

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ①

Bite the Bullet, Quit The Process.

All men are created equal. However, not all human ideas or political philosophies are equally valid. As Unionists, in the battle of ideologies that is the Ulster conflict, we espouse the superior ideal, Unionism.

Irish nationalism is the baser philosophy because it sows the seeds of division. A nationalism must define membership of the nation. This process of definition results in exclusion and lines being drawn in Ulster's society. The Irish nation's definition is narrowly Gaelic and Roman Catholic. It excludes us, the Ulster-English and Ulster-Scottish who combine to forge the Ulster-British nation.

Unionism does believe in the existence of nations. However, it believes the correspondence of a cultural or ethnic nation and a state is unhealthy even, dangerous. Unionism believes in the concept of the union state, a number of nations in one state. The Union state permits diversity and variety. In short the Union state is a pluralist one. National differences are accommodated and the rights of the individual are of paramount importance.

In 1996, how is the superior ideal being served by its guardian the Ulster Unionist Party?

Some matters have improved under the Trimble/Taylor leadership. Our Leader is much more able to deal with the media than his predecessor. We have established full time offices in Washington and London. We became the first Unionist Party on the Information Superhighway. These measures mean the transmission of the Unionist message to the wider world, has been dramatically improved.



Within Ulster the change, if any, is less impressive. Trimble and Taylor gained two thirds of the first preference vote at the leadership election. That represented a mandate for significant and positive change in the Ulster Unionist Party. It is my belief that the mandate has been squandered and the effort to define a New Unionism came to an end with Trimble's leadership election speech on 8 September 1995. The root cause of comparative internal failure is timid leadership and an unwillingness to delegate resulting in too much being left to be done by too few, meaning not very much gets done.

Those who put Trimble and Taylor where they are expected more. They reasonably expected to see an end to the maverick activities of Ken Maginnis, a modernised Party structure, the re-vamping of Party Headquarters and the appointment of effective staff, major change in our front line personnel, and an end to the scandalous under utilisation of funds provided by the European Parliament. None of this has happened.

However, these failings pale into almost total insignificance when you consider our greatest disservice to the Union: our present participation in the multi-party talks.

When involving yourself in a process as complicated and protracted as the present one you must always look back to see how you arrived at this position. This began with the secret Hume/Adams document. The London/Dublin axis revealed its tamer sections in the Downing Street Declaration. With PIRA and Loyalist cease-fires in the bag, the core demand of Hume/Adams was revealed in the Framework Document, namely the creation of the dynamic for Irish unification. The Framework Document led inexorably on to the inevitable talks, talks which are based upon John Hume's three strand concept.



Therefore, all strands of Unionism are participating fully in a process which has not, does not and will not address any Unionist concerns. It is a process designed to advance Irish nationalism. It is a process of political regression. The three strand approach is a nationalist cage to produce a nationalist outcome to the negotiations. Failing that, anything Unionism agrees to in the talks will be used as a weapon against us when they try to impose further unwanted and anti-democratic constitutional change.

Too many Unionists tell you what is wrong but offer no alternative. An extremely brave political alternative exists but there is only one opportunity. A developmental process built around Ulster has nothing to offer Unionism. An All-Ireland process has even less to offer. A British developmental process alone offers a Unionist way forward.

Historically, Ulster has been in the vanguard of British constitutional reform. In the Williamite Wars our blood sacrifice gained a limited, constitutional monarchy. The Ulster-Scot rebellion of 1798 led to the Act of Union. Our blood sacrifice at the Somme maintained Ulster's membership of the Union when it shrank in 1921. Again we must be in the vanguard of the Union's advancement. The idea we should offer is the idea our American and Canadian brothers gave to the modern political world, federalism.

The Union as presently constituted does not offer me, an Ulster Loyalist, justice. Our treatment over the past twenty-five years has destroyed the contract between the four constituent parts of the Union. A new contract must be established empowering the regions. A written constitution is needed to ensure that the abuses which Thatcher inflicted upon the United Kingdom can never be repeated. A Bill of Rights based on the European Convention to empower the citizen and guarantee equality is also



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necessary. The abolition of the House of Lords and a new second house based on the German model must be created to guarantee federal rights.

Some may think an alternative consequence of this thinking is a federal Ireland. Not so. The federalism the Irish offer is a means of integration into the Irish nation-state. Others talk of a federal Ireland under a Union Flag. I am a patriot. I believe my ideology has the potential to be the greatest in the world. However, I have no desire to impose it upon anyone else. The Irish gained their independence, they seem to like it and they can keep it. My only request is the respect our sovereignty and end the interference that reinforces sectarianism in Ulster.

In conclusion, the UDP and PUP often attack the other Unionist parties for a supposed unwillingness to debate the value of the Union. To debate the Union with a person as ideologically committed as John Hume is like reading Einstein to the monkeys. At the end of the day the monkeys are still monkeys and Hume is still a nationalist i.e. pointless and futile. The people we need to debate the value and worth of the Union with are our fellow citizens of the United Kingdom. We must create a modern Unionist ideal and sell it not only in Ulster but to the people of England Scotland and Wales. We have succeeded before in the period 1912-1914. We must do so again and take a re-vitalised and rejuvenated Union into the New Millennium.