

LEADING THE WAY



**THE LOYALIST
VOLUNTEER FORCE
POLICY DOCUMENT**

INTRODUCTION

The Loyalist Volunteer Force analysis of the conflict has focused not unreasonably on the role of the Irish Government in assisting the formation of the Irish Republican Army as presently represented in the Stormont talks by Sinn Fein.

We have examined as well the role of the British Government in the early part of the conflict and have noted that during the time the Irish Government was financing and training the Provisional IRA, the British Government was disbanding the B-Specials and disarming the R.U.C.

In considering the recent TV documentary by the journalist Peter Taylor, the Loyalist Volunteer Force has also noted the disclosure that British and Irish Government agents were engaged in talks with the I.R.A. on a regular basis since 1971 and even when the IRA were killing civilians and members of the security forces.

It is inconceivable that security considerations would not have been compromised as a result of the covert contacts between British and Irish agents and the I.R.A. If such contacts imposed operational restrictions on the security forces because of a secret political agenda, then British Army and local security personnel lives have been needlessly compromised.

The Loyalist Volunteer Force rejects and condemns the policy of successive British Governments in restricting the role of the British Army and the local security forces to one of defence and reaction whilst simultaneously subjecting the British citizens of Northern Ireland to an unremitting terror campaign, sustained by the support of the Irish Government and calculated to break unionist spirit and weaken its resolve to maintain the Union.

The Loyalist Volunteer Force accuses the British and Irish Governments of fostering and facilitating twenty-five years of I.R.A. terror in order to use the fear of that terror and the promise of peace as twin implements of blackmail by which they seek to exact political concessions from the Ulster Protestant people.

The British Nation and most nations of the free world (with the notable exception of the Republic of Ireland) fought in World War 2 to oppose and defeat political terror and blackmail as practised by

Hitler's Nazi Germany, and Ulster's Sons and Daughters fought along side their British counterparts to overthrow this tyranny. It is indeed ironic to see the British and American Governments blatantly blackmail the Ulster Protestant people in a diabolical deal whereby London, Dublin and Washington will hold the I.R.A. "dogs of war" on a leash while offering Ulster Protestants a form of peace which requires them to discard their heritage, culture and birthright!

Blackmail

The Loyalist Volunteer Force rejects this policy of terrorist blackmail by Government proxy and will defend the democratic rights of the Ulster Protestant people to reside in Northern Ireland as loyal subjects of a Protestant Throne and to remain within the United Kingdom.

In the forthcoming referendum the British and Irish Governments will embark on a joint policy to deceive the unionist and loyalist people; they will be joined by Government timeservers who will beg you to compromise on all that you hold dear; Protestant church leaders will wish you to sever your links with the British Protestant Throne; Protestant businessmen will ask you to trade in the Pound for the punt; Unionist politicians, old and new, (a la Sunningdale) will plead with you to trust them and their judgement, but how can you trust those Unionists who have sold out steadily since 1969!

Collaborators

The Loyalist Volunteer Force recognises that key Protestant leaders in the church, politics, industry and commerce, and last but not least in the paramilitary world have succumbed to this blackmail and are presently colluding in a peace/surrender process designed to break the Union and establish the dynamic for Irish unity within an all Ireland Roman Catholic, Gaelic, Celtic State.

In our fight to maintain the Union the role of these collaborators will not be forgotten.

In the coming months the unionist and loyalist people will be deceived and lied to by their so-called leaders who will continue to proclaim that the "Union is safe". If it is safe why is the Union on the negotiating table at Stormont and why should the Irish Government, who helped to set up and fund the I.R.A., have any say about the future of the Ulster Protestant people in Northern Ireland?

The Ulster people have scented the stench of betrayal. It pervades the weasel words of Government Ministers and their place-men and its intent is etched on the faces of those unionist and loyalist politicians who have bought into the pan-nationalist peace/surrender process.

Pledges

The Loyalist Volunteer Force has made a firm and sure commitment to the Ulster Protestant people that whatever the outcome of the present London/Dublin/Washington conspiracy, the Ulster Protestant people will not be left helpless or defenceless.

The Loyalist Volunteer Force pledges its word to the Ulster Protestant people that it will not tolerate any threats by the British or Irish Governments that "the Ulster people could face a further twenty-five years of I.R.A. killing and bombing". The British and Irish Governments have played that card already and the will make sure that such blackmail tactics will be publicly resisted and internationally discredited.

Statement of Organisational Aims

We, the members of the Loyalist Volunteer Force are;

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of the Ulster people to control their own destiny;

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our people for their total advancement;

Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our people and co-operation in all matters pertaining to their survival and advancement;

Convinced that, the Ulster Unionist community has a historical and international contribution to the establishment and defence of democracy and liberty to be proud of and a valuable contribution to make to the renewal of the Union;

Determined to unify the Unionists of Ulster in their fight for equal rights and dignity, and being fully aware that this is not possible in the present atmosphere and condition of inequality, we dedicate ourselves to the building of a political, economic, and social system of stability and liberty;

Dedicated to increasing the cultural and political awareness of the Ulster Unionist people;

Cognisant that the fulfilment of these aims and objectives will involve the use of all means.

Do hereby present this analysis and programme of action to encourage debate among all those who value the ideal of the Union and seek to create a revitalised Union based upon truth, liberty and stability.

Organisational Objectives

The Loyalist Volunteer Force has set itself the following objectives:

To use the Ulster conflict as a crucible for far-reaching, fundamental and decisive change in the United Kingdom constitution.

To restore Ulster's right to self-determination.

To end Irish nationalist aggression against Ulster in whatever form.

To end all forms of Irish interference in Ulster's internal affairs.

To thwart the creation and/or implementation of any All-Ireland/All-Island political super-structure regardless of the powers vested in such institutions.

To defeat the campaign of de-Britishisation and Gaelicisation of Ulster's daily life.

The Analysis

The Union

The United Kingdom is a unitary state made up of four members, England, Scotland, Ulster and Wales. For the United Kingdom to function successfully and sustainably it needs to ensure that the federal rights of the four members are respected and maintained and every individual throughout the United Kingdom enjoys equal rights. It does not matter what system of government is chosen i.e. centralist or federalist those two sets of rights need to be addressed.

Failure

Regrettably, the United Kingdom is failing to fulfil both of these requirements to all of its members and subjects, most especially Ulster and its people. It is the failure to address these two issues that are the cause of conflict in Ulster. Many have misinterpreted the conflict to stem from the Ulster's membership of the Union rather than the flaws and inadequacies of the United Kingdom constitution. This misinterpretation allow respective governments to pass the blame and guilt for supposed injustices upon Irish living within the confines of Ulster on to the Ulster people. Furthermore, it results in the persistent bad policy of trying by hook or by crook to remove Ulster from the Union. This means the Ulster people suffer injustice upon injustice as punishment for flaws that lie elsewhere.

Suffering

Unionists have suffered politically from the removal of Stormont, the attempted imposition of Sunningdale, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the Downing Street Declaration, the Framework Documents and now the Irish Peace Process all because of the failure of the United Kingdom's constitution to provide adequate protection for the rights of a member against the abuse of power by central government. Ulster's present predicament flows from the inadequacies of the constitution taken to their most extreme. Under the rule of Thatcher, the first government to have a geographically restricted majority over a sustained period, it became clear that other members of the Union or internal regions could suffer from the lack of constitutional protection. Scotland, Wales and the North of England all suffered abuse in the 80's and 90's. Equally, the rights of individuals came under sustained attack during the same period. The constitution failed to prevent either.

Worthy Ideal

Despite these difficulties the Union remains a worthy ideal. The ideal that

different peoples can combine and work together for their individual and common good under a system of equal rights has immense intrinsic value. To allow the forces of nationalism, whether it is irrendentist Irish nationalism or centralising English nationalism, to destroy the founding principle of the Union would be an appalling legacy to leave our children or humankind. All the inadequacies and flaws are not insurmountable. The damage done is repairable. What is required is a process of patriotic renewal which will harness the devotion and determination of the four peoples of the United Kingdom to secure their place in the Kingdom and ensure that their way of life is the envy of the world.

Democratic Rule

The people of Ulster do not enjoy democratic rule. They do not enjoy liberty or equality. No Stormont minister or their respective party has received an electoral mandate from the people of Ulster. QUANGOs staffed by retired public officials, Alliance politicians and businessmen, run large swathes of Ulster's life with no regard for the wishes of the people. These individuals are bought and paid for, mostly for very little. Furthermore, an entire generation of public officials has ruled Ulster with no accountability to the Ulster people. These realities result in arrogant behaviour and contempt for the needs of the people. What few elections are allowed are to institutions with meaningless levels of representation or meaningless powers.

Denial of Liberty

The central authorities are denying the Ulster people liberty. The central authorities have failed to afford the Ulster people the necessary protection during a sustained campaign against their economic, political, social and cultural resources. Therefore, the Ulster people should not consider themselves bound to democratic means nor stand idly by trying to endure the unendurable. The Ulster people must remember that democracy has rarely been created by obedience to the laws of the land or by peaceful means. Furthermore, the political conditions have been created and nurtured that a sustained and effectively targeted campaign of violence reaps political dividends. Our enemies will always outmanoeuvre us through the use of violence unless we realise these conditions and act accordingly.

Everyone's Struggle

The struggle to create democracy is everyone's struggle. Not all must do everything for the struggle but all can and should do something. A Protestant in a border area who refuses to leave in the face of nationalist intimidation is helping the struggle. A Protestant in a Loyalist area of Belfast who refuses to leave in the face of nationalist intimidation is helping the struggle. A businessman who refuses to sell his business to a company from the Irish Republic or serve on a QUANGO is helping the struggle. A minister of religion who refuses to join his Church leaders in weasel words or the warped morality of the peace process that they promote is helping the struggle. All these people are helping in the struggle just as a Loyalist Volunteer Force volunteer is.

Identity

Irish nationalism and UK central authorities attempt to perpetuate the lie that Unionists are culturally confused. They are incapable of dealing with the notion that the Ulster people are not Irish. Instead of dealing with that reality they fall back on their racist stereotype of the stupid, bigoted Prods who are to blame for all their troubles by their refusal to face the fact that they are Irish. Irishness was strictly, narrowly and clearly defined by the Gaelic revival of the 1880's. Irishness is Roman Catholic, Gaelic and Celtic. A state, the Republic of Ireland, was built upon these three notions. All three elements do not play anything but a peripheral role or no role in the identity of the Ulster people. Needless to say the religion of the Ulster people is not Roman Catholic. Gaelic has never been the language of anything other than a small number of Protestants either historically or today (no matter how much government spends) nothing will alter fact. The Celtic myth is equally unsustainable.

Modern Ulster has been the subject of economic, social, political and cultural forces that have made it distinct from the rest of the island. This distinction is the product of physical geography, the plantation, religion, industrialisation and politics. This gives the Ulster people a distinct, multifaceted identity in which should be a source of pride to all.

Government Commitments

The two governments made their commitment to a common

Irishness in the Downing Street Declaration. This has led to the new label of Northern Irish. The Loyalist Volunteer Force will campaign to secure the Ulster people's right to define their own Ulster and British national and cultural identity, free from the manipulative influences of London, Dublin and Washington. The purpose behind this attempt to indoctrinate our people and our children into an alien Irish, Gaelic ethos is to 'harmonise' identity on the island to facilitate the All-Ireland process and create a yes vote for an All-Ireland state. As the former Loyalist David Ervine has said "To unite Ireland you must first unite its people". For the unitary Irish state nationalists wish to foist upon us to be a success its needs to have the allegiance of the people. It needs a single allegiance. It needs a single identity. That identity is to be an Irish identity. All those who are promoting a one island, one Ireland, one identity ethos are warned to desist forthwith. The The Loyalist Volunteer Force will not stand idly by and allow further erosion of our Ulster and British identity. The process of removing or losing the symbols of our identity to create the alien Irish identity will not be tolerated.

Education

From the inception of the Northern Ireland state the Ulster people have been denied the basic right to access and learn about their own history, culture and ethos within the state controlled education system. The Loyalist Volunteer Force demands a radical review of the state school curriculum so that it fully reflects and enhances the history, culture and ethos of the Ulster people.

This lack of awareness is a serious problem and until everyone of the Ulster people is given a strong founding in their own Ulster and British identity. All attempts in the educational system through EMU and cross-border activities must cease forthwith. These projects are politically inspired to brainwash our children into an alien Irish identity.

Allegiance

The Loyalist Volunteer Force will uphold the right of the Ulster people to fly the Union flag as a symbol of their loyalty and allegiance to the Protestant Throne. The Loyalist Volunteer Force or no true Loyalist can or will give any allegiance to a body or parliament set in place to govern our country which includes members of IRA/SF as of right or any body or parliament that is

created to act as a transitional institution to create a united Ireland. As the true loyalist Ray Smallwoods stated in his last speech "We owe no allegiance to an Irish state".

All-Ireland Economics

The continuing erosion of the economic power base of the pro-Union people is viewed with great concern. It is clear that the creation of All-Ireland structures in the economic sphere (as in a range of other spheres) is designed to increase the economic control of the Irish over Ulster and its people. The Ulster people need to be aware that of the political consequences of the Irish controlling the economy. The creation of an All-Ireland economic unit is another staging post in the process of withdrawal by Westminster. Economic control needs to be shifted from London to Dublin.

The 'Consent' Principle

Ulster exists and the Ulster people have a right to self-determination. The reality of Ulster's existence means it cannot be simply voted out of existence.

The right to self-determination has been removed and replaced by the principle of consent. The Downing Street Declaration was the vehicle for stripping the Ulster people of the right to determine their own future. Instead Ulster has been accorded a sub-clause in the Irish right to self-determination. Many believe that the principle of consent means that if a majority in Ulster votes against something then there will be no change. This simplistic view is mistaken. If a majority in the Republic of Ireland vote against proposals then the proposals are defeated. The Irish exercise a veto over Ulster's future. In the final analysis, there are no guarantees that the Ulster people's definition of consent is the one that counts. It is highly improbable that the definition of the Ulster people and the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs will coincide. It may prove to be similar to Alice's conversation with Humpty Dumpty:

"When I use a word" Humpty Dumpty said, "It means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less"

"The question is" said Alice "whether you can make words mean so many different things"

"The questions is" said Humpty Dumpty "which is to be master - that's all"

All sorts of change can happen and only the final transfer of

sovereignty will be put to the Ulster people when Ulster and Ireland have been effectively merged already. Dublin has already made it perfectly clear that the Ulster people's consent is not necessary for all the interim steps and stages on the road to a United Ireland.

A Positive into a Negative

The Ulster people have consistently expressed their determination to be an equal partner in the Union, a positive statement about their political wishes. The principle of consent means that this positive statement has been changed to a negative one. Under the principle of consent, the Ulster people are not saying yes to the Union but no to a United Ireland. Furthermore, this subtly shifts the political axis of debate in Ulster from East/West to North/South.

The Irish Peace Process

Many have pinned their hopes for peace upon the present political process. However, as the process continues it becomes more apparent, almost on a daily basis, that the process is corrupt, indeed rotten to the core. The process even if it secures the signatures of enough of the parties will not provide a sustainable agreement that will copperfasten peace for future generations.

1. The Pan-nationalist Front, which is participating fully in the process, does not recognise the reality of Ulster's existence, its legitimacy as a political entity or accept Ulster's right to exist. Any process that does not accept these realities or rights is a process designed to destroy the Union.
2. The process includes organisations dedicated to the violent overthrow of Ulster. It is logical to assume that any process in which they involve themselves will involve the destruction of Ulster or if the concessions do not go far enough they will re-intensify their onslaught against Ulster.
3. The process is high politics. At the end of all the negotiation the only people convinced will be the politicians round the table. The wishes of the ordinary people of Ulster have never been sought.
4. The process is an attempt to manipulate the Ulster people into agreeing to matters that are not in their short, medium or long-term self-interest.
5. The process has an element of "a little bit for everybody" approach. A system of sustainable government is built upon

addressing the basic needs of the people. A system created upon 'wants' will have conflicting institutions and conflicting rights that will prove unsustainable and ultimately collapse.

6. Two governments control the Process. The Irish government has no right to interfere in Ulster's internal affairs. The UK central authorities lack legitimacy in respect of Ulster.
7. There can be no hope of any Unionist/Nationalist accommodation unless there is an accommodation between the various strands of Unionism.
8. The process does not allow for with holding or withdrawal of consent by the Ulster people.

The Political Vision

Any person who truly believes in the Union must have a vision that involves all the members of the Union and all its peoples. For example, to ask for a Bill of Rights solely in Ulster would allow us to enjoy more rights than those in England or Scotland. Therefore our vision addresses the needs of Ulster but within a package that outlines far-reaching, fundamental and decisive change that addresses the needs of every people and everyone in the United Kingdom.

Founding principles of an Accommodation in an Ulster context
Before any accommodation, political or otherwise can be reached all the component parts of the Pan-Nationalist Front (Irish government, SDLP, IRA/SF) must:

1. Make a unilateral declaration that each recognises, without equivocation, Ulster as a legitimate political entity.
2. Accept that no deal can include parties whose sole objective is the destruction of Ulster and the Union.

Unless these basic realities are recognised and acted upon i.e. the complete withdrawal of the Irish apparatus for interference in Ulster's internal affairs and the unilateral removal of Articles Two and Three no process will offer any genuine possibility of creating the conditions for a peaceful and prosperous Ulster.

If these points are accepted then co-operation could take place between the Ulster legislature and the Republic of Ireland. In keeping with normal diplomatic relations the Republic of Ireland

could open a Consulate in Belfast. No institutions with a political basis could be agreed to. Also, the new constitution would prevent any member/regional legislature from devolving power to other institutions so there would be no possibility of executive powers. Finally, in recognition of a member's federal rights the federal government will not be allowed to make agreements about a member with foreign governments without the approval of the relevant legislature and people. All representatives serving in the Ulster legislature must swear an oath of allegiance to forever uphold the sovereignty of the country.

Why Renewal and not Reform.

The constitution of the United Kingdom is undergoing a series of reforms at present. These reforms will prove unsuccessful for three reasons. First, the reforms do not include a written constitution. The lack of a written constitution, and hence no strict definitions of governmental powers and the checks and balances to those powers, is a crucial weakness. Secondly, the complexity of the constitution means it can not be tinkered with in piecemeal fashion. The constitution can either be maintained as is (an unacceptable situation) or replaced. Thirdly the reform measures are failing to take a holistic approach. The Labour government's reforms seem to be trying to solve the flaws in the constitution by the usual left-wing approach to government. There is a problem so create an institution to solve it. The tacking on of new institutions to the constitution and failing to consider how these new institutions will relate to existing ones will only intensify the difficulties and paralyse government. The proposal for a Council of the British Isles is a good example of this half-baked approach.

The Renewal Package

A successful process of constitutional renewal needs to be holistic. A holistic approach means that a partial implementation of elements of this package would not be satisfactory or sustainable. It needs to address the federal rights of the four members and the rights of all the individuals in the United Kingdom. If these two issues are addressed then there will be no possibility of the central authorities picking on a member or region and protection for a minority within a region. Irish nationalists within the confines of Ulster will be given the same legal protection and access to the political system as

Scottish nationalists will enjoy and as Welsh nationalists will enjoy. Every individual will have, regardless of where they live in the United Kingdom, will have the same rights and protection, true equality.

The new constitution should be written. It would include the rights of individuals and the rights of the members. Legal appeals under the constitution would be handled by a new Supreme Court with panels of four judges presiding, one from each member of the Union. In case of a split judicial panel cases will be referred to a Supreme Justice of the United Kingdom. The selection of this supreme justice will be up to both houses of the parliament and an 80% endorsement in both houses would be required. After the adoption of the constitution a two-thirds majority could only amend it. Also any member/region wishing to secede from the Union would need a similar majority.

Federal

The new government structures must recognise the federal nature of the Union. Federalism is the natural political structure of the Ulster people. The two states that Ulster Protestants had the largest role in creating, the United States and Canada, are federalist in structure. Also, two key institutions of the Ulster people the Orange Order and the Presbyterian Church are federalist in structure.

The constitutional renewal would involve the creation of legislatures in Ulster, Scotland, Wales and nine regional parliaments for England. The new legislatures would have a tax raising capability because with such powers comes greater accountability. Each legislature will have a Cabinet made up of Chief Minister and Departmental Heads taken from the ruling party or parties. Every department and departmental head would be answerable to a legislature committee. The Chairmanship's of these committees would be distributed according to respective party strengths in the legislature.

The Houses of Parliament would remain. However, its powers would be greatly reduced, being restricted to matters of the national interest i.e. finance, defence and foreign relations. If any legislation for England remained at the House of Commons only English MP's could vote. In view of the reduced workload the number of MP's would be cut in half. All legislation would also need the support of

the Second House.

Check and Balance

The House of Lords is supposed to act as a check and balance to the Commons. The Lords are supposed to represent Land and MP's population. However, the Lords lost any relationship to land a very long time ago so they do not fulfil that function anymore. Furthermore, some of the criticism of the House of Lords is misplaced. The Lords is attacked because of its unelected status. This criticism is valid but the real problem is the House of Lords has no meaningful powers. For these two reasons the House of Lords should be abolished. Representation in the new second house would be related to land and the second house would have the power to change and reject legislation. The new second house would have one hundred and eight members. Twenty-seven elected from Ulster, Scotland and Wales respectively and three elected from each new English legislature region.

To supplement this a new Council of the United Kingdom, made up of government ministers and the member/regional Chief Ministers, would act as a means of communication and co-operation between the federal government and member/regional authorities. Existing local government structures would be greatly reduced if not abolished. Wales would also have to be given a separate legal structure.

Elections

All elections would be on a first past the post basis with the exception of the elections to the second house. The re-distribution of powers to members or regions and the change in central/federal legislatures to consensus building models means that a change in the voting method is unnecessary as smaller and regional based parties will have a stronger input. The elections to the second house would be voting by a list system for parties. These new structures and arrangements would mean that parties wishing to form a government would have to have a truly national base to have the necessary majorities in both houses.

Elections would be spread over a five-year period and length of office would be set. Both houses of the federal parliament would be elected every five years. The regional/member parliaments would be elected mid-way into the life of the federal government. After three

appointed to review the Constitution. N.B. The first elections to the federal houses and the member/regional legislature would take place at the same time. The member/regional legislature would have an election two and a half years later to start the necessary synchronisation.

The Monarch

The Monarch would remain as the Head of State. All bills will still receive the Monarch's assent. However, as the new structures may result in some tension between the federal and regional structures there is a need to detach the Monarch from any political role so that the monarch can remain a truly national figure. The role of arbitrator would be given to the Supreme Court and the Monarch would abide by its decisions.

Conclusion

The Loyalist Volunteer Force call upon all the pro-Union people to actively campaign for an alternative pro-union harmonisation process. Your birthright is not a matter for negotiation not will it be surrendered in the face of threats whether they emanate from the PNF or Mo Mowlam. An esprit de corps will be promoted by the among the pro-Union people. This esprit de corps will be the cement together all the qualities that taken together will guarantee our survival and allow Ulster to flourish. History teaches us that a people with an esprit de corps will always succeed.

The renewal package would create stability for the entire United Kingdom. This renewal would create a truly national equality. This renewal would give Ulster and all within its confines new opportunities. This renewal would give the members of the Union and the Union as a whole the tools to succeed and help the United Kingdom go forward with a fresh sense of purpose. This package needs to be implemented as a whole and is not open for negotiation. When it is implemented everyone will know that the dark forces of nationalism have been and will be kept from the door.

The Options for Westminster

Through the brutal campaign of the cutting edge of Irish nationalism, IRA/SF the UK central authorities have seen disengagement from Ulster as the solution. The Loyalist Volunteer Force believes that the central authorities have three options to withdraw/disengage from Ulster.

1. Cut and run

In this scenario Westminster would become so sickened with Ulster that they unilaterally withdrew. However, tempting such an option would be it is very improbable. There would be a number of constitutional difficulties in trying to do this as well as the international fall-out. It would certainly lead to a full-blown civil war and it is well documented how the Irish panicked in the past when they heard rumours this option was being considered. Therefore it is an unacceptable option to the Irish government.

2. Declaration of intent to withdraw

This option has been the minimum demand of IRA/SF. The UK central authorities would be expected to declare their intent to withdraw and give a specified time frame i.e. five or ten years. Unionists would be expected to realise that a United Ireland was inevitable and that resistance would be futile. Unionists would be forced to make an agreement with Irish nationalists 'to share the island of Ireland'.

3. By Consent

Historically, the UK central authorities have always tried to create political agreement and a structure to facilitate their withdrawal peacefully. For this process of withdrawal to be given consent the people reasons for opposing that policy need to be worked out. In Ulster, the objections have been classified in three ways: 1. Religion 2. Economic 3. Identity. These three barriers cannot be wished away. A process needs to be created to remove the barriers. When the barriers are removed then consent would flow for the withdrawal.

Westminster's Choice

Option one and two have never been particularly favoured. The Westminster government has accepted the third option and action is underway on the three areas.

Religion - The four Church leaders have consistently held a joint stance on the present political process and their support of the ecumenical networks to change perceptions. They espouse an All-Ireland agenda and agree with the one island one nation theory. The Protestant church leaders ignore many aspects of their own Church history and practices and try to ignore the founding principles of the Reformation. They disparage those who do.

Economic - The line persistently trotted out against a United Ireland is that the Irish Republic could not afford us. They cannot afford a United Ireland now but that is why there is going to be a process. The process will take time. The All-Ireland economic body's role will be to end the economic disparities between the Irish Republic and Ulster. The Republic of Ireland has already made major economic gains in the past decade and money from the European Union, the British Exchequer and the United States of America will help. For the British Exchequer it will be a small amount to have to pay in return for no bombs in England.

Identity - Allegiance to a single identity is crucial for the internal peace of any state. Within Ulster and on the island there exist two separate identities. One Island, Two Nations. All true Loyalists are well acquainted with the new buzz term Northern Irish. British symbols are removed and Irish Gaelic culture enjoys ever increasing support.

Time

The process needs time. The Pan-Nationalist Front is well aware of this, as are their supporters. There will not be a United Ireland in 1998. Martin McGuinness has said it "We have never told our supporters there would be a United Ireland in May. We see this process namely as a transitional phase to a United Ireland."

End the Process

Therefore, for Loyalists to succeed they must first destroy the process. The withdrawal cannot succeed without the process. The Loyalist Volunteer Force is pledged to destroy the All-Ireland process in all its aspects. Furthermore, the government has adopted the nationalist three stranded analysis of 'The Irish Troubles' because Unionism and Loyalism failed to offer an alternative analysis and political programme to Westminster. This document outlines a new analysis and a new programme of political action. The Loyalist

Volunteer Force says to all true Loyalists that All-Ireland structures are not in our best interests. The creation of All-Ireland Structures and an All-Ireland state are not inevitable.