

C O N F I D E N T I A L

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FROM: W K LINDSAY, PAB
DATE: 2 DECEMBER 1991

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

categorical assurance that there would be no break in the talks for discussion of the internal situation. He said that the talks could only come when we get to the point where some progress has been made towards a settlement within Northern Ireland.

3. He used this type of language, about the need for a breakthrough, in March/April of this year, and while still in office he did not know himself in too readily accepting the position of the SDLP before meeting with Mr. Robinson. He did refer to the need to get the SDLP to do the same. He did not know if he had done so before the election but pointedly said "now is the time". He also referred to the need to deal with the first part - the internal situation - before the election. The SDLP and the Irish Government will listen on to this.

cc PS/Secretary of State (B&L)
PS/Paymaster General (B&L)
PS/Minister of State
PS/PUS (B&L)
PS/Mr Fell
Mr Ledlie
Mr Thomas
Mr Alston
Mr Bell
Mr Hamilton
Mr Wilson
Mr Cooke
Mr Dodds
Mr D A Hill
Mr D J R Hill
Mr McNeill
Mr Petch
HMA Dublin
Mr Archer, RID

DUP CONFERENCE: SPEECH BY REV IAN PAISLEY

The Democratic Unionist Party Conference was held in the La Mon Hotel on Saturday 30 November. As in other recent years PAB was not invited to attend and therefore this report is based on PAB contacts who were there and other reports. It was apparently a well attended conference, with estimates ranging from 400-600. If these are accurate then it is one of the better attended of the four main party conferences this year. Several factors combined to make attendance more compelling for members, including the security situation, the forthcoming general election, the Peter Robinson/Rhonda Paisley battle and the controversy over the Northern Ireland Centre in Europe - these last two seem not to have been resolved at the end of the day.

2. Attached is a copy of the speech by the Rev Ian Paisley which, as one would expect at a pre-election conference is a robust and

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hard-hitting one, with a fair sprinkling of fundamentalist-type language. In it he launched a crusade in support of the Ulster Defence Regiment in the form of a petition to Her Majesty the Queen and reaffirmed his determination to "utterly destroy the Anglo Irish Agreement". Mr Paisley on two occasions in the speech specified the three pre-conditions for Talks as before but also insisted on a categorical assurance that there would be no break in the time given for discussion of the internal strand. He also said that Strand 2 could only come "when we get to the point where progress has been made towards a settlement within Northern Ireland".

3. He used this type of language about movement to Strand 2 in March/April of this year and while stressing Strand 1 he did not box himself in too rigidly on the need to make progress before moving on. He did refer to the need to get into talks before the Election but pointedly said "now is the time to go forward and deal with the first part - the internal affairs of Northern Ireland". The SDLP and the Irish Government may well fasten on to this.

4. Peter Robinson has told us that, despite the rhetoric, Paisley was trying to be helpful in his speech and was serious when he said that the coming election should not act as a barrier to talks starting soon. Robinson said that he thought Paisley's reference to progress in Strand 1 meant no more than previously. This was against a background of a number of people at the Conference who expressed the view that talks should not be entered into again. Mr Paisley also called for the abolition of Articles 2 and 3 but did not, as Mr McCrea did, make it a condition for talking to the Irish Government.

5. At this conference the DUP was clearly positioning itself as the hardline voice of unionism with an eye to the forthcoming General Election. Attacks were made on UUP figures such as Jim Nicholson and Ken Maginnis. Mr Paisley confirmed the alliance with Mr Molyneaux in terms of denouncing the previous high wire act and advocating talks at Westminster. This alliance will continue though in other respects the DUP and UUP have taken very different stances

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on eg the UDR merger, the question of internment and in Mr Paisley's subsequent interviews over the weekend their position on power-sharing and the type of devolved arrangement which might be workable in Northern Ireland. The remainder of the Conference has been well reported in the press but we will record any further information of note which comes to our attention.

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Henry Grey said, "The high the excited, the sublime emotions of a patriot, which, soaring towards heaven, give the above all men, of the good and the glory of one's country are never felt in the bosom of our forefathers. That patriotism, which catching its inspiration from the immortal God and leaving an immeasurable distance below all lesser yearning, personal fructus and feelings of dearth itself. That is public virtue. That is the noble and sublimity of a true sacrificial patriotism has never been lost in the breast of loyal Ulstermen and women."

We are here this day to restate our principles, to reinforce our policies, to rededicate ourselves and all that we can influence to the regeneration and the reconstruction of this Province which beget our fathers and has begat us and our children. To the fundamentals of traditional Unionism we have avowed allegiance. To them please God we will never, ever turn traitor.

While others want a new flag to fly over Ulster, a flag for which no Ulster man ever died and upon there is no red stain of the liquid crimson of Ulster life, we refuse in obedience to God and to no meddles with those flag of liberty.

In this 75th anniversary of the Somme our heartbeat is in unison with all those Ulster men who paid the supreme sacrifice or survived the carnage. Our allegiance remains unshaken in keeping with the will of the Revolution Settlement.

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Edward Carson, the founding father and leader of Ulster, said:- "They tell us we should give up. A man fighting for his life never gives up and we are fighting for our lives and for our future".

Today this conference says to all our enemies, to the Irish Government, to the United Kingdom Government, to Europe and to the people of the world, "As well tell the mother to give up her beloved child, the husband to give up the partner of his bosom, the wife to give up her beloved, the faithful friend to give up his tried and trusted companion of the years as to tell Ulster patriots to give up the struggle against their ancient foes."

Simply because the guerrilla forces and advance guard of those foes are bombing, maiming, killing and destroying us, our erstwhile friends are ready to perfect their plans of betrayal, is an argument not for shameful surrender but for stronger resistance.

Henry Clay said, "The high, the exalted, the sublime emotions of a patriotism which, soaring towards heaven, rises far above all mean, of the good and the glory of one's country are never felt in the impenetrable bosom of our detractors. That patriotism, which catching its inspiration from the immortal God and leaving an immeasurable distance below all lesser grovelling, personal interests and feelings, animates and prompts deeds of self sacrifice, of valour, of devotion and of death itself. That is public virtue. That is the noblest and sublimest of all public virtues." Whether our enemies like it or not that public virtue of a true sacrificial patriotism has never been lost in the breast of loyal Ulster men and women.

We are here this day to restate our principles, to reinforce our policies, to rededicate ourselves and all that we can influence to the regeneration and the reconstruction of this Province which begat our fathers and has begat us and our children. To the fundamentals of traditional Unionism we have sworn allegiance. To them please God we will never, ever turn traitor.

While others want a new flag to fly over us, a flag for which no Ulster man ever died and upon there is no red stain of the liquid crimson of Ulster life, we refuse in obedience to Holy Writ, to meddle with those who are given to such change. We will fly the flag, the union flag, the flag of liberty.

In this 75th anniversary of the Somme our heartbeat is in unison with all those Ulster men who paid the supreme sacrifice or survived the bloody carnage when Ulstermen were lions and the English generals donkeys. Our allegiance to the British monarch, being Protestant, remains unshaken in keeping with the Williamite Revolution Settlement.

While others may want Republicans to share in the shaping and controlling of our constitutional future, we are resolved, come what may, to have none of it.

Edward Carson in his day condemned the trucking and dealing which the British Government had with the hierarchy of the Church of Rome in Ireland, a hierarchy dedicated to end British rule in Ireland.

This day I would emphatically and dogmatically condemn the trucking and dealing which the present Northern Ireland Office and the Secretary of State have with the Roman hierarchy - a hierarchy which has the same dedication to destroy, as in 1920, the rule of a democracy based on the Protestant ethos of civil and religious liberty for all in this Province.

I noted a reference carried in the English Churchman of the 15th and 22nd of November. I read thus: "The Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr Peter Brook, held a reception last month for the Roman Catholic leader in Ireland, Archbishop Cahal Daly. It was to mark the elevation of Dr. Daly by the Pope to the office of Cardinal." Archbishop Daly is reported to have said "It is unprecedented, I was very surprised to receive the invitation, I did not hesitate to accept, I think it represents a very sincere desire by the Secretary of State to honour the Catholic community."

But of course it could be no such thing for the Catholic community had no say in the appointment of Cahal Daly. Cahal Daly was appointed by the Pope himself. The Roman Catholic people of Ireland, or even of his own diocese, were not consulted.

This trucking with the hierarchy of the Church of Rome must be condemned, for this same Archbishop is on record that he would not call on the members of his flock to join the security forces and do battle against the murdering thugs of the Irish Republican Army.

He is on record as refusing to talk, when invited to do so by the elected Unionist representatives, in the last assembly brought into being by the sovereign parliament of the United Kingdom.

The aims of Cardinal Daly are one and the same as the objectives of the IRA to destroy democracy as enshrined in the Protestant ethos and to put in its place the law that govern his own church, laws in which the people have no say whatsoever.

The Secretary of State has time to throw a party and honour the Pope's choice for Cardinal and prince of mother church but the widows and orphans of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, and RUC Reserve, and of the Ulster Defence Regiment are not given such a banquet and honoured by the Secretary of State. Instead this year, by the cunning ploy of pretending that they were going to strengthen the Ulster

Defence Regiment they have set in motion steps for its destruction. The men who joined the Ulster Defence Regiment did not join it to fight for Ireland, they joined it to fight for Ulster. They did not join it in order to start a career in the army, for that career was open to them by joining any regiment of their choice. They joined it to defend their native Province against the enemy which is out to destroy their Province, and their families, and their children, and their wellbeing.

And yet the new regiment is to have an Irish dimension. The part-time Ulster Defence Regiment is to be disbanded, and instead of having a regiment that is Ulster based and readily available for service in the day of crisis. We are to have an amalgam not so readily available. Of course the Secretary of State was glad to make use of these part-time men women when necessity called.

The cries from the SDLP that they must not serve in Nationalist areas indicated a similar heart to Sinn Fein.

Just recently when we were passing through sad, dark and terrible days, the policy of Her Majesty's Goverment has been again demonstrated - to use the loyalist people and then when they have been used for the objective of the Government, that Government achieved then they are to be thrown away like a disused cloth.

Edward Carson was right when he said the greatest crime of English politicians was their supreme ability to forget their friends. They had, and still have, convenient memories.

Today at this Conference we launch our crusade against the decision of Tom King and his cohorts to destroy the Ulster Defence Regiment. We have drawn up a petition to Her Majesty the Queen and we know that we will have overwhelming support for this petition.

Let me read the petition to you.

To Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

Whereas your subjects have been under years of onslaught by the Irish Republican Army.

Whereas your Government, at the time, disbanded the Ulster Special Constabulary - a constabulary which held back the IRA terrorists from the commencement of Northern Ireland after the secession of Southern Ireland.

Whereas your Government brought into being the Ulster Defence Regiment to replace the USC.

Whereas that Regiment has served the Province with the highest of sacrifices and courage and you have graciously

acknowledged this by the presentation of colours to four of its battalions.

Whereas a concentrated vicious and lying attack has been launched against the Regiment by the Government of the Irish Republic, especially through the iniquitous Anglo Irish Agreement machinery.

Whereas your Government has bowed the knee to that campaign of vilification and has now decided to remove the name both of 'Ulster' and of the 'Ulster Defence Regiment' from the honoured roll of the Regiments of the British Army.

Whereas your Government decided to refuse to the Ulster Defence Regiment the prefix 'Royal' and to bring an Irish dimension back into the Army Roll and to disband the Regiment by the ploy of a merger and a new name with the 'Royal' prefix. Part of this plan is to destroy quickly the part-time cadre of the Regiment.

Whereas recently the vicious wave of terror in Northern Ireland required the mobilisation of the part-time cadre of the Ulster Defence Regiment without which your Government could not have survived the situation and would have left the people a prey to the criminal murderers. In some dozen months hence, your Government, by their own action of disbanding, will not have the UDR part-timers to call upon.

We therefore, your loyal subjects in danger of being murdered at any time because of your Government's security policy failure, (even in your prison, HMP Crumlin Road, the Government cannot protect your subjects from IRA murderers) call on you to hear the cry of your loyal subjects and convey on their behalf to your Government the outrage felt by them at this plan to destroy the gallant and absolutely essential Ulster Defence Regiment. We humbly request that the 'Royal' prefix be given to the Regiment of these heroic men and women.

We in this Party treat with the utmost contempt those Unionists who have supported the Government in their treachery and slandered us because we refuse to be a party to this betrayal.

Over and over again our Party has emphasised and underscored the fact that the security policies pursued by successive British Governments in this Province are ineffectual and ineffective and cannot defeat the Irish Republican Army. I find it alarming to hear so frequently, statements from unnamed army officers who have gone so far as to eulogise the Irish Republican Army. Underlining these statements is the repeated suggestion that the IRA cannot be

destroyed by military might.

There is some proof that the British Government has open lines of communication with the IRA Sinn Fein leadership, and in reading Irish history, and especially the history of the battle of the South against British forces in Ireland, it can be clearly seen that when the IRA and Sinn Fein were at their weakest then the British Government did a betrayal deal with them.

Let me read you this extract.

"Alfred Cope was a civil servant. He served in Excise in Belfast and became assistant under secretary to Dublin in 1920. Upon his advice an Australian prelate of the Roman Catholic church, Archbishop Clune, was working in December 1920 between Mr. Lloyd George on the one side and Arthur Griffith (in prison) and Michael Collins (on the run) on the other.

"When these negotiations broke down they were resumed between De Valera, who in the meantime had come back from America, and Lord Derby who was in Dublin in April 1921, his burly form disguised in the garb of a priest and the broad effulgence of his face, a little clouded behind a pair of horn-rimmed spectacles. De Valera afterwards boasted in the Dail Eireann that he talked to Lord Derby as he would to a press man.

"These furtive approaches were resented by the police in Ireland who had endured and suffered incredible things but under General Tudor were rapidly reestablishing their authority and in the Spring of 1921 had victory in sight when they saw their enemies encouraged and themselves betrayed.

"As for the Sinn Feiners, they had been everywhere on the run, the Irish Republican Army as Bill Mulcahy, Chief of Staff reported, had almost exhausted its reserves of ammunition and had lost so many men that it could not have hoped to carry on much longer.

"There was not one of them who did not know that the Truce came only just in the nick of time. That the war, if it had gone on any longer, might have ended in complete collapse, such was the moment chosen by the British Government to make terms with rebellion. (How like the time before the diktat was signed!)

"The choice of De Valera seemed to aggravate the injury. He has organised the treacherous massacre of the Sherwood Foresters in the Easter Week, 1916. His life had been spared on the plea that he was an American citizen.

"He had incited the Irish to the boycott and murder of the police. From the comparative safety of the United States he had gloried in that Red

Sunday when 14 British officers were murdered in their bedrooms. Yet when he was at last caught at Blackrock and brought to Dublin Castle, a personal order came by telegram from Lloyd George that he was to be released at once.

"The British Government were encouraged in these negotiations by the spread of Irish outrage in England."

We have to ask ourselves at this Conference today , "Would the present British Government not be acting at this moment in the very same way?"

To know is to be strong. Knowledge is power. We must see to it that any plan of betrayal is subverted and destroyed.

Let me now turn to that supreme act of treachery, the Anglo-Irish Diktat.

The Union, our Province, our people and our future can never be safe while that parchment of treachery continues to be implemented. The diktat and our Province cannot co-exist. One will destroy the other and we are more determined than ever to utterly destroy the Anglo Irish Agreement.

To its terms we can never agree and in its functioning we can never, never take part. For six long, dark years we have lived under its ever darkening and blood-soaked shadow. It was the supreme act of treachery of a Unionist Government. No wonder Carson said the Conservatives were well called the Unionist Party for they were the Party that betrayed the Unionists.

Statistics during the last six years this diktat has operated reveal the number of shooting incidents has risen from just over 200 in 1985 to around 600 in 1990. The number of deaths as a result of the security situation has risen from just over 50 in 1985 to around 100 in 1990.

Isn't it amazing, in view of these figures, that anyone in their senses would tell us that the diktat had achieved its objective of peace, stability and reconciliation. Instead it has produced war, the very opposite to peace, anarchy, the very opposite of stability, and rebellion, the very opposite of reconciliation.

In our joint Unionist election manifesto we pledged ourselves to seek, after the election was over talks with the Government to see if we could find a way whereby (three prior conditions being accepted), negotiations could take place. Those prior conditions were -

1. To seek an alternative to and a replacement of the Agreement;
2. No Anglo Irish Conference meetings during negotiations;
3. The suspension of the working of the secretariat in serving the Anglo Irish Conference as set out in the Articles of the Agreement.

We were told at the beginning by our enemies and by many of our friends that this would never be accomplished. But at the end of the day it was accomplished and the three prior conditions were met. It took a lot of patience, a lot of argument, a lot of resolution and a lot of determination to achieve that. And in our last talks with the Secretary of State he agreed that those three prior conditions would stand in any new negotiations.

Anyone who reads the booklet which you have received today, which sets out my opening speech at the talks, will see clearly that there was no attempt on our part to fudge any of the issues, or to understate in any way the Unionist position and the principles upon which we were prepared to negotiate or the end that must be attained by such negotiations.

I was greatly encouraged that in spite of sniping from various quarters the vast majority of the people of Northern Ireland gave to us their full and loyal support when we were seeking to get rid of the diktat, get something in its place that could be agreed upon and would achieve for Northern Ireland the right of its own elected representatives to administer our Province and shape its future.

The messages of encouragement, the overwhelming support received was at that time a great encouragement to me.

There can be and will not be any wavering, as I have already said, from the principles of traditional Unionism. It is only upon that foundation that we can find a way to build a strong and prosperous Province.

A people's government, made for the people, made by the people and answerable to the people.

You all know why those talks came to an end. The Irish Government refused to keep faith and determined to have an Anglo-Irish Conference, come what may. And we refused to give in to that breach of faith by the Irish Government. I utterly and totally rejected any ploy or any device that was proposed to try and find a way to allow the Irish Government to make such a breach. There could be no compromise and there was no surrender.

The talks however, revealed the thinking of the Alliance Party and of the SDLP. I will give but two illustrations.

The Alliance Party objected in the strongest possible manner because I referred, in my opening speech, to the Roman Catholic IRA. What a fuss the leader of that Party made against that truthful description of the IRA. It is alright generally to call paramilitary groups on the other side Protestant but to dare to call the IRA the Roman Catholic IRA, as indeed they are, was too much for the Alliance Party leader to stomach.

Of course, it was quite proper for the Roman Catholic church, as I told no uncertain terms, to put the wafer on the tongue of the leader of Sinn Fein IRA Gerry Adams in Armagh R.C. Cathedral, and publicly declare on television that as far as the Church of Rome was concerned Mr Adams was in a state of grace. That was quite in order but it was not in order to call the IRA the Roman Catholic IRA.

That insight gives an exposure to the real thinking of the Alliance Party.

Let me come for a moment to the SDLP.

The SDLP made it clear that Articles Two and Three of the Irish Constitution may be obnoxious to the Unionists. It was obnoxious to them however that the Prince of Wales could not marry a Roman Catholic. That was something that they found very, very difficult to live under.

I pointed out to them that the Prince of Wales, if he wanted, could have married a Roman Catholic but he could not have remained heir to the throne under the terms of the Williamite Revolution Settlement, in the same way the Pope could become a Protestant if he so wanted but if he did so he would forfeit the right to be King of the Vatican.

Those exchanges alone reveals clearly the attitude of the SDLP to the constitutional settlement that came after the Battle of the Boyne and the essential nature of maintaining freedom from Rome Rule in order to ensure for the citizens of this country their liberties. Where Rome Rules there can be no real civil and religious liberty.

I have been blamed for many things and will be blamed for many more no doubt. Swaying and staggering, Messrs Hume and Mallon injected the poison into the talks, swearing all the time it was a life saver. Methinks they protest too much! But the grave digger of the talks was Charlie Haughey ably assisted by 'Clodhopper' Collins. Messrs Brooke and Mawhinney were the very efficient funeral directors. While one black knight Ninian sang from down under a sad lament because the hope of his gains was lost. The Foreign Office supplied free the coffin and the Dail Eireann presented the ropes to lower it into the grave. RIP.

But enough of these past talks, we must look to the future. Ominous clouds are gathering in Europe. As Ulster's sovereignty was sold at Hillsborough by Margaret Thatcher, so the United Kingdom's sovereignty could be sold at Maastricht by John Major.

John Hume looks forward eagerly to the demise of the UK in a European grave. He sees it as the way to finish Northern Ireland forever. He finished his Conference speech with the triumphate rhetoric, 'We shall overcome' - even singing it afterwards at a hair letting down hooley. He is already celebrating what Irish Republicanism and Nationalism have always worked for, the taming and fettering of

the British lion. In two world wars the Republicans longed for German success. They wanted the Kaiser to win World War I. Think of Roger Casement. They wanted Hitler to win World War II. Think of DeValera's obituary eulogy. Now they want Kohl to win. The German Chancellor's words, 'Prime Minister John Major must agree to a political union that is irreversible,' are sweet music to John Hume's ears. Page after page of his speech is all about Europe, well laced with veiled Roman theology. His colleague, Socialist Delors is determined to interfere in Northern Ireland's internal affairs. While Gerry McAlinden of the new Northern Ireland Centre in Europe has joined up to achieve the same objective. I would refer you to the Officer's Resolution which we will have before us during our debates at this Conference.

The UK requires a Nelson to take up the European challenge. The UK requires a Wellington to take up the European ultimatum. Germany must be told in no uncertain terms that she cannot dictate to others, that she herself is not the ruler but only a partner, and while we believe in co-operation in Europe we will never accept incorporation in Europe.

As Ulster's first elected European Representative, I am the only member standing honestly and truthfully against the curse of federalism which is proposed. The Official Unionist member, Mr. Jim Nicholson, is a member of the most extreme federal group in Europe, the Christian Democrats, and is affiliated in that group with the Fine Gael Dublin party - the architects of the Anglo Irish diktat. So while Mr. Hume and Mr. Nicholson may speak loudly at home they were both strangely silent in the debate last week.

This poster has been issued by the Council of Europe. It maps the future of Europe, the Europe of the Chancellor Kohls, the Jaques Delors, the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the John Humes of this world. Displaying this, their own blue print, before the Strasbourg Parliament, I said:-

"I wish to have no part whatsoever in the rebuilding of this tower of Babel. God Almighty cursed and confounded that tower very long ago and no sensible person wants to make bricks without straw to rebuild such a monstrosity."

"I believe there is a way forward for Europe. The true future of the nations of Europe lies in co-operation and not in incorporation; in unity, but not in uniformity; in national sovereignty, not in international submergence, and in a family of nations, not in a federation of nations."

Displaying the same poster in our own House of Commons this week in Westminster during the debate on Europe, I pointed out that all the talk about what we received in Europe was nothing less than falsehood.

"Membership of Europe has weakened the economy of the UK. Food prices are higher and there is a deteriorating balance of trade in the

manufactured goods with the EEC with the consequent loss of many jobs especially in manufacturing. There is an adverse effect on UK exports to non EEC countries. Britain has suffered its trading activities and the cost of CAP has been extravagant to say the least. The precious money that we pour into the EEC would be better dispersed by whatever government is in power in this country. Think of it, £2769 million that was paid by this country in 1978 to finance the CAP - that was equal to the cost of building more than one hundred much needed NHS hospitals and 14 times more than the amount spent on all the text books in our UK secondary schools."

"We have heard today," I said to the House, "details of a false balance especially from Mr. Ted Heath.

"The British Government need not go 'cap in hand' to Europe we have five strong bargaining points:-

1. The UK is one of the major contributors to the EEC budget.
2. This country is the only net consumer in the EEC of many of the agricultural products which are currently in surplus.
3. Britain is overwhelmingly a net importer of the EEC manufactures.
4. This country is the most important provider of fishing waters forming the EEC's fishing policy.
5. The UK is the only EEC country sufficient in energy.

"These are all bargaining counters. In view of them and of the reference which has been made to the strength of NATO and the Western European Union. We should not be going cap in hand to Europe."

To Mr. Hume I say today, put not your trust in princes - especially European princes.

The Secretary of State has agreed and put on record that if there are going to be new negotiations about the future of our Province and a solution of our constitutional crisis, these negotiations must be on a new basis. In fact, the old talks are over and new talks must begin.

The SDLP and the Alliance party find themselves at variance with the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State's statement in the House of Commons at the end of the talks and repeated a few days ago at NI Questions, makes it abundantly clear that we must have a new basis for the talks.

Mr. Molyneaux and I have met the Secretary of State and will be meeting him again. We spelt out to him in clear language what our objectives were:

1. The three prior conditions must prevail. There must be a clear understanding on the record that the object of the talks is to seek for an alternative to and a replacement of the Agreement. That is why these

discussions are to take place. The goal must be the superseding of this act of treachery, the diktat.

2. There can be no Anglo Irish Conferences and no excuses for any such Conferences while the negotiations are taking place.

3. The Maryfield Secretariat, whose only power under the Agreement is to service the Conference, must cease its operations as there are no Conferences to service.

There can be absolutely no going back upon those three prior conditions. We must however emphasise, insist, and have a categorical assurance that there will be no break in the time given to discuss the internal affairs of Northern Ireland, by the Republic insisting on a meeting of the Anglo Irish Conference.

What happened before cannot be permitted to happen again. The talks about the internal affairs of Northern Ireland are no business of the Dublin government. The Dublin government intruded itself into the first talks. It sought to find a way to be a participant in talks in which they were rightly excluded. That cannot happen again. The first talks must be solely and only between the elected leaders of constitutional parties within Northern Ireland and the British government. At that table the Republic must not be allowed to intrude. Nor must it be allowed to insert into those talks matters that are not relevant to them.

I do not believe that Northern Ireland must wait until the Irish Republic sorts out the misdeamours of Charles Haughey's gang. I do not believe that we in Ulster have to wait on the outcome of investigations which at best will be rigged. I don't think that we can be asked to wait until Charles Haughey has set his house in order before we commence real negotiations with the British government. Those negotiations must start immediately and can start immediately if the British government has the will to have them.

The coming election must not hinder us from entering these talks. We cannot afford to wait until May or June in the present circumstances before we get to grips in seeking an internal arrangement for the administration of Northern Ireland within the UK, and to that we must all apply ourselves. We have told the Secretary of State that now is the time for him to agree this fair, equitable basis for the beginning of such talks and to go forward and deal with the first part - the internal affairs of Northern Ireland and how we are going to administer this Province as part of the UK.

So today we are saying the ball is in the court of the British government. We have made clear our views and we are sure that the Secretary of State understands our position as we have put it to him. We do not believe that we should have the talks in the same way as the previous ones. These talks should be held where the Members of Parliament do

their business at Westminster. We are dealing with part of Her Majesty's territory and these talks should be held in London in Westminster. Instead of the high wire act which was intruded upon us by the British and Irish governments on the previous occasion, we must see to it that these are real talks seeking for a practical solution, away from the glare of the cameras and the media.

Of course the entanglements of the Anglo Irish Agreement with Dublin must be broken. Of course we must deal with that when it comes. But that is not coming in the first part of the talks. That can only come when we get to the point where progress has been made towards a settlement within Northern Ireland.

The SDLP made it clear at the first talks that they will defend Articles Two and Three of the Dublin Constitution, that they will not allow them to be negotiated away. Mr. Haughey in his subtlety says that they can be on the table for discussion. We are not having Articles Two and Three simply discussed - they must be abolished, and what is more, if the Dublin government abolishes Articles Two and Three the Unionists are not making any pay off. There is no concession to the Dublin government for undoing something it should never have done in the first place and something that hadn't even the overwhelming consent of the people of the Irish Republic.

So if the Irish Republic is going to be a true democracy in the sense of the 20th Century it must give up its unconstitutional and illegal claim to this part of Her Majesty's territory, and in doing that they needn't expect the Unionist people in Ulster to surrender something in a political pay off to a government that from the very beginning was acting the part of a political criminal in this matter.

That claim was the claim of the murderer DeValera. He was the planner of the murder of the men who served with him before the signing of the treaty including Michael Collins himself.

I say to the Irish Republic this day, if you really want peace in this island, then eradicate this mark of blood from your constitution put there by a murderer and sustained by one Charlie Haughey who, in his own Courts, was tried for gun running. In no way can it be the basis for peace for it is in fact a declaration of war, war against the people of Northern Ireland.

1992 is election year and the DUP will unfurl its banner proudly and confidently. It can give account of its stewardship without fear or apology to the electorate. It has not sought party advantage but has always put Ulster first, and where its candidates are standing unionist voters can confidently vote for them, knowing that Ulster's future will be safe in their hands. The supremacy of the ballot box is the key to progress and so it must continue to be if we are to have any chance of success. Let the people be the final arbiters. If they approve a

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constitutional settlement then the political parties will be obliged to work that settlement, and essential stability will be assured.

This is not the time for equivocation. It is the time for affirmation. This is not the time for uncertainty. It is the time for reality. This is not the time for compromise. It is the time for courage.

So with our faith firm in the God of our fathers and with hearts motivated by the patriotism of which I have spoken, let us put our best foot to the hill and our face toward the wind in the direction of what please God will be for us all a glorious sun rise. And may God defend the right.