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FROM D C KIRK, CPL  
7 APRIL 1989

UNDER/  
SEC 108/4  
10 APR 1989  
CENT SEC

cc Mr Burns -B  
Mr Miles -B  
Mr Spence -B  
Mr J McConnell -B  
Mr Hamilton, Cent Sec -B  
Mr Blackwell -B

MR DANIELL -B

ULSTER LOYALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY

*Ms Spence.  
Re X. Do we need to  
tell Perm Secs  
- subject to Sof's  
response to Ms Marson's  
submission of 17 Feb. M 107/4  
Mr Wilson 11/4  
to see a return pl*

Thank you for your minute of 9 March. We had a word about it.

2. You will have seen Mr Thomas's minute of 10 March commenting on the need to consider whether there should be any restrictions on access to the media by the "new ULDP". I have nothing to add on that point.

3. I have been thinking about whether any other work needs to be done on your other point about "access to government". As I told you, this problem has already arisen, and we have submitted advice to the Secretary of State on it. I am attaching to this minute a copy of Ms Marson submission of 17 February (also attached for copy addressees) and have asked Ms Marson to let you have a copy of the material which the ULDP submitted to the Secretary of State.

X 4. You will note that our advice was that we should not meet representatives of the ULDP, who are not (yet) elected representatives. So long as the ULDP does not have elected representatives and we know of its links with the UDA, I do not think any great problem arises, since we can treat them in the same way as we would treat other members of the public whom we see no advantage in showing any favours to in the form of helpful correspondence or meetings.

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5. If, however, the ULDP do win any council seats in the forthcoming elections, a different problem will arise we shall have to decide whether to treat them in the same way as Sinn Fein, or as a constitutional party or in some other way. If the general perception is that the ULDP have close links with the UDA, then I believe that we would probably wish to treat them in a similar manner to Sinn Fein. However, in their letter to the Secretary of State, the party went out of their way to say that they "reject violence". I believe that, for us to treat them as a normal "constitutional party", Ministers would need to be satisfied that they rejected the violence of the UDA and its followers. (The same criteria would, I believe, apply in the case of Sinn Fein; it would not be sufficient for us to treat them as a constitutional party, for their councillors to have signed the declaration against terrorism. We would need to be satisfied that they had rejected, and were known to be opposed to the violence of the IRA).

6. I do not think that further action is called for at the moment. But we shall almost certainly need to return to this subject nearer to the time of the council elections, when we should also have a better idea as to whether, as Mr Thomas put it, the ULDP is "seen merely as a stoking horse for a terrorist organisation or whether in its political mode it succeeds in striking a much more respectable note".

7. If others have any comments on the approach, CPL would of course be grateful to hear them.

(SIGNED)

D C KIRK  
Constitutional and Political Division  
7 April 1989  
OAB 6591

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CPL/MS/6146

Box

UNDER/ SEC  
10 APR 1989  
CENT SEC

FROM CLAIRE MARSON - CPL  
17 FEBRUARY 1989

CC PS/Minister of State (L&B) - B  
PS/Sir K Bloomfield - B  
Mr Burns - B  
Mr Blackwell - B  
Mr J McConnell - B  
Mr Bell - B

- 1. MR KIRK SIGNED 17/ii
- 2. PS/SECRETARY OF STATE (L&B) - B

**MINISTER'S CASE 2514:  
ULSTER LOYALIST DEMOCRATIC PARTY/POLICY DOCUMENTS**

- 1. Mr Kerr, Secretary of the Ulster Loyalist Democratic Party (ULDP), has written to the Secretary of State submitting three documents which the group would like to discuss with Mr King or officials.
- 2. The ULDP, like the Ulster Political Research Group (UPRG), is a front for the UDA's political activity. One of the documents submitted by the ULDP is a copy of 'Common Sense', which was produced by the UPRG in January 1987. 'Common Sense' (analysis at A) advocated a power sharing devolved government based on proportional allocation of Executive seats; minority rights would be protected by a Bill of Rights; the arrangements would be an alternative to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and two thirds of the electorate would be required to vote in favour of a united Ireland. The rejection of an Irish dimension and the high threshold for constitutional change would be unlikely to win participation from constitutional nationalists.
- 3. The second of the three documents (brief analysis at B) is the ULDP's addition to 'Common Sense'. Its central message is that in the forthcoming elections the ULDP will be proposing a "replacement of the Anglo-Irish Agreement based on devolution as suggested in 'Common Sense'"; and if this is not forthcoming, independence becomes the aim.

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4. The third 'document' is a page on security concerns (details at C). It proposes a redeployment of army units currently in Northern Ireland to form a series of undercover observation units backed up by quick reaction units and plain clothes patrols. Not surprisingly given the originators of the document, troops would be monitoring and acting on republican activity only.

5. Mr Kerr says that his party has completely renounced violence as a means of solving Northern Ireland's problems. This statement sits uncomfortably with a phrase in the ULDP's paper on 'Common Sense' that '...if Nationalist leaders continue to offer nothing short of an enforced United Ireland or joint authority, then the solution lies outside of the realm of politics it lies with the domination of one side by the other through conflict!''.

6. The ULDP is tainted with the UDA brush and the UDA is still closely associated with sectarian violence (most recently the UFF's murder of the solicitor Mr Pat Finucane). It would not be appropriate therefore for Ministers to meet representatives of this UDA offshoot. In the early 1980's PAB held four meetings with the ULDP for the purpose of increasing the NIO's knowledge of working class loyalist opinion. Contacts were discontinued when they no longer seemed helpful. However, no meetings were held in the wake of the 'Common Sense' document and the ULDP's additional paper adds little that is constructive to it ("Our strategy is clearly based on the need to build up friendly relations and instigate areas of united anti-Thatcher policy" and "act independently to fight Dublin rule"). The ULDP has yet to prove itself as a constitutional party - it has no elected representatives and does not reflect a high level of opinion. CPL and PAB are agreed that there is no requirement for this group to be included in the forthcoming round of talks but if Ministers were minded to reopen the question at a later stage the ULDP would be very near the bottom of any list.

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7. A draft reply to Mr Kerr, for Private Secretary signature, is attached.

(SIGNED)

**CLAIRE MARSON**

Constitutional and Political Division

17 February 1989

OAB Ext 6575

The UDFP is regarded as a party that has not yet been established but the UDA is still closely associated with republican activities (most recently the UDFP's murder of the solicitor Mr John Finlay). It would not be appropriate therefore for representatives of this UDA offshoot to be invited to sit on the UDFP's steering committee for the purpose of 'defining the UDFP's role and of working across loyalist opinion. Past attempts were discontinued when they no longer seemed helpful. However, no meetings were held in the wake of the 'Common Sense' document and the UDFP's additional paper adds little that is constructive to its (past) strategy. It clearly based on the need to build up friendly relations and investigate areas of united anti-republican policy (and not independently to fight 'British rule'). The UDFP has yet to prove itself as a constitutional party - it has no elected representatives and does not reflect a high level of opinion. CPL and MAP are agreed that there is no requirement for this group to be included in the forthcoming round of talks but if Ministers were minded to reopen the question at a later stage the UDFP would be very welcome as a party of opinion.

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DRAFT REPLY FROM PS/SECRETARY OF STATE

K Kerr Esq  
Secretary  
Ulster Loyalist Democratic Party  
North West Division  
4 Bonds Place  
Waterside  
Londonderry  
BT47 1EQ

Thank you for your recent letter to the Secretary of State enclosing a copy of the Ulster Political Research Group's document "Common Sense" and your own group's comments on that document and on security. The Secretary of State was already familiar with the document entitled "Common Sense" and he has noted the contents of your other two papers. If some of the ideas you have set out can make a constructive contribution to debate between constitutional political parties, they will be welcomed as such, but Mr King regrets that he is unable to offer a meeting at this stage of your party's development.

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" TOWARDS A NEW ULSTER - LAND FIT FOR ITS PEOPLE!"

Brief paper by the Ulster Loyalist Democratic Party.

General

The paper is an unstructured combination of working class unionist philosophy, seeming to identify with the needs of all working class people in Northern Ireland but in reality offering nothing tangible to their Roman Catholic counterparts. Moreover it does not acknowledge the existence of "two separate cultural, religious and political blocs" contending there is a far more "complicated and diverse cultural mix". It does however, recognise all cultures and peacefully pursued aspirations as legitimate.

It proposes legislative devolution for Northern Ireland and criticises current mans of legislating for the Province. It accuses direct rule of providing neither democratic nor accountable government. Ominously it advocates "the domination of one side by the other through conflict "if nationalist leaders' continue to offer nothing short of an enforced United Ireland or joint authority". The stance of the paper is "anti-Thatcher" and it accuses conservatism of appealing only to those in the south east of England.

Employment

Government training programmes are criticised and an increase in language skills is proposed for all sections of the workforce to reap the benefits of 1992. The authors condemn sectarian monitoring of jobs as creating further distrust and division. The only solution offered to lower the rate of Catholic unemployment is the creation of more jobs.

Political Development

The ULDP is looking for movement and considers the current unionist parties have been afraid to fight the Agreement. While paying lip service to the need to create 'democratic institutions which command widespread cross community support" the paper nevertheless

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constantly rejects an Irish dimension. The policy turns on replacing the Anglo-Irish Agreement or going for independence.

### Education

The paper criticises the education system on a class basis and advocates a scheme of specialists visiting parents of pre-school age children to assist with educational development.

### Housing

A devolved government would take control of the Housing Executive and "by making it accountable" (no details offered) would provide an integrated environment.

### Commission for Disabled

The most imaginative suggestion in the paper is the creation of a commission to investigate that position of the disabled in Northern Ireland with the integration of a forum for the disabled with the FEA and EOC under "one Assembly department".

### Employment

Government training programmes will be abolished and an increase in language skills is proposed for all sections of the workforce to reap the benefits of EEC. The paper recommends sectarian monitoring of jobs as creating further division. The only solution offered is to keep the rate of structural unemployment in the creation of more jobs.

### Political Developments

The ULDF is looking for members and members for current political parties have been asked to sign the Agreement. While giving his service to the need to create a new political structure which would

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"PEACE FOR ALL"

Comments on security by the Ulster Loyalist Democratic Party.

The paper offers the usual extremist unionist criticisms of government security policy - it would not have been allowed to happen on the mainland and the government has not the will to protect the people from "marauding bands of republican murderers".

It accuses successive governments of sometime mischievous interest in signalling to the terrorists that a further outrage "just might be enough" (presumably to withdraw). Peace will only be possible when a state is created which has the support of "the majority of our people" and when the government is representative and accountable.

The specific proposals are

- i) the border must be sealed;
- ii) the border area must be "zoned";
- iii) each zone would have several undercover observation hides;
- iv) each hide would be covered by a quick reaction unit on 24 hour alert;
- v) the units would use a separate communications network from the rest of the security forces but with the ability to tap in in emergencies;
- vi) terrorists challenged by the quick reaction units would be arrested or "eliminated";
- vii) plain clothes patrols would work in conjunction with the other two systems.

Significantly this work would only be carried out by the army, leaving the RUC free to be traditional police.

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