

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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UDA Proposals for Independent Northern Ireland

Basis of independence proposal

2. The draft plan or constitution for an independent Northern Ireland is modelled closely on the U.S. Constitution. It envisages an independent State which would be known as Ulster. A Prime Minister and a Deputy Prime Minister would be elected directly by the voters and the Prime Minister would have powers similar to the U.S. President. He would appoint an executive from outside the legislature which itself would be elected by proportional representation. The legislature would in turn elect - on a two-thirds vote - a Speaker with considerable powers. His duties would include the appointment, on a proportional representation basis, of committees to oversee the business of government.

3. Proposals for legislation would emanate from the parliamentary committees and following approval by the legislature would be referred to the Prime Minister who would either approve them or send them back with his objections. Those sent back would be reconsidered and become law if two-thirds of the legislature voted for them.

4. The judicial power of the State would come under the control of a Supreme Court which would be appointed by a judicial commission consisting of one nominee from the fields of industry, trade unions, the law society and the police authority. A detailed Bill of Rights which would apply equally to every citizen of the State is also included in the independence plan.

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5. The independence plan calls for guarantees from Britain and the Republic to withdraw "all their claims of sovereignty over Northern Ireland". The new State would seek international recognition and support for its sovereignty. It would not adopt an isolationist policy and would be "on friendly terms with its neighbours and have membership of the EEC". The territory of the State would consist of the six Northern counties and would as already stated be known as Ulster.

Cost of Independent Ulster

6. Mr. Barr's plan envisages that the British would have to underwrite the North for at least 25 years. He argues that Britain could not simply abandon the North without making a financial provision.

U.D.A.'s association with violence.

7. At the press conference on the 29th March, Mr. Barr admitted that the UDA had been responsible for some of the most atrocious violence in Northern Ireland and he indicated that they would not attempt to hide that fact. When asked whether its military organisation would continue in being, he declared (according to the Irish Times' report) "That force will be held until we are perfectly sure that any threat of a constitutional tie-up with Dublin is over". It was also claimed at the press conference that the UDA had not been involved in violence since 1977. [REDACTED] in his report of March last, refers to his conversation with [REDACTED] on the policy then being pursued by the loyalist paramilitaries. Mr. Barr claims at that time that the idea of independence for Northern Ireland was gaining support among the loyalist paramilitaries. There had been real pressure for a resumption of sectarian assassinations in the wake of the La Mon killings which Mr. Barr claimed had been countered by Andy Tyrrie's challenging his more hawkish "brigadiers" to eliminate a list of Provo members. According to Barr's account this challenge had not been taken up at the time.

8. The Irish Times, in an editorial on Monday the 2nd April, refers to the UDA as "A body which has to its name as dire a record as has the IRA". It also points out that the UDA is not only a sectarian organisation but has been guilty of many sectarian murders. It makes the point that it is the voice of a relatively small group who have been as unsuccessful at the polls on the Protestant side as the IRA have been on the Catholic side. However, the Irish Times also makes the point that the UDA document is the matter in question at present. The recognition that the British presence in Northern Ireland must one day come to an end is, the Irish Times suggests, the distinguishing feature of the UDA report. Having reached that

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conclusion, this formula at least gives it a good arguing position, the Irish Times editorial states.

9. At the press conference at which the report was launched, Mr. Barr asked that the plan put forward be considered on its merits and that it should not be simply related to the organisation from which it had emanated. The philosophy behind the report is represented as an attempt to remove many of the problems which currently exist in Northern Ireland politics and to allow the people there to decide their elected representatives on a political basis, rather than religious bigotry and sectarian hatred. The document says, according to the Belfast Telegraph of the 29th March, that "It is the only proposal which does not have a victor and loser. It will encourage the development of a common identity between the two communities, regardless of religion."

Contacts with Fianna Fáil Study Group on North/South Relations.

10. Mr. Glen Barr has also been in contact with Mr. Donal Barrington, S.C., in relation to the concept of negotiated independence for Northern Ireland. He provided Mr. Barrington with an outline of his Group's proposals in this regard in April last. Subsequent to that contact Mr. Barrington, together with Senator Ruairi Brugha and Mr. Jim Cawley met a number of the former leaders of the Ulster Workers' Strike through Mrs. Judy Hayes, Chairman of the Reconciliation Centre at Glenree. The meeting was strictly a private one at which the implications of federalism, negotiated independence, and the Common Market were discussed. The Northern participants at that meeting indicated that their objective was to get a boost for the idea of negotiated independence in Northern Ireland. Subsequently Messrs. Barrington and Cawley met Mr. Glen Barr together with Messrs. Tommy Little, John Kilmichael, and Harry Chicken all of the UDA (early June 1978). At the end of June 1978, Messrs. Barrington and Cawley had a meeting with Andy Tyrie in Belfast. At all of these meetings the idea of negotiated independence was discussed in a general way with Andy Tyrie declaring that he had sold this concept to the rank and file of the UDA particularly to the "hard men". It was indicated to the "Dublin side" that the Northerners did not exclude an ultimate federal solution but that in their view an independent Ulster must precede it. From a Northern point of view a system of federalism alone would be regarded simply as another method of getting Northern Ireland incorporated into a United Ireland.

11. In the course of the various contacts with the UDA representatives, they claimed to be determined to avoid bloodshed in the future. They said they wished to negotiate a solution to the Northern Ireland problem with the British Government and the Irish Government within the common market system. Andy Tyrie in particular claimed to be totally

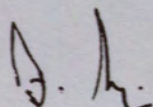
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opposed to sectarian assassinations and that it took him three years to "bring them to an end". He also claimed to be totally opposed to paramilitary organisations and stated that the British Government should never have permitted their formation in the first place. Not only was he totally opposed to sectarian assassinations, Tyrie asserted, but he was also against demanding protection money from small shopkeepers



3rd April, 1979.