pushed is of no account. Within weeks he publicly disagrees with surviving colleagues clustered around the escape hatch.

Only last week a former Social Services Minister publicly warned the colleagues he left a few weeks ago, against cutting child benefit. Presumably he took that view while still in Cabinet but contented himself with muttering at the corner of the polished table every fourth Thursday morning.

To do more than that might mean resignation or dismissal, and the general public has come to accept that few modern Ministers are prepared to sacrifice careers for principles as one Enoch Powell did on two occasions.

So next time you hear a Northern Ireland Minister extolling the virtues of the Anglo Irish Agreement don't be too depressed. The poor devil is paid to say that. He has no option because he is not protected by any political Health and Safety at Work regulations. At all costs the fiction and the pretence must be maintained.

Pretence can sometimes have a blow-back effect on the pretender as was the case on the night of the severe storm in the south of England in 1987.

A suburban housewife was horrified to see her cat dragging in her neighbour's white pet rabbit. The poor rabbit was very dead and very dirty. The housewife was naturally very fearful of the effect of the killing on relationships with her neighbour, so she carefully shampooed and blow-dried the little corpse and cunningly placed it in the storm damaged hutch at the bottom of her neighbour's garden, carefully placing a piece of broken timber gently on the bunny's head. Some days later the cat owner invited the neighbour over for coffee and described a miraculous happening. Her pet bunny had died of infirmity on the day before the storm, was laid to rest in a rose bed; only to be resurrected on the day after the storm in snow white condition.

The Northern Ireland Office may not believe in miracles but they do have a touching faith in blow-driers.

They keep pretending that their pet bunny is alive and has a bright future.

March has indeed been a fateful month. As yet we do not know who decided to suppress news of the political earthquake caused by the Dublin Supreme Court Judgment of 1st March. Only the Irish Times and the Irish News recorded the true reading on the Richter scale. The Government and other outlets either didn't know or didn't want others to know. For a time I wondered if they had slapped a "D" notice on themselves to conceal the truth.

It took the second Supreme Court Judgment, 12 days later, to rend the veil of deception which has shielded the Anglo Irish Agreement for the past five years, and to unstop the ears of those who didn't want to hear.

The bemused delegates to the Anglo Irish Parliamentary Body, looking back like Lot's wife, must be asking themselves if their journey was really necessary, and whether future pilgrimages will

3) bring them nearer the goal of their ambition. How right Unionists were to ignore the blandishments and keep their distance from a mangy mongrel.

After five years of the Anglo Irish Agreement the tooth-paste is out of the tube.

It is now crystal clear that two sovereign Governments conned themselves and conned each other. The present Irish Government saw the flaws and spotted the minefields. They refused to be misled by the British plot to trap them into a structure which would compel them to complain in private but not in public. Mr Collins will have none of that. He employs both microphone and megaphone diplomacy, and why not?

Her Majesty's Government made all the concessions at the expense of Unionists and have got nothing in

The court ruling ensures that they never will get anything. The Supreme Court has eliminated any possible Agreement between Unionists and Nationalists as long as Articles 2 and 3 remain.

I will not insult the intelligence of the Members of the Ulster Unionist Council by detailing all that they have already read about the McGimpsey case judgment. I shall sum it up in the words of Conor Cruise O'Brien writing in the London Times:-

"the Irish partner in the Anglo Irish Agreement is bound by law to seek to acquire Northern Ireland. And the British partner in the Agreement is silently acquiescing in that quest for as long as Articles 2 and 3 are in force."

Proof of that silent acquiesce was provided by Dr Mawhinney in the House of Commons when he claimed that the Agreement is an important treaty "whatever the constitutional facts."

Those words are warning enough to any Protestant or Roman Catholic who simply wishes to remain in the United Kingdom.

Not only have the goalposts been moved - they have even ploughed up the pitch for good measure.

More than two years ago we put before our own Government a plan for a wider, fairer, more workable Agreement which really would have achieved the aims of the failed Agreement. The response was a stony silence. Instead we had false accusations that we were unflexible, from people who never got around to examining the rigidity of Governments. They are apparently immune from criticism. All over the world we see the spirit of democracy forcing movement. How sad it is that most of the British media seems content to peddle government distortions rather than pursue the cause of people-power in Ulster.

I come now to a very personal issue. I want you to know that I am deeply grateful for your trust and confidence which enabled me to break new ground in seeking to improve relations between Belfast and Dublin and between London and Dublin. I regarded that as an essential first step, believing as I do that perpetual bickering can not be a plus for anyone. Despite all the alarmist headlines we achieved some success over the past two years, and although much of that has been undone by others in past months, I hope that our efforts have not been entirely in vain. My hope would be that some day it will be possible to make another start on taking the heat out of the quarrels between the

24  
British and Irish peoples, and then to make a very determined effort to remove what are now clearly identified constitutional blockages.

However, there is no point in lamenting about what might have been. We must be up and doing.

The people of this Province who put their trust in me, and those who give me the benefit of the doubt, deserve positive leadership - and they are going to get it.

First if Ulster's situation is to be stabilised we need to look far beyond the boundaries of Ulster. We must harness that surge in world opinion which now demands recognition of the supremacy of the Ballot Box.

As early as August last year I sought to publicly focus attention on those parts of Eastern Europe which had endured Diktats imposed by Hitler and Stalin.

At our Party Conference in October delegates responded to my call for thought to be given to the impact of a United Germany on the EEC and NATO. In that month even Prime Ministers were scoffing at the very idea of German reunification, which they said might become a talking point in five years time. Last week's East German elections make unification inevitable this year.

So not for the first time, Ulster Unionism was some way ahead, and now, in a Europe which will never be the same again, we must be prepared to extract for Ulster, every possible advantage.

Secondly we must make common cause with the nations of the East emerging from their individual Diktats into true democracy. The millions who flocked to city squares made the same simple demand for self-determination expressed through the Ballot Box. We derive great encouragement from the transformed attitude of the liberal establishment and the news industry who supported people-power without a cheep of criticism or talk of the irresponsibility of bringing people onto the streets.

In Bucharest, British Foreign Office diplomats drank a toast to the success of the revolution, in contrast to their condemnation of Belfast protest against the product of the same Foreign Office. Truly the tide, which has turned in our favour, must be taken at the flood.

Thirdly, another favourable development followed the release of Nelson Mandella. For the first day since World War II there was no news in any other part of the world - even the weather was abolished. As black South Africans poured on to the streets they were encouraged by commentators to voice one demand - for majority rule and that right early!

Can we not expect similar coverage when Unionists make the same reasonable request? The time has come to expose hypocrisy for the fraud that it is. Truth-benders must be shamed into contrition and no longer allowed to do the dirty work for the enemies of Unionism.

Fourthly - now that recent events have made the Irish Dimension as dangerous to Ulster as the Argentinian Dimension is to the Falklands, there is a viable alternative ready to hand in what I have referred to as the Scottish Dimension. Decendants of Scots in Ulster do not need reminding that the Plantation was the occasion when some of their race returned to the Ulster from

(5)  
which they had been driven to the land of the Picts, by warring factions from Asia Minor. It is high time we made real the Scottish Dimension, and preparations are already under way to expand political, cultural and economic links with what is now known as Scotland.

Fifthly - none of these objectives must give the impression that we are by-passing our vital links with the Kingdom of which we are a part. Improved linkage with England and Wales is all important. We have been patiently preparing for the day when eyes would be opened to the real nature of the problem we face, and those preparations must now be accelerated.

This is no more than an outline of my plans for an Ulster taking its rightful place in the Kingdom and the world. Ulster must not become the Albania of The West.

There is of course a price tag. It will require money and boundless energy, but I am sure that both will spring from the ranks of all who understandably want to see real initiative; an end to our being faced down and given the run-around by yesterday's men devoid of vision.

I will not conceal my ambition for our Ulster people, whatever their class, religion or political belief.

I would seek to restore the harmony I knew as a pupil at a Roman Catholic school, and the teenage friendships which knew no barriers.

I would aim to recreate a society where neighbours sustained each other in time of sorrow; when sincerely held views were respected; and when people walked without fear.

I keep asking myself - "where did we all go wrong?"

Why are bodies blasted by bombs and ears shattered by strident political voices?

Perhaps instead of public inquest, we should each look back to the point where we as individuals may have erred. Then we will be in a fit state to begin the work of reconstruction.

In the Ulster character there is a large measure of decency and generosity. These are priceless assets on which we must build.

So let, us at the beginning of a decade, avoid the sins which beset us; ignore the distractions; and with the co-operation of all those who have become sidelined, set about restoring the reputation of the Province we love.