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[EMBARGO 10am Tuesday 7 December 1993]

I confess that I once entertained the hope, if not the beilef, that England would rise in the magnificence of her might, and struggle triumphently to attain those goals for which principled men live and righteous nations flourish. I thought that the defeat of terrorism and the restoration of democracy were goals for which the government eventually would struggle. Not so, Instead it has determined to seek terms with the IRA and negate democracy to appease Dublin.

The Prime Minister that in the execution of this policy he will have a knot before him which he will never untile. The prevailing and fixed opinion of the great majority of the community is that they will not accept any further dilution of the Unionist position nor any further strengthening of Dublin Interference. They are prepared to go to the well upon this issue if events demand it.

Many Ulster people, by nature, are prepared to extend to everything their government says at least a generous interpretation, and to its actions a liberal construction, but recent events confirm the worst fears of the least trusting Ulster citizen.

The unionist people now know - though it was never intended that they should - the detail of the Dublin government's game-plan. They know also - though it was never intended that they should - the details of the British government's negotiations with the IRA. None of us can now be unaware of the depth of the constitutional peril in which our province is steeped. It was intended that unlonlats would be brought into the condition being framed behind their backs without ever seeing the whole programme. The leaking of the Dublin document revealed the intended goal before the conspirators

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e ready to reveal it, or more important, defend it. The Tory tête-à-lête with the morists - exposed to the embarrassment of the government - has alerted everyone to the government's attempt at cobbling together a reason payment to the IRA.

Heaping dishonesty upon treachery, the government have lied, deceived and forged, in a vain attempt to cover-up its chicanery and subterfuge. Where was the "Official Opposition"? It forfeited any right to call itself an opposition. Where were the men of truth and honour? They skulked in the wings. They all knew that the government had lied and deceived. They all admitted the government had behaved as knaves but... but they claim it did so in a good cause. They wented to protect the "peace process". They have no idea what this "peace process" is, but, in their naive ignorance, they are content that it is so important that it can be safely constructed upon lies and deceit. In this cause, truth is not to be tolerated and those who inconveniently speak it should be silenced. Truth is expendable. So much for the Scriptural exhortation that Righteousness exalteth a Nation.

This cynical government bathes and wallows in public Impropriety and exhibits the distrustful inability to discriminate between good and evil. Meanwhile the party of the properties who shortly beforehand had cheered the Prime Minister for keeping Sinn Fein at barge-poll's length test contact would turn his stomach applauded the Secretary of State for having regular and engoing negotiations with the IRA terrorists and we are asked to trust this government. What possible faith could any intelligent unionist have in such double-dealers.

Now the Republic's twin manipulators, Spting and Reynolds, would have unlonists believe that Dublin has no designs on taking over Northern Ireland. We are supposed to forget that their authenticated leaked document wanted to diminish the Union and seek to have the "value" of a united Ireland accepted and the British government tied into working towards this goal by providing "operational expression" for It. Unionists are required to ignore Dublin's proposal to set up an all-heland body with "executive functions" which would become an embryo united Ireland. We are to disregard the Republic's proposition that they should have a joint "monitoring end guaranteeing" role over any future Northern Ireland Assembly and want to have the right of "intervention and redress" over Ulster's local institutions. In addition unionists have to overlook the attempt by Dublin to recast Ulster's unqualified and unrestricted right to self-determination and also pass over Reynolds' demand for Britain to persuade the unionist community to accept a united Ireland.

The Spring/Reynolds lullaby will not cause unionists to drop their guard. The Republic's so-called "peace process" is a recipe for conflict. It is not remotely capable of bringing peace - and they know it. The public is being conned. There is nothing in it aimed at stopping loyalist paramilitary activity. It is designed only to address the concessions demanded by the TRA in order to make its campaign unnecessary. It is a dangerous nationalist ploy to extract further concessions from a weak British government. In adopting this course the South has unsheathed its sword.

Reynolds' repetition of his stubborn and intransigent refusal to remove the Republic's territorial claim shows Dublin is stringing Major along, greaping every advantage it can, while burying its "giving hand" deep in its pocket. No payment should be made for the removal of Articles 2 & 3 but yet Dublin extracts more and more from the dunderheads in the Foreign Office and Northern Ireland Office without changing its constitutional claim.

m playing the ball before it bounces in order that the Prime Minister does not enter not any agreement blind to the impact it will have in Dister. Calling surrender a "peace process" will not make it a seliable commodity. John Major needs to know now that unionists will not accept any parallel self-determination process. We will not allow our future to be tied into an all-freland context. If the British government embarks upon the road of cherishing a united ireland then unionists will regard that as an intention to sever the link and take appropriate account of that Intention. The Prime Minister need not think that any move on Articles 2 & 3 would compensate for such surrenders especially if the statement on the territorial claim only amounts to a qualified, long-fingered possibility if Dublin later gats everything else it wants. We are not in the business of exchanging real constitutional concessions for a speculative change to an illegal claim.

Equally Dublin should not think that some carefully disited and qualified statement on "majority consent" is a bargaining counter. Unlonists do not regard any commitment from the Irish Republic on "consent" as meaningful. They know that it will not be "time-honoured". They know bacause within 8 years Dublin has sought to redefine the statement on consent contained in the Anglo Irish Agreement and could not be trusted any more in the future.

A "Spva Ulster Campaign" becomes an essential component of Ulster's resistance to this betrayal. Whether the process is triggered and the depth of the treachery known by the end of December or not is debatable, but what is not in doubt is that the process of treachery is underway - only the timing is to be settled. The task ahead goes beyond the realm of Party. We invite all who will oppose this sell-out to join our campaign. The battle to Save Ulster is the charge of every loyalist who will answer the call. The Save Ulster Campaign is broad anough to embrace all who will come.

We are prepared to bring the Province face to face with the vital issues of the age and demand their solution at the hands of the people. Our liberties will not be trampled down by a contemptible covert concord between the British government and Dublin and the Proves.

While rejecting the process proposed by the nationalist front, unionists are still longing for the disease to be cured. I content that Dublin and London are incapable of resolving Ulster's problems for us. I revent to the DUP proposal to break the logism and submit that as the problem exists in Northern Ireland so does its solution. It is based upon a recognition that Ulster's constitutional politicians must resolve the issues that divide our society and then sort out the other relationships.

Unionists should not permit the real feers we hold to silence us in attempting to dispositive concerns others might entertain. I suppose most of us - I know it of myself believe that nationalists in Ulster are entitled to be assured that they will be accorded respect and a meaningful participation in the province's political life and their rights will be fearleasty defended within the Union. Unionists must become persuaders of the nationalists of Ulster that this is their home, their future and that living within the Union is in their best interests. More than that, unionists should publicly state what they privately offered to the SDLP, in last year's Talks, as evidence that they are prepared to turn their good intentions into an efficient, meaningful and valuable reality