

An Chartlann Náisiúnta
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Reference Code:	2021/52/171
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Meeting with Tim Pat Coogan

Tim Pat Coogan has good contacts in the Loyalist community. He gave the following Documents relating to the LVF which are attached.

1. Their overall policy analysis.

2. Their recent statement with its warning to Protestant "collaborates".

Coogan said his contacts say that the LVF is very determined to succeed in a bomb attack on the Republic. They are actively engaged in this pursuit. The LVF enjoy a large measure of popular support in Mid-Ulster and are trying to set up a political wing. [I have heard similar reports from other sources in Northern Ireland]. They will be putting up candidates at future elections in the North. The LVF are bitterly opposed to David Trimble who is increasingly the target of abuse in murals in the Portadown area. They will be trying to unseat him at the next election by splitting the Unionist vote in Upper Bann even if this means that Brid Rogers is elected.

Loyalist sources believe that Seamus Mallon of the SDLP is the only nationalist figure they would trust.

Ray Bassett
9 March 1998

cc See Gallagher
A/I Counsellor
Irish Secretariat.

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LVF Policy Analysis 98/3

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.

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.

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

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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.

Despte these dificulties 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.

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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.

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 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

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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.

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

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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.

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.

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The Pan-nationalist Front, which is participating fully in the process, does not recognise the reality of Ulster's existence, its legitimacy as 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.

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. The process does not allow for with holding or withdrawal of consent.

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.

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LVF Statement 98/10

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 too 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 I.R.A. 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 the British and Irish Government agents were engaged in talks with the I.R.A. on a regular basis since 1971 and even when the I.R.A. were killing civillians and members of the security forces.

It is inconceivable that the 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 condems the policy of successive British Governments in restricting the role of the British Army and 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 alongside 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!.

The Loyalist Volunter 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.

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In the forthcoming referendum the British and Irish Governments will embark upon a joint policy to decieve the Unionist and Loyalist people; they will be joined by Government timesevers who will beg you to compromiscon 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!

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 comming months the Unionist and Loyalist people will be decieved and lied to by their so-called leaders who will 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 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 from the weasel words of Goverment Ministers and their place-men and its intent is etched on the faces of those Unionist and Loyalist politicians who have bought in to the Pan Nationalist peace/surrender process

The Loyalist Volunteer Force has made a firm and sure committment to the Ulster Protestant people that whatever the outcome of the present London/Dublin/Washington conspiracy that 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 25 years of I.R.A. killing and bombing". The British and Irish Governments have played that card already and the Loyalist Volunteer Force will make sure that such blackmail tactics will be publically resisted and internationally discredited.

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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.

Concious 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 contibution to the eatablishment and defence of democracy and libery 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 building the political, economic and social system of stability and liberty

Dedicated to increasing the cultural and political awareness of the Ulster 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, fundemental and decisive change in the United Kingdom constitution.

To restore Ulster's right to self determination.

To end Irish Nationalist agression 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 off de-Britishisation and Gaelicisation of Ulster's daily life.

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