



Northern Ireland
Assembly

Tributes to Martin McGuinness, Former deputy First Minister

22 March 2017

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Mr Speaker: Members will have been saddened to learn of the passing of the former deputy First Minister Mr Martin McGuinness. Therefore, I considered it appropriate to invite Members to gather here today so that they might have an opportunity to pay tributes and offer condolences. This opportunity is not a sitting of the Assembly. After I have paid my own respects, I will invite Members to pay their respects.

The Chamber is often the scene of the cut and thrust of political debate, when the focus is solely on our differences. However, my predecessor, Mitchel McLaughlin, put it well when marking the passing of Lord Bannside. He said:

"no matter about the heat of the political disagreements that we have in this House or elsewhere, ultimately, we are all made of the same flesh and bone."

It is unfortunate that it is often only in illness or death that we take a step back to reflect a broader perspective on the contribution made by colleagues. As a Member, Minister and deputy First Minister, Martin McGuinness was an integral part of this institution since its inception in 1998.

Many Members have sat in the Chamber during that period but few have demonstrated the same level of commitment to the Assembly. Indeed, without Martin McGuinness, it is questionable whether there would be an Assembly. It was important, therefore, to find a way to ensure that Members could gather to pay their respects and express condolences to the wider McGuinness family.

On an occasion such as this, while we recognise that there is a desire to look back on a political career, we are mindful that a family is grieving for a husband, father, brother and grandfather and that his party colleagues are mourning the loss of their leader and friend.

In an Assembly which is about facilitating different points of view, we respect the fact that many will be able to focus only on specific points of Martin McGuinness's life in a way that is shaped by their own experiences. However, to have a full understanding of our history and politics, we realise that if we reflect solely on one single moment or event in time we are unlikely to learn the full story.

In tributes to him yesterday, the phrase that was often used was that Martin McGuinness had been on a journey. It is clear, though, that he was not a passenger but was determined to lead the way for others to come with him. When reflecting on a journey, we remember where we started. It is also important to recognise how far we have travelled and the destination that we have reached. That is equally true of the life of Martin McGuinness.

A few years ago, as deputy First Minister, Martin McGuinness participated in the unveiling of the portraits of Seamus Heaney and C S Lewis which hang in this building. The Heaney portrait includes the line from 'The Cure at Troy':

*"Believe that a further shore
Is reachable from here."*

In his role in this Assembly, Martin McGuinness was motivated by reaching that further shore for the good of this society. We thank him for his significant and long-standing public service in this Assembly and to our politics more widely. We thank his wife Bernie, his children and his wider family circle for supporting him in that service. On behalf of this Assembly, I express our deepest sympathies and condolences to the family circle.

I will now invite the party leaders to speak for about five minutes to pay tribute to our colleague. I will then call Members as they rise in their places. I will not impose strict time constraints, but I encourage Members to be brief — probably no more than three minutes — to give time for as many as possible in the time that I have allocated for the tributes. When tributes are concluded, Members are welcome to join me in the Great Hall for the signing of the book of condolence. The book of condolence will be available for Members and staff to sign up until 2.30 pm, after which it will be open to the public.

The House will now pay its own respects.

Mrs O'Neill: I am only too proud to stand here today to say a few words about our friend Martin McGuinness. My comments are on behalf of all our Sinn Féin team here in the Assembly Chamber today and, indeed, on behalf of all our party right across the island of Ireland.

Martin McGuinness was a political visionary. He played a key and enormous part in delivering fundamental change in this society and in transforming the relationships on this island and between these islands. He was a gifted political strategist and orator, a thinker and an occasional angler when he got the chance. In an earlier life, he was a talented footballer, or at least that is what he told us.

For the Sinn Féin MLAs in this Chamber and for the Irish republican family across this island and beyond, he was our leader. He was our inspiration, our role model and, above all else, our dear and valued friend. So it is with a broken heart, but a heart that is bursting with pride, that I have the honour and privilege to pay tribute to him today.

I send all our love to Bernie, Gráinne, Fionnuala, Fiachra and Emmett and the wider McGuinness clan. He was our leader, but he was your daddy, your husband, your grandad and your brother. We are very conscious of your pain, and we will never forget the sacrifices that you made through many long and difficult years of struggle, during which Martin, as always, led from the front. I hope that you can take some comfort from the knowledge that Martin gave so much of his life, his time and his energy to make the lives of others better and to build a better future for all our people.

Martin grew up in the poverty of the Bogside. He witnessed discrimination, inequality and oppression. He did not look away or run away from the challenges. With others in his generation, he decided to confront these injustices. The struggle for equality, respect and self-determination for the people of this island became his life's work. His leadership and the example he set will continue to inspire those of us who are determined to build a better future for all generations to come.

As in so many things, Martin set the standard. He challenged us all constantly to do more by always doing more himself, by always going further and challenging himself and all of us to reach out to our political opponents. He believed that society should

be judged by how it treats the most vulnerable citizens, and he stood up for those who needed his help and support time and time again. He forced people out of comfort zones. He took bold initiatives to drive the peace and political processes forward. In his last public appeal, he urged people to choose hope over fear — to put equality and respect for all our people at the heart of the power-sharing institutions. That should be the clarion call for all in this Chamber in the weeks, months and years ahead.

The legacy that Martin wished was for a better future based on equality and measured by the joy and laughter of all our children. So, on behalf of Sinn Féin, I rededicate our party to completing his life's work and to living through his legacy.

Mrs Foster: I am making these remarks on behalf of the Democratic Unionist Party. It is fitting that, as elected representatives, we gather here in the Assembly Chamber to acknowledge the passing of Martin McGuinness. As I said yesterday, Martin was, first and foremost, a much-loved husband, father and grandfather. He was immensely proud of his children and grandchildren and often said that, although he had travelled the world and met presidents, prime ministers and even royalty, his heart was very much with his family and in his home city. Today, it is important to remember that, at the heart of this — in the midst of the headlines, opinions and commentary — there is a family that is very much suffering the pain and grief of loss. My thoughts and prayers, as they have been since his death was announced, are with Martin's wife and family circle.

Just like Northern Ireland's history and our troubled past, Martin McGuinness's legacy is complex and challenging. I know that this is a hugely difficult time for many across Northern Ireland; difficult for many different reasons. Many victims are feeling very hurt because painful memories and scars left by their own loss will have been opened up again. I would never seek to minimise the very real pain that they are going through — indeed, I understand that pain and empathise with all those innocent victims throughout Northern Ireland — but I also recognise that many republicans and nationalists who looked to Martin as a leader, friend or mentor will be feeling a very real sense of loss that he has died in this way at the relatively young age of 66. History will judge, and, as in all things, history will have the final say.

There has been much talk of my personal working relationship with Martin. He never sought to airbrush the past and neither did I. Of course, it is precisely because of his past — his involvement with the IRA in the 1970s and 1980s and influence within those circles — that he was able to play the role he played in bringing the republican movement towards using peaceful and democratic means. Because of all that, I doubt that we will ever see his like again. Our differing backgrounds and different life experiences inevitably meant that there was much to separate us, and it would, of course, be wrong not to acknowledge that, but we both shared a deep desire to see the devolved institutions up and running, and we worked hard to achieve positive results for everyone. We both served continuously as Government Ministers since 2007 and, during all that time, I think that he wanted to do good and to work for all the people of Northern Ireland. That was certainly the sense I got from him, and I hope that it was the sense he got from me as well.

During those 10 years, we have been through some very good times and some very dark times. We travelled the world to promote Northern Ireland on the international stage. We brought back jobs and boosted our tourism industry; from the Irish Open to 'Game of Thrones', we had some fabulous wins. But I also think of the various murders that occurred during those 10 years. In 2009, Sappers Mark Quinsey and Patrick Azimkar were gunned down in Antrim. That was followed soon by the murder

of police officer Stephen Carroll, and, in 2011, Ronan Kerr was brutally murdered in Omagh. Those murders were a direct challenge to the Executive, and Peter Robinson, as First Minister, and Martin McGuinness, as deputy First Minister, faced those challenges. Of course, in more recent times, we had the murder of Kevin McGuigan and the huge challenge that brought to the Executive in 2015. There were other tragedies as well, and, this time last year, I joined Martin in his home city to visit the McGrotty family after that horrific incident at Bunrana pier.

Why do I recall all this? In the recent past, much has been made of the collapse of these institutions, but it is important to remember what has been achieved through all the difficulties. Some make the throwaway comment that nothing has changed in Northern Ireland, but that is so wrong. Things have fundamentally changed since I was growing up in the 1970s and 1980s; they have changed immeasurably for the better. Martin McGuinness played a role, which I will always condemn, in the 1970s and 1980s, but I also have to acknowledge the role that he played over the last decade and more in government in Northern Ireland.

One of the events that I attended with Martin last year was the opening of the Heaney centre in Bellaghy, a beautiful tribute to his favourite poet. I will finish with a quote from Heaney, part of which has already been referred to by the Speaker:

*"So hope for a great sea-change
On the far side of revenge.
Believe that further shore
Is reachable from here."*

Mr Eastwood: Thank you, Mr Speaker, for offering us the opportunity to pay our respects to Martin McGuinness. First, I offer our support and prayers to Bernie and the whole McGuinness family. The people of Ireland are thinking of them at this very difficult time. We always have to remember that, in the full media glare, there is a family at the centre who are grieving.

I am very happy as a fellow leader, a constituency colleague and, most importantly, a fellow Derry man to stand here and offer a few words on behalf of the SDLP. Martin was somebody who was very proud of his roots and his city, and I am also very proud of that city. He understood that Derry was the crucible of the peace process and created many leaders, from John Hume to Mark Durkan to Martin McGuinness himself and many other standout people, who helped to move this society from a very dark place to the much better place we are in today.

We all have to be thankful for the journey that Martin McGuinness embarked on. We could talk all day about that journey, and much has been made of it. It was a journey that started in violence but ended up grounded very much in the principles of peace and partnership. I was always taught to take people as you find them. In my experience of Martin McGuinness, peace was not a tactic; it had become a fundamental principle of everything that he did. That has to be remembered when we remember Martin McGuinness in the round. He also did not just take his own journey; he brought other people with him. That has been in large part the foundation of the progress that we have been able to make.

Of course, we have to remember victims on days like this, but the best way to remember them is for all of us to commit to solving the problems and doing the things that victims want us to do. We have that opportunity in the next few days. We have a duty, in the next few days, to meet once and for all the needs of those victims.

One of the things that marked the last decades of Martin McGuinness and particularly his time in the office of deputy First Minister was his generosity of spirit, his ability to reach beyond his own constituency and his ability to reach beyond and speak to his own base. All of us should think about that generosity of spirit in the coming days. We should embrace the opportunity to build a different future where unionism does not try to dominate nationalism or nationalism to dominate unionism and where together we can build a society that all of us can be proud of. That is the job that we have now. Beyond this meeting today, we have the opportunity to do what I think Martin McGuinness would have wanted us to do, which is to go down to Stormont Castle and finish the job. As Seamus Heaney said:

*"... that further shore
Is reachable from here."*

But it is up to us to make it happen.

Mr Nesbitt: I am afraid that this will not work for me unless I am honest, and the danger with trying to be honest on an occasion like this is that I cause offence, which is the last thing that I want to do today.

I want to acknowledge that these are difficult and painful times for many people: for the McGuinness family, for the people of the Bogside, for Sinn Féin and for Irish republicanism. I acknowledge the pain of the Members opposite, who mourn the grievous loss of an icon.

It would, however, be dishonest to ignore the pain and difficulty of the IRA's many victims. I was listening to Kathleen Gillespie on the radio earlier. She is the widow of Patsy Gillespie, the man who was strapped to the seat of his van and turned into a human bomb. He died in the explosion, along with five soldiers. Kathleen is just one of many victims who regret that Martin McGuinness chose to take to the grave any information that might have helped people who simply want to know the truth about what happened to their loved ones. I also regret that he chose not to share what he knew.

Martin McGuinness knew my view: nobody needed to die for us to get where we are today. I know that he disagreed — very actively and, at times, violently. He also knew that I did not agree that circumstances left him no choice but to join the IRA. If you pick up a gun, detonate a bomb or order an attack, you are making a choice. History will reflect the enduring harm done during the Troubles, but history will also reflect that Martin McGuinness was more than an IRA commander. He was one of the most significant figures in this place over the last 10 years, and I am confident that history will be positive — very positive — about his motivation as a politician during the last decade.

It would be dishonest and, frankly, cowardly of me, if I did not reflect on my personal dealings with Martin McGuinness. I think that we met three times one-to-one — and I mean just the two of us. He was clearly a man of his word, a straight-dealing individual and a man of political integrity. The best conversation that we ever had was when, one day, quite by chance, we went for a walk around the grounds of this great estate, and, if anybody needed to be convinced that Martin McGuinness was genuine about wanting devolution to work, that was the conversation to tune into.

If unionism has anything to learn from Martin McGuinness, it is the importance of outreach. He reached far beyond his comfort zone on so many occasions, and, occasionally, he complained — with some reason — that unionism did not always

reciprocate. Last year, I debated with Martin McGuinness in Bundoran, at an event organised by Drew University, New Jersey. The audience was Irish republican and Irish American, so, as I said at the time, it was an away match for me. Sometimes, however, away goals count double, and Martin McGuinness was not afraid of a political away match. Unionism must learn: we must be better at taking our case to the widest possible audience, and we must do so with confidence and with pride.

I have been listening to the public debate since Martin's death, and, naturally, opinion is split. Nobody should forget or try to airbrush out those early years — he certainly never did — nor should we disrespect those who cannot forgive. We in the Chamber, however, are elected to be leaders, and we need to show some empathy. Republicans and nationalists; unionists and loyalists — we are not going away. We will have to find a way to at least rub along together or, perhaps, go a bit further and deliver on the commitments of the Belfast Agreement to reconciliation, tolerance, trust building and showing each other mutual respect. The starting place is here, in the Chamber. Let us remember that the purpose of political debate is not victory but communal progress.

Martin McGuinness's commitment to the devolved institutions is being hailed as unique within Sinn Féin. For the sake of the future of devolution, let us hope that is that not the case.

Mrs Long: First, I send my condolences to Bernie, to the children and grandchildren, and to the wider McGuinness family circle. They are very much in our thoughts and prayers at this time, and not just in these very difficult days but in the difficult weeks, months and years that lie ahead.

One of my memories of Martin outside this place was when I met him in his home city. I was there having dinner with my family, and we happened to be in the same restaurant.

I introduced him to my young nephew. I said, "This is a very important man", and he looked round and said, "Has somebody come in?". My nephew was quite amused, but he got to meet him and talk with him. It is clear that he was at his happiest and most relaxed when he was at home with his family. It is their loss that will be the greatest of all. I also offer my condolences to Michelle and her colleagues in the Chamber and further afield on their loss. I know they will very much miss him as a guide, a mentor and a friend.

I also acknowledge that there are those who suffered as a result of the IRA campaign and more widely in the Troubles who today will find this a very difficult time. I do not want to minimise their feelings or experience, nor do I want to appear to absolve the wrong that was done during that period. I simply acknowledge the difficulty they will have at this time and hope that, in our efforts to find a better way forward, we can bring some comfort to them too.

Martin's life as a public figure is well-documented — both his early life and involvement in the IRA campaign and his pivotal role in bringing that violent campaign to an end and moving us to the place we are today. I do not believe we would enjoy the relative peace we do today if it were not for people like Martin McGuinness and others who showed the vision, leadership and courage to move from very entrenched positions in the darkest of times to offer hope of a better future. For that, I am grateful. Despite all our political differences, I pay tribute to his service in the Assembly as an MLA, a Minister and deputy First Minister over 10 years. In that role, he continued to show leadership and not only challenge his opponents in

the Chamber but often stretch his own constituency so that we could continue to move forward together. If we are to do so, we need to find ways to be reconciled to not just each other but our painful and troubled past. We need to pay our debt of gratitude to all those who have brought us this far. I believe we best repay that debt by fulfilling our primary duty and responsibility as elected representatives to deliver a better legacy to the next generation than the one we inherited and to offer them a more complete process of peacemaking and reconciliation than the rather fragile and incomplete one we have at the moment.

Mr Agnew: On behalf of the Green Party in Northern Ireland, I express our condolences to the family, friends and colleagues of Martin McGuinness. My experience of Martin was really through the Chamber and these corridors. My first time meeting him was when I was a researcher and we were in the stationery cupboard. I found it very bizarre, as a boy from Ballybeen, to be speaking to Martin McGuinness about the weather and having a normal, everyday conversation. That is how the relationship continued. He always had time for a chat; he always took the time and was always friendly in his engagements. In a professional role, I always found him respectful and someone I could work with. Again, he always treated me with respect as a political colleague and never in any way acted superior. That was the Martin McGuinness I knew. There will be many here who knew him better.

It is unfortunate but, I suppose, inevitable that we try to reflect on everything, good and bad, about a politician's political career when they die. I believe the time to do that is when their political career ends. Yesterday, a man died. I believe that every death should be mourned.

Mr Allister: Every death brings grief and sorrow to the family and friends of the deceased and rightly evokes sympathy for the family. It is no different in the case of Mr McGuinness.

What is different is that he bears responsibility for many violent and needless deaths in our community. As an IRA terrorist and commander, his hands drip with the blood of the innocent. He goes to his grave having shown no remorse and no regret and having made no apology for the terror that he brought to our streets; rather, he continued to justify the bloodthirsty wickedness that was the IRA campaign.

Martin McGuinness died on 21 March at the age of 66. On 21 March 1988, a young police officer from my constituency, Constable Clive Graham, died. He was murdered in the Creggan estate by the IRA, shot at a checkpoint. He never got the chance to live to 66, never got the chance to marry his girlfriend of the time and never got the chance to see children and grandchildren. Why? Because a man of blood decided that he would die. That, sadly, can be recited and recounted many times, because Mr McGuinness thought it appropriate not just to sanction and commit murder but to take those dark secrets with him, denying truth and justice to many of his IRA victims. His republican code of silence trumped his every posturing as a peacemaker, meaning that for many, myself included, his abiding legacy is that of a victim maker, as evidenced so chillingly by our graveyards.

Today, my thoughts primarily are with the many victims of Martin McGuinness's murderous IRA, and, thus, I come to note the death of Martin McGuinness but not to praise him.

Mr Carroll: I offer my sincere and heartfelt condolences to the family of Martin McGuinness, who have lost a husband, a father, a brother and a grandfather. I also

offer my condolences on behalf of People Before Profit to the members and supporters of Sinn Féin, who are dealing with the loss with one of their leaders.

There will be a time to offer a more rounded and detailed assessment of the legacy of Martin McGuinness, but, for me, today is not that day. One reason I say that is the hurt that has already been caused by attempts in the media, since Martin McGuinness's passing, to rewrite history and create a simplistic narrative of the bad man who went good and the ex-combatant who saw the error of his ways and became a peacemaker. That kind of narrative may make a good Hollywood film, but the reality is much more complex.

Martin McGuinness was, of course, a product of his environment. No doubt, he was a product of the Bogside and the community that he grew up in, but he was also a product of a discriminatory state, of the decades-long denial of civil rights to Catholics and the disastrous reaction of the then Establishment in this House and the Establishment in London to the peaceful demands for change in this country. No one, therefore, can seriously criticise Martin McGuinness and the choices he made without an understanding of the way that powerful forces created the environment in which he and thousands of other people grew up.

Martin would eventually become a major player in politics here who came to have a role in shaping this country. He took many decisions that I may not agree with and even strongly disagree with, both in his early days before I was born and in the later journey that led him to this House. It may not be custom in this House to quote Karl Marx, but Marx once wrote something that I think is pertinent today in the discussion about Martin McGuinness. He said:

"Men make history when not in circumstances of their own choosing".

Martin McGuinness did not choose the circumstances in which he made history and, whatever disagreements I had with him, I appreciate his efforts to ensure that those who set out to make history in the future may do so in circumstances very different from those that he and others were forced to endure.

Ms Sugden: I want to offer my sincere condolences to Martin's family and friends, and I also want to offer my condolences to Michelle and Sinn Féin and their followers. I do believe that it is entirely appropriate that we, as colleagues, pay our respects to the passing of Martin McGuinness and show grace and compassion to the people today who are hurting and mourning his loss.

I vaguely remember the Troubles, and it was so much the worst of times. Perhaps today is not best of times, but we are at peace, and that is the most important thing. From then until now, Martin McGuinness was part of that journey to peace, and that is something that we need to acknowledge.

Fortunately, I am not in a position where I need to forgive. There are many out there who are, and we have seen and heard the comments in the past couple of days. I fully understand and fully respect the comments of people; following Martin's passing, they are what we all would have expected. I was particularly touched by the comments yesterday of Ian Paisley Junior, who said that it is not necessarily about how you begin your life but how you end your life. I certainly think that Martin McGuinness's contribution to the peace of this country and to how we can move forward to a better place is important.

I was a child of the Good Friday Agreement. I am a unionist and was brought up thinking a very certain way about Martin McGuinness, but when I became a member of the Executive last year, my opinion significantly changed because he was very kind, generous and supportive of me in that role. I think that that is important. As political leaders, that is the way that we need to take forward. I was also touched that, when my predecessor passed away two years ago, Martin attended that funeral. I think that, again, he showed an incredible amount of leadership. The opportunity to hear the comments around the Chamber today demonstrates that leadership that we need to keep thinking about if we are going to move Northern Ireland forward.

If there is a legacy that we need to ensure, it is that these institutions need to work. For the greater good, not for my generation but for the generation after, we need to keep moving forward. I think that that is the positive message that we can take out of this sad time today.

Mr Speaker: I invite any other Member who wishes to speak to rise in their place.

Ms Bailey: I buried my own father last summer, and I know the pain that that brings. So, today, I and my party leader, Steven Agnew, on behalf of the Green Party, send our deepest condolences to the entire McGuinness family circle in this time of grief. We wish them every strength needed to get through the tough times ahead.

As a relatively new Member of the Assembly, my personal dealings with Martin McGuinness were limited, but what I did see was a man who carried himself with a calm authority and who, seemingly without effort, had the full attention of people in a room. Never once did he pass me without a nod and a smile, and he always acknowledged me by name. Since his death was announced yesterday, I have listened to much of the commentary about his journey from paramilitary to politician, but his story did not start with the IRA, nor with a bomb or a bullet.

His story starts from the beginning as a boy from the Bogside. His journey in life should be acknowledged as a powerful one even by those, myself included, who would not and did not choose to walk in his shoes or take the paths and actions in life that he did.

I have heard various people who worked closely with Martin McGuinness through the peace negotiations say that, without him, there would be no Northern Ireland Assembly today. Let us make a commitment not to make the mistake of having no Assembly after his passing. Let us not take it for granted that this institution can be allowed to fall without a full understanding of what that may lead to. If we cannot continue to move forward or find it within us to be peacemakers, reconciled with where we are today, how we got here and what still needs to be achieved, we all fail as leaders. He said recently that there would be no return to the status quo: that should echo today as a warning about much more than an RHI scandal and the failure of a single Executive. Our fragile peace process is at a crossroads. The choices made by everyone in the Chamber will greatly influence the road we next travel.

I have also listened to victims tell their often harrowing stories through media channels. I hope that we have all listened, because it is impossible not to feel their pain, their trauma and their continued hurt. What was also blatantly obvious as I listened is that we, as a society, urgently need to find it within us to come to terms with our past and give some form of peace to those still living that pain, that trauma and that hurt. That is not the past: it is very much the present and will continue into our future if we cannot commit to giving the space and structure that is desperately

needed and required by so many. That responsibility lies firmly with the British and Irish Governments as well as with us.

Let us take the opportunity offered today to see how far we have come, to understand that concession, compromise and commitment will be central to where we need to be and to do all that is within our power to choose the best way forward and bring people with us. As many of those who have gone before us have shown, these are the real and true signs of leadership.

Mr Ford: I also express my personal sympathy to Bernie McGuinness, her family and family circle and to Michelle and our colleagues in Sinn Féin in this place.

Much has been said about Martin — it does not all need to be repeated at this stage — but I certainly think that we should acknowledge the personality he was when he reached the end of the journey of which others have spoken. I think in particular of one social occasion: the Game for Anto, a Gaelic football match played at Ravenhill. At the meal beforehand, while others were tending to assemble around tables in their own comfort zones, Martin McGuinness ended up sitting down between the wife of the Chief Constable and the wife of the Justice Minister. That was his personality — always seeking to reach out.

There is absolutely no doubt in my mind, as the one who had the privilege of becoming the first devolved Justice Minister here, that he played a fundamental role in ensuring that the Assembly and its institutions were complete with the devolution of justice in 2010. Without him putting his efforts into that, I do not think that we would have seen that change occur. I also remember, just a few weeks into my time as Minister, when a potentially difficult issue — difficult for me as Minister and difficult for Sinn Féin — occurred. It was resolved in a quiet conversation in the castle: Martin gave his word, and he stuck to his word.

So, yes, today we should remember that there is a past, and there are those who are suffering today as they hear tributes paid to the man that Martin McGuinness became. It is not for people like me, who did not suffer personally, to criticise them, but let us acknowledge that, at the end of the road, Martin McGuinness made significant moves in his outreach, particularly on policing and justice issues, which ensured that we are all in a much better place than we were. Let us resolve to continue that work.

Mr Speaker: Members, that concludes tributes to Martin McGuinness. I invite the party leaders to join me in the Rotunda, before proceeding to the Great Hall to sign the book of condolence, followed by any other Member who wishes to do so.