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ANNEX C**UK UNIONIST PARTY (UKUP)**

Prominent Members	-	Robert McCartney, QC MP
	-	Cedric Wilson
	-	Conor Cruise O'Brien

ELECTORAL SUPPORT	
1995 By-Election	37.0%
Entry to Negotiations Election 1996	3.7%
General Election 1997	2.1%

The UK Unionist Party represents the latest attempt by Robert McCartney to construct within Unionism his own individual power-base. McCartney was elected to Parliament in the North Down by-election of June 1995 (with DUP support), but his challenging analysis of Unionism - that both traditional Unionist parties have condemned the cause they seek to uphold by failing to make Unionism a political philosophy which is capable of winning a wider spectrum of support - has proved to exercise a limited appeal, perhaps because his approach has so far been characterised by blustering negativism. In the Entry to Negotiations elections, his vote weakened in North Down, and (although respectable) he failed to make significant headway outside greater Belfast and its satellite constituencies.

On the constitution, the Party's position is unambiguous - maintenance of the position of Northern Ireland within the UK, and resistance to any expansion of the role of Dublin in the internal affairs of the province (a pronouncement which tacitly appears to recognise that a limited and controlled Irish dimension to the affairs of Northern Ireland does have a place in an overall settlement).

The core of the UK Unionists' analysis is that HMG policy towards Northern Ireland amounts to an unavowed strategy of securing the dissolution of the Union by consent. The development by the two Governments of a joint approach to the process of political development is interpreted as facilitating creeping Irish unity and a gradual disengagement of Northern Ireland from the life and politics of the UK.

With regard to negotiations, the Party has staked out an uncompromising position - the pro-Union parties should determine and maintain a common position, based on a shared assumption of a bottom line which cannot be breached; the absence of Sinn Féin or the Loyalist political representatives will not devalue negotiations; the resumption by the IRA of the August 1994 ceasefire is insufficient for SF to gain admittance to talks - only a total and permanent ceasefire will suffice; the agenda

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for negotiations should exclude the concept that the Union itself is negotiable; north-south institutions can be contemplated only insofar as they are of practical worth and mutual benefit - excluded are bodies driven by political considerations; Articles 2 and 3 of the ROI Constitution must be abandoned before any significant agreement can be reached; decommissioning must not be shunted off into a fourth strand siding while political issues are progressed down the main track; and the Framework Documents are unacceptable as a conceptual framework for the negotiations.

In the Talks to date, McCartney and his supporters have concentrated their fire on the UUP, seeking to exert a restraining influence over what they see as Trimble's dangerous tendency to compromise on essential issues. When not instigating such attacks, they have supported the DUP efforts to the same end. Making political progress via the Talks process has not been an objective.

Given McCartney's long track record as a political loner, it remains a matter of speculation how long he will remain in partnership with Paisley, a politician for whom he is known to have a strong personal antipathy. The need for DUP support in the General Election, and the expediency of making common cause in the resumed Talks, will presumably maintain the nexus for the immediate future; but it is difficult to visualise a successful long-term relationship between two such strong and disparate personalities. By the same token, given McCartney's penchant for forming temporary groups, to meet particular needs, it is possible to predict that the UKUP as a political party may have a limited life expectancy.

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ROBERT McCARTNEY MP**UKUP LEADER AND MP FOR NORTH DOWN****Background**

Born in 1936 in the Shankill area of Belfast: now one of Northern Ireland's leading barristers. First entered the political scene in late 1981, when he crossed swords with Dr Paisley following the assassination of the MP for South Belfast, the Rev Robert Bradford. Subsequently joined the UUP and unsuccessfully sought the UUP nomination in the South Belfast by-election, April 1982. About July 1982 founded a group within the UUP with the aim of encouraging the Party to broaden its liberal appeal. In August 1982 he visited the USA to put forward moderate Unionist views. Scraped into the 1982 NI Assembly (for North Down) on the eleventh count. Failing to make an impact in the UUP in 1986 he launched the Campaign for Equal Citizenship urging national parties to organise in Northern Ireland. He was expelled from the UUP in 1987. Unsuccessfully contested North Down in 1983 and 1987, but won the seat in the by-election on 15 June 1995 when (once more leading a group of his own creation) he stood as a UK Unionist. In his maiden speech on 5 July he broke with tradition and mounted an attack on the Government, accusing it of offering Northern Ireland a policy of "covert institutional coercion into a united Ireland", and following a strategy "designed to buy off terrorists who still retain the means of damaging the British economy".

Personality and Political Views

McCartney is highly intelligent, ambitious and renowned for his inability to suffer fools gladly. Allegations of intellectual arrogance and of lacking the common touch have followed him throughout his career, and have contributed to his reputation for regarding politics as an extension of his legalistic pursuits. His experience in the courts leads him to an oratorical style which is structured and portentous in delivery. He is not known for his willingness to support a party line of which he disapproves, and his flirtation with various brands of Unionism probably made it inevitable that he should eventually create his own party for the promulgation of his views. His current allegiance with the DUP is, therefore, not only against his past history, but may be said to be in conflict with his penchant for regarding politics as a non-team sport.

McCartney is firm in his defence of the Union, but believes that an accommodation with nationalists would be possible provided the British Government gave Unionists the reassurance of their unconditional support. He has been highly critical, particularly in articles in the Belfast Telegraph, of the effect on the Unionist

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position of the 1993 Downing Street Declaration. He purports to believe that cross-community support can be generated for a concept of Unionism which eschews sectarian triumphalism and embraces instead a pluralistic approach to socio-economic politics. It has to be said that his performance in the current Talks process has been characterised more by blustering negativism than by any enlightened approach to a new vision of Unionism.

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ALLIANCE PARTY

- Prominent Members
- Lord Alderdice (Leader)
 - Seamus Close (Deputy Leader)
 - Mrs Eileen Bell (Chair)
 - Sean Neeson (Chief Whip)
 - Stephen McBride (Executive Committee Member)

ELECTORAL SUPPORT

General Election 1992	8.7%
Local Government Election 1993	7.7%
European Election 1994	4.1%
Entry to Negotiations Election 1996	6.5%
General Election 1997	8%

The Alliance Party was formed in 1970 to appeal to moderate opinion in both Protestant and Catholic communities.

In October 1988 the Party produced a major policy document entitled "Governing With Consent" which set out to produce a summary of conclusions arrived at by a study group set up by senior party officials to review arrangements for the future government of Northern Ireland. The paper contained a good deal of helpful and balanced comment and realigned earlier proposals. It reaffirmed devolution of power to a Northern Ireland Assembly within the United Kingdom as the best way to achieve political progress in Northern Ireland. There was also a clear recognition of the importance of a guaranteed role for the minority in any future devolved administration, whilst accepting that the Irish Government should have a right of consultation on matters affecting Northern Ireland. This document remains the basis of Party policy.

The Alliance Party took an active role in the 1991/92 inter-party talks and participated in the Dublin Forum for Peace and Reconciliation. It was consistently measured in its approach to the Frameworks Documents and encouraged others to do likewise. As far as decommissioning is concerned, it believes that an International Body should be established to oversee the process.

Lord Alderdice was extremely disappointed by the performance of the Alliance Party in the 30 May 1996 Entry to Negotiations Election. The fall in its share of the vote was probably due to a reversion in some quarters to voting along traditional sectarian lines, and some votes would also have been lost to the plethora of smaller

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parties who stood in this election. In the Talks, the Alliance Party has been constructive in attempting to progress proceedings and reach some agreement.

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LORD ALDERDICE OF KNOCK**ALLIANCE PARTY LEADER AND MEMBER OF BELFAST CITY COUNCIL****Background**

Lord Alderdice (then Dr John Alderdice) joined the Alliance Party in 1978, was elected to the Party council in 1979 and in 1984 he joined the Party Executive. In the 1987 Westminster Election he polled a significant 10,000 (32%) votes against Peter Robinson in East Belfast but failed to increase this substantially in 1992. Following the resignation of John Cushnahan (the then party leader) in October 1987 he defeated Seamus Close by 117 to 77 votes in the leadership election. He has been a member of Belfast City Council since May 1989, but is not standing for re-election in May 1997. Successful in Belfast East in the election on 30 May 1996 to select delegates to the Forum and Negotiations.

Born in 1955, the son of a Presbyterian Minister, he was educated at Ballymena Academy and Queen's University. He is married with two children and is a consultant psychiatrist.

He was raised to the peerage in 1996 as Baron Alderdice of Knock.

Personality and Political Views

His performance in the 1992 Westminster Election in East Belfast was a disappointment as the Party had hoped for a better result, but Lord Alderdice's profile is now much higher than previously - not least because of his exposure during the 1992 Talks. An articulate and ambitious man, though occasionally portrayed in public speaking terms as a deliverer of "sermons to the congregation", he is keen to attract new young blood to the party and increase its political depth should the pendulum swing in its favour at some future point. His style does not always endear him to some of his colleagues but this has not caused serious ripples in terms of relationships within the Party.

He is generally supportive of the direction being taken by Government in regard to political development, and has been helpful in undertaking visits to the USA to ensure that a corrective view is available to counter the wilder allegations of other visiting Northern Ireland politicians. Experience of the current talks to date has, however, left him pessimistic that the present crop of Northern Ireland politicians can ever reach a sensible compromise, especially given the pressures of Sinn Fein's

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potential involvement. He has recently been prone to argue that the attempt to bring Sinn Fein should be abandoned and/or that the two Governments should begin to draw up their own proposals for a comprehensive political settlement.

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