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PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

JOHN HUME

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JOHN HUME*

Thank you very much. I am very glad to have been invited here today, particularly at this point in time, to talk about the situation in the North of Ireland, where we have the last remaining area of conflict in Western Europe. I would like to begin by very briefly outlining the problem in its historical context, then give you my analysis of the problem as it sits at the present and also my hopes for the future.

In essence the "Irish problem" as we call it, or as I call it, the "Irish question, the British problem," was European in its origins in that Ireland, particularly the northwestern part from which I come, has always been very crucial because of its strategic location opening out onto the Atlantic Ocean. That location is why the Celts, Vikings, Normans, Huguenots, Spaniards, Scots, and the English came. In the Second World War the German U-boats surrendered by the river beside my home and the American Navy was based in my city because of its strategic location.

Largely because of that location, the O'Neills and the O'Donnells, chieftains in northwestern Ireland during the Reformation quarrels of the seventeenth century, had special links with Spain. Because of those links England decided to colonize the northern part of Ireland. As a result, the Irish chieftains were driven out. That was the beginning of today's problem, in that the colonists who came because of the Reformation quarrel were largely of the Protestant tradition. However, the natives were largely of the Irish tradition. So the problem is not, as many people outside of England portray it, an old religious war; it goes a little bit deeper than that. It is really a question of identity. To this day the Unionist people regard themselves as British — that is largely the Protestant community — and the Catholic community regard themselves as Irish. That is the essential quarrel for sovereignty.

Given the heavy concentration of the Protestant people in this part of the island, in the late eighteenth century when the French Revolution was taking

* Member of Great Britain's Parliament and the European Parliament. Co-founder and leader of Northern Ireland's Social Democratic Labor Party. This essay is based on a speech delivered on March 11, 1994, at Saint Louis University School of Law, where Mr. Hume was presented with the Order of Thomas More. Mr. Hume has had an extraordinary influence on the peace process in Northern Ireland, having initiated talks with Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), in an attempt to bring peace to a deeply divided people.

place, Irish leaders had very close links with France. That led to the Act of Union between England and Ireland. England saw Ireland as the back door for its European enemies and decided to close it by being present. That was the reason for the British presence in Ireland.

But come the twentieth century the Irish people, represented in the British Parliament as a whole, voted by majority for home rule for Ireland. That was not independence but it was autonomy. However, the Protestant people of the north revolted against that because they feared living in an Ireland where the majority is Catholic and might not allow them the freedom and religious liberty that they wanted. So the Protestants took up the gun against the British Parliament's decision and the British Parliament backed down. That led to a reaction on the Irish side which became the 1916 Revolution.

This history led to the drawing of a line in a map to separate both parts of Ireland. The North stayed British and the South got independence. Unfortunately, when you draw a line on a map you always leave some people on the wrong side of it. The line was drawn very carefully to ensure that there was a Protestant majority, which was also a Unionist majority. The line was drawn so that there would be two Protestants for every Catholic in the North which enabled the Protestants to maintain their position. That is how Northern Ireland was set up.

Let's stop here and think about that. Imagine if you were to solve the problem in South Africa today by drawing a line on a map and creating a white state — two whites for every black and let the rest of South Africa go free. Would you ever have peace?

That is the destabilized situation that was set up in Ireland in 1920. In order to maintain their position and to protect their heritage the Unionist people discriminated against the Catholic minority in housing, jobs and voting rights. That went on for fifty years until the new generation. Mine was the first generation of Catholics to be educated in the public education system and we decided that we wanted at least equal rights; that led to the civil rights movement. I was one of the leaders of that movement. Our search for civil rights led us to be battered off the streets. In turn, that violence against the strictly non-violent civil rights movement led to the birth of what is today known as the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA).

That brings us to where we are now. The last twenty-five years in many ways have been the worst twenty-five years of violence in our history. We are a small island people and more than one and a half million people live in the northern part of Ireland. Three thousand people have lost their lives in our troubles today; that is one out of every 500 people. That is the equivalent of 100,000 people losing their lives in Britain, for example. So it is serious and 30,000 people have been maimed, injured by walking along the streets when bombs go off, et cetera. Of all those people killed, more than half of them — 1,700 out of the 3,000 — are innocent civilians going about the day's

work when the bombs go off— killed, so to speak, by accident or killed in retaliation by the Loyalist paramilitaries.

We had two very serious examples of that recently when an IRA bomb in the Shankill Road went off and killed seven innocent civilians. The Loyalists retaliated by going into a bar near my own area, where people were just in for a night's pleasure, and spraying the bar with bullets, killing seven people — the doctrine of an eye for an eye.

It does not seem to strike them, as Martin Luther King, Jr. once said, that the old doctrine of an eye for eye leaves everybody blind. The violence of the quarrel today is such that it is necessary in the city of Belfast, which is the highest church-going city in Western Europe on both sides of the religious divide, to build not one, but thirteen walls to separate and protect one section of a Christian people from another.

Those walls are something that I use very strongly as a political leader to try and make people think about how we can solve this problem. Those walls are an indictment of every one of us. They are indictment of the Unionist people, the Nationalist people, and the British government who ruled Northern Ireland throughout this century. What those walls mean, if you stop to think, is that our past attitudes have built those walls and, therefore, they are an indictment of us all. When you have a divided people, you count the victory when one side is over the other. That is not the way to really solve the problem. Will the Greek Cypriots ever defeat the Turkish Cypriots or vice versa, and if they try what will they do but only deepen the problem? Will the Serbs ever beat the Croats, or vice versa? Of course they will not, at least not with guns and bombs. They will only drive themselves further apart.

We have to rethink our past attitudes. Those walls are a challenge to all of us. To the Unionist people, who are largely the Protestant population, my message is very simple and clear: Your numbers and your geography are your real security and your real strength, because we cannot solve this problem without you or without your agreement.

The Unionist people's objective is to protect their Protestant heritage in Ireland. I totally support that objective because I think every society is diverse and has differences, and the essence of democracy must be respect for difference. There is no peaceful society or stable society anywhere in the world which is based on uniformity where everybody has to tow the line for one section of the people. The diversity is essential.

My quarrel with the Unionist people is not in their objective of protecting the Protestant heritage, it is the method which they use to do so. That method has been very simple and it reflects a mind-set that exists everywhere in the world with this sort of conflict. I call it the Afrikaaner mind-set, which says that the only way we protect our people is to hold all power in our own hands and exclude everyone else. That mind-set led to fifty years of discrimination in Northern Ireland. It is bound to lead to conflict in the end. In any society

in the world, if one section based on color, creed, or class holds all the power and leaves everyone else out, it is bound to lead to conflict in the end.

My challenge to the Unionists is this: stand on your own feet and have the self-confidence to recognize that rather than relying on guarantees from Britain, your own numbers and your own geography are your real security; we cannot solve the problem without you. Come to the table and sit down as a people to share a piece of earth called Ireland and come to an agreement as to how we can share that piece of earth together.

Then there is the Nationalist mind-set, which also needs to be re-thought. The Nationalist mind-set also exists everywhere in the world where there are problems and conflict. It is a territorial mind-set: "This is our land, you are a minority, you Unionists, and you shouldn't prevent us from uniting and being independent." The Nationalist world of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found that a fairly reasonable point of view. But I argue, coming from that tradition myself as a Catholic in Northern Ireland, that mind-set has to change.

What I say is very simple, but I think quite defined: it is people who have rights, not territories. Without people, any piece of earth is only a jungle. It is the people who made Ireland what it is — Protestants, Catholics and the dissenters. The people of Ireland are divided, and, therefore, we cannot be brought together by any form of force on the earth. Anywhere you have a divided people and you try to unite them by force, it is contradiction; you only drive them further apart. So that mind-set has to change, and we must recognize that if the people of Ireland are ever to come together, they can only come together by agreement. Therefore, those of us who want them to come together should be working together to get all resources, particularly the British government, committed to promoting agreement among the divided people of the island, because there never has been agreement on how we should live together.

The British government has to rethink its position as well. Its basic position was: "That's them over there, let them look after themselves." For fifty years they did not lift a finger when Northern Ireland, as part of that kingdom, exercised all the discrimination that I am talking about. What I say to the British government today is that they have a responsibility to promote agreement among the divided people of Ireland. Whatever form that agreement takes they should legislate for it.

Of course it is easy to criticize the past. It is a different matter to face the future and to produce new ideas because the one certainty is that the past has brought us to where we are and it is not very pleasant. In Ireland, we are very fond of the past, but as I often say, a respect for the past tends to paralyze our attitude of the future. It is very easy in Northern Ireland to get elected by blaming the other fellow. I call it a "what aboutry." I believe that the chances of solving the problem are better today than they would have been fifty years ago. Fifty years ago it was a direct quarrel of sovereignty between

Britain and Ireland. Today that has changed because both Britain and Ireland are today part of the new Europe — together sharing sovereignty with France and Spain and Germany, et cetera. That has changed the nature of the Irish problem in a sense. But the legacy of that past remains, which is a deeply divided people. That means we are right to tell the British government they must now use all of their resources to bring about an agreement. Already the people of Ireland, both North and South, have agreed to be part of a united Europe. So why can't we get them to agree on the relationship on a small offshore island of that Europe?

That was central to my recent dialogue with Gerry Adams.¹ I got involved in that dialogue because I believed it was my duty to do so, even though it led to extreme vilification of myself and extreme threats to myself and my family from many quarters. But the 20,000 soldiers on our streets and the 12,000 armed policemen and the strictest security laws in Western Europe could not stop the violence. I believe that if I can make a difference, through dialogue and by talking, that it is my duty to do so, no matter what the risks.

So Gerry Adams and I did engage in a very serious dialogue on both our parts. The dialogue was about two main factors: the nature of the problem and an effort to solve it. My views and methods are very clear. I am totally opposed to acts of violence and to the killing of human beings because I do not believe that if you are looking for justice or human rights that you can use as your method one that takes the most fundamental right of all, the right to life. Even if you did believe in physical force, the pattern of death over twenty years shows that half of the people killed each year — and that is already the case this year — are civilian. How can anyone justify that?

Leaving that aside, the next area of discussion between us which was very crucial was the reasons given by the IRA for the use of physical force or, as they call it, armed struggle. I asked them to state their reasons, because it has been very easy in the past to dismiss them as mindless criminals and gangsters. I wish they were, because if they were you would toss them out in a fortnight. But it is because they believe in what they are doing that makes them the force that they are.

If you look at our history we were all reared in Ireland with the martyr complex, which originated in 1916 of dying for Ireland out of patriotism. And of course there is a thin line between dying for Ireland and killing for Ireland. But when I asked Gerry Adams the reasons for the use of physical force, because my point was the point I have been putting to you: "we are a divided people and you are not going to unite Protestant and Catholic by shooting one another." His response very clearly was, "it is not the Protestant people we are against, it is the British presence we are against. And the

1. Gerry Adams is the leader of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the IRA. The Hume-Adams talk began in 1987. All writings and agreements that have come out of the talks are sealed.

British are here defending their own interests by force." What are those interests, I asked, and they spelled it out. This is all in writing between us, both in public and private debate. Economic and strategic interests, and it is true that historically, as I have already written, Britain did have strategic interests in being in Ireland and economic interests as well, particularly during the Industrial Revolution.

The other reason Gerry Adams stated for use of physical force is that Britain is preventing the Irish people from exercising their right to self-determination. My basic argument was that this is no longer the case. Britain no longer has any interest of her own in remaining in Ireland; it is the Irish people who are divided on how the right is to be exercised. The answer to that is to get agreement on how the right is to be exercised. That dialogue between us led to what is now called the Joint Declaration of the British and Irish Governments.² In that dialogue, Mr. Adams and his friends said to me, "If you can prove that the British no longer have any interests here then we will lay down our guns and join in the process of reaching agreement."

Consequently, the British government has now declared that they have no economic or strategic interests in remaining in Ireland. They have said, in a joint declaration with the Irish government, that the question of self-determination is a matter for the Irish people alone, North and South, without external impediment to resolve. Whatever agreement they come to the British government will legislate for it. They have also said that they will encourage, facilitate and enable that agreement to take place.

In my view that makes it very clear that there is a challenge now to the people who live on the island of Ireland to finally, once and for all, reach agreement on how to share that piece of earth. The challenge to the Unionists is to come to that table with the convictions and strength of their own numbers and reach an agreement with the people with whom they share a piece of earth. And the challenge to the Nationalist tradition, and to the IRA in particular, is to come to the table as well, armed only with their convictions and their powers of persuasion. Whatever form the agreement takes, once it is agreed and the quarrel is over and we start working together as a people to build our country, then by working together, as I often say, by spilling our sweat and not our blood, the old prejudices will erode and a new Ireland will evolve in a generation or two, whose unity will be based on respect and diversity. That should be easier in today's new Europe, when one considers that fifty years ago thirty-five million people were dead across the continent of Europe for the second time in a century. No one could have forecast that in fifty years time there would be a united Europe where the Germans would still remain German, the French would remain French, the Spanish would still be Spanish, and so on. But it has happened.

2. Commonly called the Downing Street Declaration, the document was signed on December 15, 1993.

It is the greatest example of conflict resolution in the history of the world. How did it happen? It happened by recognizing that difference is not a threat, that difference is natural. What and where you are born is an accident of birth. I could have been born a Protestant in the Shankill Road in Belfast. What would I have been then? I might have been a supporter of Ian Paisley's.³ He could have been born where I was born. I have thought a lot about life given what I have been through in the last twenty-five years. The most formative years in anybody's life, take place before you leave your mother's knee. Before you do that you have learned an act of genius no matter what your intelligence. You have learned to speak a language which forms your whole approach to the rest of your life. So the accident of birth determining where you are born and what you are born is very important to the views that you hold to lead a free life, particularly in divided societies, and that accident at birth should never be the source of hatred or conflict. Germans are born German, and French are born French. They fought one another for centuries but now they do not anymore.

They built institutions in Europe: the European Council of Ministers, a European Commission, and a European Parliament, which has everybody in it and respects the diversity of the European people. These institutions concentrate on working on the areas of agreement, which are economic, leaving aside their disagreement. But by working on the areas of agreement together they then build a trust to tackle the areas of disagreement later. Since 1956, when the European union first started, it has steadily grown to an ever closer union whose unity is based on respect for the diversity of the European peoples. Just last week Sweden, Austria and Norway announced that they are coming into the European Community as well. And my message is: if you can build institutions in Europe with the divisions for centuries that respect the diversity of the European people, then we must do the same on the small offshore island of Ireland.

That is the challenge that faces us now. As the IRA has since then considered, and as we still are considering, a joint declaration, my hope is that their answer at the end of the day, and I hope it will come soon, will be to lay down their guns and bombs and join the rest of us in building a new Ireland. Breaking down the barriers of distrust that really divide our people will take time. But if we do, as we approach the twenty-first century, my hope is that it will be the first century in our island's history where we have no guns and no bombs. The guns and bombs since the siege of my own city in the seventeenth century have disfigured our people. As we move toward the twenty-first century I hope that we are now moving into the first century in our island's history in which that would be forever moot.

3. Rev. Ian Paisley is a leader of the Democratic Unionist Party and a proponent of a continued British role in Northern Ireland.

I know that this is the message that is coming from across the world as well. For the first time in those twenty-five years, what is called the Irish question is now part of the British government agenda and the Irish government agenda. Indeed, the agenda in Washington and across Europe in the interest of peace in Ireland has never been better. Let us hope that we can translate that into reality. As we move into the twenty-first century the hallmark of our patriotism in Ireland will at last be living for Ireland.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

What are the areas of agreement that you can work on now?

HUME:

The areas of agreement on the Island of Ireland are massive. In the first place, what all politics should be about at the end of the day is the right to existence - to put bread on your table and a roof over your head. The Irish are the biggest wandering people in the world, as I often say. Forty-two million in this country in the last census signed that there were Irish. Before America appeared, we were all over Europe as well, because we never could earn a living in the land of our birth. So the common ground there is pretty massive I think, in terms of economics.

I believe that we are living through the biggest revolution in the history of the world in our economic terms. The last revolution was industrial. That led to urbanization and centralization and depopulation of rural areas, and geography was important to economics. So the peripheral island was not important. Now in the technological revolution, geography is no longer important. Now there is decentralization. You type a letter in Ireland and it can end up in Timbuktu. So decentralization is important and quality of life is going to be what is going to attract investment, and in that beautiful island we have it.

As an offshore island of the United States of Europe and of the United States of America, I think if we had peace and all started to work together, I would say to the forty-two million Americans, okay, you are proud of your Irishness, why don't you do for that little island what the Jewish people have done for Israel. All I will ask you to do is spend five dollars a week buying an Irish product. That would be ten billion dollars a year and would put our economy through the roof. That sounds simplistic, but, in fact, it could be done if it was organized properly. I have already set up a detailed organization between Derry and Boston. The same could be done between other parts of Ireland and other parts America and work. We also offer a toe-hold in the biggest single market in the world now, the United States of Europe. In my own city of Derry, where the trouble started, we already have Fruit of the Loom, Seagate Technologies from the Silicon Valley, DuPont and United Technologies. In many ways that city was the worst example of the injustice I was talking about. Now that democracy prevails in that city and we are in

charge, we put into practice our philosophy of respect for diversity. There was never a Catholic mayor of that city until the civil rights movement and until the whole thing collapsed. Now that we are in charge, we change the mayor every year. Last year the mayor was one of Mr. Paisley's party. This year it is a woman from our party. Next year it will be Unionist again. We do that deliberately to show that we are not interested in revenge. Our future is respect for diversity and in creating a team spirit where our common ground is our city and we work together to build it.

Unfortunately Belfast is still the way of the force. There has never been a Catholic mayor of Belfast in history. My city is seventy percent Catholic, and I am the first Catholic ever to represent it in the British Parliament. That shows you the nature of the problem historically. In spite of that, in Derry the answer is not revenge, but respect for difference. We must convince the Unionist and Protestant people that their heritage will be protected in the Ireland that we trying to build. One of the ways of doing that of course is by demonstrating it by working together and bringing investment that benefits everybody. A hedge that separates the Catholic farm from a Protestant farm makes no difference in the fields. The problems are the same. Our troubles have cost the Irish economy a billion pounds a year in tourism. I was talking recently on Wall Street, and I pointed out that if you employ 200 people in an office in rural Texas — the cheapest place in the United States to employ people in an office — and you employ 200 people in Ireland you could save \$3.7 million dollars a year in overhead-like cost of buildings, et cetera.

As you know, civil services and government are centralized in a capital city. That should not be anymore. It is not necessary. We have been arguing for decentralization. Even in the United States there is great diversity. I often say to American politicians, you should never allow yourself to be presented as a military power or as an economic power. You should present yourself as a moral power and foundation. The United States was founded by people driven out of Europe by intolerance and they built a Constitution that respected diversity. I often say that the message of deepest wisdom is written on your cheapest coin, the cent, or as you step toward Abraham Lincoln's grave. *E pluribus unum*: From many we are one. Again back to my central theme. The essence of unity in any country is the acceptance of diversity.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

What would you ask us as Americans to do to further the peace process?

HUME:

I'm very much aware from my own contacts in Washington of the powerful interest in Northern Ireland, and it is a natural interest. Sometimes the British government and media regard it as an interference in their internal affairs. But given the size of the Irish American population in the United States, it is very natural for the American government to be interested in what is happening in Ireland. I call that natural politics. Just as there is every interest in what is going on in the Middle East because of the size of the

Jewish population. The American President has made it very clear to both the British and Irish governments that he is willing to give whatever assistance they ask of him. The assistance that I would look for would be economic assistance so that in the event peace broke out, we would have major economic development and could give hope to our young people. It is no accident that the areas of greatest violence are the areas of highest unemployment in young people with no hope. It is easy to recruit them into violence.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

Tell us your views on the MacBride Principles,⁴ because both sides have claimed support from you.

HUME:

I can be very clear on it. I have no objections to principles of fair employment. As a leader of civil rights that is what I was all about. What I object to is not the principles, but the campaign in the United States because I believe that the campaign stops inward investment. It was very obvious when you looked at the discrimination in Northern Ireland and public employment. That is now being changed. More and more Catholics are getting into civil service. But the real discrimination was unemployment, not letting investment go into those areas. The area I represent in Westminster has the highest unemployment in the Westminster Parliament. The second highest is West Belfast. The third highest is Newry and Mourne. They are the three Catholic areas of Northern Ireland. Twenty-seven percent of the people in my constituency are unemployed. When you walk into the housing estates in my constituency sixty percent of the men are out of work. That is the real discrimination. No set of principles will give those people a single job. What you want is investment and to encourage investment in those areas.

I tell the people in America who are campaigning for the MacBride Principles campaign to put themselves in the shoes of a company that is thinking of going to Europe and thinking about Northern Ireland. Somebody comes in and says that if you go to Northern Ireland then you have sign this now. The companies will say, oh well, there is trouble there already and instead of that hassle I will go somewhere else. In other words, I think that it stops them from coming. What should be done is to encourage American companies that are thinking of going to Northern Ireland to go to areas of high unemployment. That is an affirmative action program for tackling the real discrimination. That is why I object to the MacBride Principles campaign. In my opinion, it is stopping inward investment.

4. The MacBride Principles were drafted in 1985 by four Irish activists led by Sean MacBride. MacBride Principles proponents want American companies that do business in Northern Ireland to sign on to the principles and have attempted to get them to do it through a shareholders campaign similar to that used by South African proponents of the Sullivan Principles. See, e.g., Steve Lohr, *Push on Hiring Bias in Ulster*, THE NEW YORK TIMES, Sept. 4, 1986, at A1.

But recently church leaders in America have proposed to an amendment to the MacBride Principles of which I strongly approve. It is an amendment that would encourage American investment to go to areas of high unemployment in Northern Ireland.

As a result of our civil rights activities, Northern Ireland now has the best fair employment laws. Any company that comes has to obey the existing law which demands fair employment, so we do not need anybody to sign it in America. Once they go, they are under the law anyway. But if you campaign, people will stand up at annual meetings of American companies and say, are our pension funds invested in Northern Ireland? That causes trouble. They will stay out of it.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

Why is the British government spending so much money in the United States to fight the MacBride Principles? All it calls for is for the companies to make a good faith effort to adopt the MacBride Principles in their hiring practices and make a good faith effort to implement them.

HUME:

Provided they are in Northern Ireland in the first place. American companies in Northern Ireland are not responsible for discrimination in Northern Ireland. In my city, DuPont and United Technologies do not engage in discrimination. It is not the American companies that are responsible, therefore what we should be doing is encouraging American companies to come, not putting up obstacles. That has been an election issue quite a bit in Northern Ireland. I have stated my views very, very clearly to the electorate. The unemployed electorate and those who have been discriminated against come out in strength and vote for me. So I am speaking for the people that I represent when I say that.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

After thirteen civilians were killed on Bloody Sunday,⁵ how can we believe that the British government is serious about peace?

HUME:

Nobody is more aware of what happened on Bloody Sunday, when thirteen people were killed by British soldiers on the streets of my city. I spent that evening in the hospital finding out who was dead and having to go and knock on doors and tell the families. I have never, ever had a worse day in my life. Of course the families and myself have had recent meetings in Westminster. We are still campaigning to have those people killed declared totally innocent. The nearest we have gotten to it is a recent letter from John

5. The day known as "Bloody Sunday" was June 30, 1972 when, in a span of 20 minutes time, British soldiers killed 13 participants in a civil rights march in Derry and wounded 18 others.

Major⁶ to me saying that those who were killed were innocent of not having any weapon in their hands. However, we could always keep using past issues to say, because you did that twenty years ago I do not believe you today. It is a different government today. It is a different situation today. The British government has signed an agreement with the Irish government which arose from the dialogue between Gerry Adams and myself.

I have said to the British government, the price of peace is so great here that no stone should be left unturned, and if clarification is what is required, give it. I do not see why they won't but I hope that they will fairly soon because I do believe that the people that I was talking to from Sinn Fein were very serious about the peace process. If anybody here knows Northern Ireland, they know that I have been one of the strongest opponents of Sinn Fein in the last twenty years and they have been one of the strongest opponents of mine. So, when I say they are serious, I mean it.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

What feedback have you gotten from the Unionist camp on the peace process?

HUME:

Well, Ian Paisley says "no." And, on day one, the official Unionists said that they thought the declaration was all right, but in the last week they have been moving back again. At the end of the day, I think that we have to make clear to the Unionist people that we are not interested in defeating them, we are interested in reaching agreement with them. Whatever form the agreement takes, once the old quarrel is over and the fear that one side is out to beat the other is over, and we start working together, the natural evolution will take place and barriers will break down. This is already happening in our own city of Derry. In the last number of years we have taken small companies from our city and from right across Northern Ireland out here to market our products from both sections of our community. There have been over forty million dollars worth of orders already. That has taught them that when we work together, we get somewhere. So I would think that once there is peace and the violence stopped that we will be in a completely new ball game. On the Nationalist side all our energies and support across the world could be harnessed to help us. The Unionist people would see that we are not interested in defeating them, but interested in building a new country in which they would have a major role as well as the rest of us.

Of course, any agreement must respect the diversity of our people. I often say that the essence of Presbyterianism is respect for difference. Indeed, it was also Presbyterians who were very heavily involved in preparing the Constitution of the United States. In fact the Constitution was printed by a Presbyterian from Strabane called John Dunlop, and the printing press he was

6. Prime Minister of Great Britain.

trained on is still there in Strabane. If that printing press was in Philadelphia it would be a national shrine. It was a printing press on which the man who printed the Declaration of Independence was trained. That is another reason why I am trying to get special links between Strabane and Philadelphia, for jobs again. "Turn every thing to your benefit" is my attitude these days.

I think that at the end of the day the Unionists have this siege mentality. They fear that they are going to be subsumed into Ireland and then discriminated against. We have to make sure that does not happen.

Also we see that today's world is a post-nationalist world and not a world in which countries are independent. Once upon a time, people lived in city-states and in villages and did not know what a country was. Then there was a world of nation-states. Now we are moving on into continental states because of telecommunications and transport. I mean my mother never went further than just down the road. Yet her grandchildren are now all over the world. She would not believe it. That is the way the world has changed, but the political attitudes and structures must also change in that sense. I think we are living in a smaller world and that must be reflected in our institutions.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

The Europeanization Movement has changed the peace process. What role do you think the Union can take?

HUME:

It is already playing a fairly major part in the sense that Ireland, North and South, are what is known as "Objective One" regions in the New European Union. That means that you get the highest assistance from Europe to develop economically in order to raise the living standard. That is already producing quite a bit of value. Again, to go back to the Northwest of Ireland and my own city: We now have a new harbor down to deeper water and a new airport to be open in a fortnight's time. All of that type of infrastructural assistance, and, of course, agriculture, the biggest industry in Ireland, North and South, is heavily supported in the European economic community. At the end of the day that is the common ground area.

The International Fund for Ireland, which was set up following the signing of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement by Tip O'Neill and Ted Kennedy and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan—the Four Horseman, as we call them⁷—has already created 18,000 jobs. It goes down to grassroots, to community groups who have ideas to set up their own jobs. The European Community is now putting money into that fund. Last week the president of the European Community announced thirty-five million pounds a year for the next three years for that fund. I am going to Washington next week to talk about getting twenty million from them for next year as well.

7. The four horsemen include the late House Speaker Thomas "Tip" O'Neill, D-Mass., Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., and former New York Gov. Hugh Carey.

As a member of the European Parliament, I like to invite schools out to Europe but I make sure that I do not take the Catholic schools out alone. I invite them to come together and mix them up and take them out to the Euroscola Programme where they meet children from France and Spain. They all mix them together and they discover they have more in common than they have with the others. That is what I call the human process. So in that sense, Europe also shows that we have more in common with each other on the offshore island than we have with the rest of Europe.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

I guess what I was thinking of is more of an active role on part of the Union in the peace process.

HUME:

Well, both President Delors⁸ and President Clinton have made it very clear that they will offer any assistance. That door is always there and always open.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

As you know, the granting of the visa to Gerry Adams stirred up debate in the United States. Do you think it was appropriate?

HUME:

I strongly supported it, because my attitude was and still is that no stone should be left unturned in order to bring peace to Ireland. If granting the visa to Gerry Adams could make a contribution to that process then it should be done, and that is what happened. I think it did make a contribution. I think it was very important that he came. I spoke with him in New York. The pity is that the Unionists who were invited did not come. But it was very clear to me from the audience that they wanted peace in Ireland and that is the message that Gerry Adams got too. Given the fact that we are on that peace route, everybody should do everything in their power to bring it about. As I have said to people who have attacked me for even talking to Gerry Adams, if we fail, nothing has changed. But if I succeed everything has changed.

Of course, I was astonished at the media hype about his visit. It was largely produced by the British government's reaction. I couldn't believe it. I was lined up to do all sorts of television programs that week and they all canceled me because the British Ambassador said that Goebbels⁹ was coming to New York and everybody wanted to know who Goebbels was. They called Gerry Adams "Goebbels." All that did was attract attention and publicity.¹⁰ It was a bit silly. I hope that it did attract publicity. As everybody knows,

8. European Commission President Jacques Delors.

9. Widely reported by the American media, this remark was made first in a Feb. 3, 1994 interview with Cable News Network by British Prime Minister Sir Robin Renwick in which Renwick likened Adams to Hitler propaganda chief Dr. Joseph Goebbels.

10. See, e.g., Conor O'Clery, *British Attempt to Revive PR Disaster*, THE IRISH TIMES, Feb. 6, 1994, at A9.

there is a fairly strong body of Irish American opinion that does support Gerry Adams and company and it was important to get them aboard his peace process. I hope that will happen at the end of the day.

One of the things that has arisen out of all of this publicity is that for the first time in twenty years Ireland is at the top of the agenda and there is mass swell for peace among the people. An opinion poll in Ireland last week, North and South, showed that ninety percent of the people wanted an immediate end to all violence. Only three percent wanted it to continue. That is a very powerful message that will not be lost on the people as they are making up their minds.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

Do you think that you would be involved in the peace process if Sinn Fein did not exist for the last twenty-five years?

HUME:

Well, if there was no violence in Northern Ireland you would not need a peace process. That is self evident, I always thought. But when you analyze the Irish problem, there has always been violence for centuries. We all grew up with the notion that violence was patriotic. That is what gave birth to the Southern state. My political party is the only major political party in Ireland. It was not founded out of a bomb. We were founded out of the civil rights movement. So part of my involvement in this whole thing is that it is everybody's responsibility to do everything in their power to take the gun out of our pockets.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

We have the idea of violence as generated by Sinn Fein or the IRA. We seldom hear about the institutionalized violence and terror that has been going on for all these years. I have been to Northern Ireland several times and I am uneasy every time I go there because of the strong British military presence. Do you feel that their presence makes people psychologically less-than-anxious to believe everything that has come out of this joint declaration?

HUME:

Well, nobody wants soldiers on the streets. You take that for granted.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

Business people certainly do. If I were going to invest money I wouldn't invest it where a bunch of people with guns were moving around.

HUME:

Well, the British government initially came into Northern Ireland in 1969 to protect the Catholic community when it was being attacked by the Unionist paramilitaries. People tend to forget that. Bombay Street in West Belfast was burnt to the ground by Loyalist mobs, killing nine Catholics. The IRA at that stage had stopped completely and said non-violent civil rights was the way to go. But this give birth again to the IRA.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

Born to protect them from the excesses of the British military, wasn't it?

HUME:

No, it was to protect them from the excesses of the Loyalist paramilitaries. In fact, of all the people who have died, ten percent have been killed by the British army and the police force. Thirty percent have been killed by the Unionist Loyalist paramilitaries from the Protestant community. Sixty percent have been killed by the IRA and other republican groups. I want those soldiers off my streets. But if they go before we reach an agreement, that is a very, very risky and dangerous move, because if they go and there is no agreement, what happens?

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

Democracy could take over and the Irish people could make peace themselves rather than having it thrust upon them.

HUME:

I am not talking about anybody forcing it upon them. I'm talking about order in my streets. The basis of order in every society is agreement on how you are governed. Once you have agreement on how you are governed, you won't have any problems because then your own forces are rising out of that agreement. If you have no protection on your streets, the danger is that Belfast would become a Beirut, that one side would seize power immediately in their own areas and the other side would do the same. Where would you be then? That is a hard reality on the ground. But what I want is an agreement that will remove all troops from our streets. But if they go before this agreement it will be very, very dangerous and very risky and there is no doubt about that, because then whoever is the strongest will take over. What would the police in Northern Ireland do in that situation, given that ninety-five percent of the police are from the Protestant community? If suddenly there is no government when the troops pull out, what would the police do? They would go back to their own community, and then you have a majority Union community armed to the teeth and the minority community with maybe two or three hundred armed IRA men. Who would win that one? I wouldn't lead people into that risk.

AUDIENCE MEMBER:

Wouldn't it take some of the steam out of the IRA's motives if the British soldiers were replaced with United Nations (U.N.) peacekeeping troops?

HUME:

One of the problems of the U.N. coming into any place is that it makes a problem permanent. The tendency is then for each side to arm itself, and the U.N. keeps them apart. What I want to see is the British government and the Irish government together, which is now what is happening, committed to promoting agreement among the divided people of Ireland. That declaration would not have emerged if Gerry Adams and myself hadn't been talking. That is where it all came from.