



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

21 March 1986

Dear Jim,

Thank you for the letter which you and Dr. Paisley sent to me on 7 March.

At our meeting on 25 February you both made clear that you fully maintained your opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and that any subsequent talks would be without prejudice to that position. We agreed to reflect on the various suggestions that had been made and to meet again shortly.

Having now received your letter, I am glad to hear that it remains your purpose to create a framework within which dialogue can take place. For our part we certainly wish to enter into talks with you on any or all of the matters I mentioned when we met, including matters on which the Agreement has no bearing, such as improved arrangements for unionists to put forward views and proposals to Ministers and the handling of Northern Ireland business in Parliament. There is also the issue of the future of the Assembly and the proposal, to which I will return, for a round table Conference on devolution.

I made clear at our meeting that I recognised the strength of your feelings about the Anglo-Irish Agreement; but I must take issue with some of the interpretations placed on it in the resolutions enclosed with your letter. The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) in its resolution, reaffirms its determination 'never to submit or consent to joint London - Dublin authority over Northern Ireland'. I can readily

file

SPW

cc NIO
FCO
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SPW

understand this position, indeed I share it. The Anglo-Irish Agreement does not provide for, create or envisage such joint authority. On the contrary the Agreement makes it clear that the Intergovernmental Conference has no executive authority and that the Irish Government's role is limited to putting forward views and proposals. It is expressly stated in the Agreement that there is no derogation from the sovereignty of the United Kingdom Government, which remains solely responsible for decisions in relation to the affairs of Northern Ireland. There is consequently no question of 'joint authority', nor does the Agreement in any way threaten the union: I should not have been a party to it if it did. On the contrary, the guarantee of successive United Kingdom Governments and Parliaments that the status of Northern Ireland cannot and will not be changed without the consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland, is explicitly recognised and accepted by the Government of the Republic.

The UUP resolution also talks about 'equality of citizenship within the United Kingdom' and the 'fundamental right to be governed in accordance with the principles, procedures and practises which obtain in the United Kingdom as a whole'. One of those principles is surely the acceptance of the sovereign authority of the United Kingdom Parliament: indeed this must be a corollary of your rejection, which I share, of any dilution of that authority. While I made absolutely clear to you that we are committed to, and will not suspend, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which has been approved by such a significant Parliamentary majority, I told you when we met that we were ready to approach the working of the Agreement in a sensitive way.

You suggested that there should be a round table Conference with the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland to consider proposals for devolution. Mr. Hume has made it clear that the Social Democratic and Labour Party would be prepared to participate in immediate discussions on devolution without pre-conditions. I can confirm that the Government is ready to take part in such a Conference and to

discuss with you how best to set it up as quickly as possible. If, as a result, there were agreement upon proposals for devolved government, then subjects which thereafter became the responsibility of the devolved administration would no longer come within the scope of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In that event, we should of course need to review the implications of any such proposals for the working of the Intergovernmental Conference, as its ambit would be significantly affected by the devolution of matters to democratic institutions in Northern Ireland.

You will, I am sure, share my view that the approach of constructive discussion on the matters covered above must be preferable to a repetition of the sort of events that took place in Northern Ireland on 3 March. The important thing now is that we should work together to spare Northern Ireland the consequences of a confrontation that could only damage all of its people. We believe that consultation and not confrontation must be the way to proceed. I do not think our fellow citizens throughout the United Kingdom will understand why, if that is what we all say we want to do, we do not proceed with it.

My office stands ready to discuss with yours dates for another meeting between us.

I am writing in similar terms to Dr. Paisley.

*Yours
James Molyneux*

The Rt. Hon. James Molyneux, J.P., M.P.



10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

21 March 1986

John D. Paisley

Thank you for the letter which you and Mr. Molyneaux sent to me on 7 March.

At our meeting on 25 February you both made clear that you fully maintained your opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and that any subsequent talks would be without prejudice to that position. We agreed to reflect on the various suggestions that had been made and to meet again shortly.

Having now received your letter, I am glad to hear that it remains your purpose to create a framework within which dialogue can take place. For our part we certainly wish to enter into talks with you on any or all of the matters I mentioned when we met, including matters on which the Agreement has no bearing, such as improved arrangements for unionists to put forward views and proposals to Ministers and the handling of Northern Ireland business in Parliament. There is also the issue of the future of the Assembly and the proposal, to which I will return, for a round table Conference on devolution.

I made clear at our meeting that I recognised the strength of your feelings about the Anglo-Irish Agreement; but I must take issue with some of the interpretations placed on it in the resolutions enclosed with your letter. The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) in its resolution, reaffirms its determination 'never to submit or consent to joint London - Dublin authority over Northern Ireland'. I can readily

understand this position, indeed I share it. The Anglo-Irish Agreement does not provide for, create or envisage such joint authority. On the contrary the Agreement makes it clear that the Intergovernmental Conference has no executive authority and that the Irish Government's role is limited to putting forward views and proposals. It is expressly stated in the Agreement that there is no derogation from the sovereignty of the United Kingdom Government, which remains solely responsible for decisions in relation to the affairs of Northern Ireland. There is consequently no question of 'joint authority', nor does the Agreement in any way threaten the union: I should not have been a party to it if it did. On the contrary, the guarantee of successive United Kingdom Governments and Parliaments that the status of Northern Ireland cannot and will not be changed without the consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland, is explicitly recognised and accepted by the Government of the Republic.

The UUP resolution also talks about 'equality of citizenship within the United Kingdom' and the 'fundamental right to be governed in accordance with the principles, procedures and practises which obtain in the United Kingdom as a whole'. One of those principles is surely the acceptance of the sovereign authority of the United Kingdom Parliament: indeed this must be a corollary of your rejection, which I share, of any dilution of that authority. While I made absolutely clear to you that we are committed to, and will not suspend, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which has been approved by such a significant Parliamentary majority, I told you when we met that we were ready to approach the working of the Agreement in a sensitive way.

You suggested that there should be a round table Conference with the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland to consider proposals for devolution. Mr. Hume has made it clear that the Social Democratic and Labour Party would be prepared to participate in immediate discussions on devolution without pre-conditions. I can confirm that the Government is ready to take part in such a Conference and to

discuss with you how best to set it up as quickly as possible. If, as a result, there were agreement upon proposals for devolved government, then subjects which thereafter became the responsibility of the devolved administration would no longer come within the scope of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In that event, we should of course need to review the implications of any such proposals for the working of the Intergovernmental Conference, as its ambit would be significantly affected by the devolution of matters to democratic institutions in Northern Ireland.

You will, I am sure, share my view that the approach of constructive discussion on the matters covered above must be preferable to a repetition of the sort of events that took place in Northern Ireland on 3 March. The important thing now is that we should work together to spare Northern Ireland the consequences of a confrontation that could only damage all of its people. We believe that consultation and not confrontation must be the way to proceed. I do not think our fellow citizens throughout the United Kingdom will understand why, if that is what we all say we want to do, we do not proceed with it.

My office stands ready to discuss with yours dates for another meeting between us.

I am writing in similar terms to Mr. Molyneux.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

The Reverend Ian Paisley, M.P., M.E.P.



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

21 March 1986

file
54
cc/c

Dear Neil.

The Prime Minister has now signed letters to Dr. Paisley and Mr. Molyneaux and I enclose the originals. You will see that we have made a last-minute change in the order of the sentences in paragraph 2. This reflects a conversation which I had with your Secretary of State this morning.

sf/11
May I please leave it to you to arrange delivery of the letters. I have had a clear indication from Mr. Molyneaux's office that he would be content for delivery to take place on Monday when he will be in London. Your Secretary of State said that he would be arranging delivery direct to Dr. Paisley rather than through the DUP office. I imagine this will be on Monday as well.

sf/11
The intention is to keep the text of these letters confidential. Nonetheless, in view of all the publicity there has been surrounding them, I think that we shall have to confirm that replies have been sent once delivery has been made. You will no doubt wish to ensure that both Mr. Molyneaux and Dr. Paisley are aware that we do not ourselves propose to do more than confirm that the Prime Minister has written and shall not be releasing any texts. Could you also please ensure that you inform No.10 as soon as delivery has been made so that we can announce it.

I am copying this letter, with copies of the enclosure, to Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office) and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely,

 (C. D. POWELL)

Neil Ward, Esq.,
 Northern Ireland Office.



Government Chief Whip

12 Downing Street, London SW1

20-iii-1986

Charles Powell ^{CPW} 21/3.

The Chief Whip has seen Jim Daniell's letter of today's date about the PM's letters to Jim Molyneux and Ian Paisley. He wanted to reiterate that Jim Molyneux's advice was for the letters to arrive after Ian Paisley's deadline of Friday. This conflicts somewhat with Jim Daniell's comment about the letters reaching addressees at the earliest opportunity.

Genevieve Robinson



7

Ref. A086/926

COP
2/3MR POWELL

I have seen Mr Dalyell's letter of 20 March and the draft letter to Mr Molyneaux and Mr Paisley.

2. I think that the draft is fine, though I have three minor draft changes to offer:

- On page 2 line 16, the words "or authorise" read a little oddly. I suggest that the sentence might read:
"The Anglo-Irish Agreement does not provide for, create or envisage such joint authority".
- On page 3 line 9, it would be possible to give additional emphasis by making the first part of the sentence read
"While I made absolutely clear to you that we are committed to, and will not abrogate or suspend, the Anglo-Irish Agreement..."
- On page 3 line 23, it might be helpful to add, after the words "In that event", the words (between commas)
"as the Agreement itself recognises".

3. I agree that we should not initially release the text of the letters to the press. But we need to be ready to issue them very smartly, if Mr Molyneaux and Mr Paisley start to quote from them selectively.

4. I am sending copies of this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Chief Whip.

MS

for

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

20 March 1986



COMPTON

1986



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
WHITEHALL
LONDON SW1A 2AZ

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

20 March 1986

Dear Charles

... In response to your letter of 11 March I attach a draft reply from the Prime Minister to the letter from Mr Molyneux and Dr Paisley dated 7 March. The draft restates our position in terms which my Secretary of State believes might appeal to Mr Molyneux, while taking the opportunity to refute some of the Unionist misrepresentations of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Mr King feels that, initially at least, we should not release the text of the letters to the press. He believes that Mr Molyneux and Dr Paisley are more likely to respond positively if they can consider the terms of the letters, free of the pressures that are likely to arise if there is publicity. All that need be said to the media, by way of background briefing, is that the letters have issued and that the opportunity for talks has been offered.

My office is of course ready to assist in seeking to ensure that the letters, or copies, reach the addressees at the earliest opportunity.

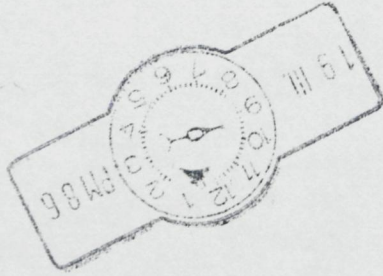
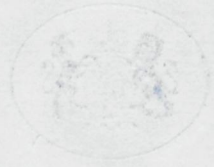
I am copying this letter to Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Murdo MacClean (Chief Whip's Office) and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely
J A Daniell*

J A DANIELL

Ireland; Rels; part 15

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR
INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY



SECRET

DRAFT LETTER

FILE NUMBER.....

ADDRESSEE'S REFERENCE.....

<p>To</p> <p>The Rt Hon James Molyneaux JP MP</p> <p>AND</p> <p>Rev Ian Paisley MP</p> <p>(Full Postal Address)</p>	<p>Enclosures</p>	<p>Copies to be sent to</p> <p>SRWAAAY</p> <p>(Full Address, if Necessary)</p>
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LETTER DRAFTED FOR SIGNATURE BY PRIME MINISTER (Name of Signatory)

Thank you for the letter which you and [Ian Paisley] [Jim Molyneaux] sent to me on 7 March.

At our meeting on 25 February we agreed to reflect on the various suggestions that had been made and to meet again shortly. Of course neither side was committed in the statement issued after the meeting to firm acceptance of any of the proposals made, and you both made clear that you fully maintained your opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and that any subsequent talks would be without prejudice to that position.

Having now received your letter, I am glad to hear that it remains your purpose to create a framework within which dialogue can take place. For our part we certainly wish to enter into talks with you on any or all of the matters I mentioned when we met, including matters on which the Agreement has no bearing, such as improved arrangements for

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E.R.

unionists to put forward views and proposals to Ministers and the handling of Northern Ireland business in Parliament. There is also the issue of the future of the Assembly and the proposal, to which I will return, for a round table Conference on devolution.

I made clear at our meeting that I recognised the strength of your feelings about the Anglo-Irish Agreement; but I must take issue with some of the interpretations placed on it in the resolutions enclosed with your letter. The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) in its resolution, reaffirms its determination 'never to submit or consent to joint London - Dublin authority over Northern Ireland'. I can readily understand this position, indeed I share it. I have consistently made it clear that I would not agree to any diminution in the United Kingdom Government's authority over Northern Ireland while it remains, by the wish of the majority of its people, a part of the United Kingdom. The Anglo-Irish Agreement does not provide for or authorise such joint authority. On the contrary the Agreement makes it clear that the Intergovernmental Conference has no executive authority and that the Irish Government's role is limited to putting forward views and proposals. It is expressly stated in the Agreement that there is no derogation from the sovereignty of the United Kingdom Government, which remains solely responsible for decisions in relation to the affairs of Northern Ireland. There is consequently no question of 'joint authority', nor does the Agreement in any way threaten the union: I should not have been a party to it if it did. On the contrary, the guarantee of successive United Kingdom Governments and Parliaments that the status of Northern Ireland cannot and will not be changed without the consent of a majority of the people in Northern Ireland, is explicitly recognised and accepted by

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the Government of the Republic.

The UUP resolution also talks about 'equality of citizenship within the United Kingdom' and the 'fundamental right to be governed in accordance with the principle, procedures and practices which obtain in the United Kingdom as a whole'. One of those principles is surely the acceptance of the sovereign authority of the United Kingdom Parliament: indeed this must be a corollary of your rejection, which I share, of any dilution of that authority. While I made absolutely clear to you our commitment to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which has been approved by such a significant Parliamentary majority, I told you when we met that we were ready to approach the working of the Agreement in a sensitive way.

You suggested that there should be a round table Conference with the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland to consider proposals for devolution. ^{Mr.} ~~John~~ Hume has made it clear that the Social Democratic and Labour Party would be prepared to participate in immediate discussions on devolution without pre-conditions. I can confirm that the Government is ready to take part in such a Conference and to discuss with you how best to set it up and to give it the necessary priority. If as a result, there were agreement upon proposals for devolved government, then subjects which thereafter became the responsibility of the devolved administration would no longer come within the scope of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In that event we should of course need to review the implications of any such proposals for the working of the Intergovernmental Conference, as its ambit would be significantly affected by the devolution of matters to democratic institutions in Northern Ireland.

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E.R.

You will, I am sure, share my view that the approach of constructive discussion on the matters covered above must be preferable to a repetition of the sort of events that took place in Northern Ireland on 3 March. The important thing now is that we should work together to spare Northern Ireland the consequences of a confrontation that could only damage all of its people. We believe that consultation and not confrontation must be the way to proceed. I do not think our fellow citizens throughout the United Kingdom will understand why, if that is what we all say we want to do, we do not ~~get on~~ ^{proceed} with it.

My office stands ready to discuss with yours dates for another meeting between us. ~~You might contact~~

I am writing in similar terms to [^{Dr} ~~Jan~~ Paisley] [^{Mr.} ~~Jim~~ Molyneaux].

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Ref. A086/809

MR POWELL *copy*

attached

The Northern Ireland Office will be advising on the reply to the letter of 7 March from Mr Molyneux and Mr Paisley.

2. As you say, the letter does not amount to very much; but a reply would provide the Prime Minister with the opportunity of correcting some misapprehensions in the resolution attached to the letter and reiterating her willingness to embark upon a round table conference. It would also avoid any appearance of seeming to take the initiative in breaking all contact.

--- 3. Such a reply might be on the lines of the draft attached.

REA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

11 March 1986

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DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE RT HON
JAMES MOLYNEAUX MP AND THE REVEREND IAN PAISLEY MP

Thank you for the letter which you and Ian Paisley sent to me on 7 March.

I was of course glad to hear that it remains your purpose to create a framework within which dialogue can take place. You will, I know, share my view that dialogue would be preferable to a repetition of the sort of events that took place in Northern Ireland on 3 March. For our part we remain ready to enter into talks with representatives of your parties on all the matters I mentioned when we met: about arrangements for consultation about affairs in Northern Ireland, about the Assembly, and about the handling of Northern Ireland business in Parliament at Westminster.

The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), in its resolution, reaffirms its determination "never to submit or consent to joint London-Dublin authority over Northern Ireland". If that is intended to be a description of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, it is wrong and misleading. It is simply not the case

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that the Agreement gives the Irish Government "joint authority" in Northern Ireland. On the contrary, the Agreement makes it clear that the Intergovernmental Conference has no executive authority, and that the United Kingdom Government remains sovereign in Northern Ireland and solely responsible for decisions in relation to the affairs of Northern Ireland. The Agreement in no way threatens the union: I should not have been party to it if I had thought it did. On the contrary, it reinforces and entrenches the guarantee that the status of Northern Ireland cannot and will not be changed without the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.

The UUP resolution talks about "equality of citizenship within the United Kingdom" and the "fundamental right to be governed in accordance with the principles, procedures and practices which obtain in the Kingdom as a whole". One of those principles is surely the acceptance of the sovereign power of the United Kingdom Parliament. As I told you when we met, the Government is not prepared to abandon or suspend the Anglo-Irish

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Agreement, which has been approved by large majorities in both Houses of Parliament, though I am (as I told you when we met) ready to operate it sensitively.

You suggest that there should be a round table conference with the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland to consider proposals for devolution. The Government remains ready to enter into such a conference as soon as may be - next week, if you wish. I would hope that the proposals to be considered by such a conference would not be confined to proposals put forward by the Government.

If there were agreement upon proposals for devolved government, then subjects which thereafter became the responsibility of the devolved administration would no longer come within the scope of the Intergovernmental Conference set up under the Anglo-Irish Agreement. That is clearly recognised by the Agreement itself. In that event we should of course need to review with the Irish Government, the implications of any such proposals for the working of the Intergovernmental Conference, as indicated in the Agreement; and

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in relation to matters devolved to it the devolved administration would take over responsibility for co-operation with the Irish Government.

The Unionist parties have proposed a round table conference on devolution. John Hume has made it clear that the Social Democratic and Labour Party is prepared to come into such a conference without pre-conditions. The Government is ready to take part in such a conference. It seems so unnecessary and so wrong that Northern Ireland should be condemned, because of misplaced and groundless fears, to the sort of events we saw on 3 March, when we could all be meeting and seeking constructive solutions in discussion round a table. I appeal to you and your colleagues, as citizens of the United Kingdom, to follow that sensible and responsible course. I do not think our fellow citizens will understand why, if that is what we all say we want to do, we do not put other differences on one side and get down to doing it.

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12, DOWNING STREET,
S.W.1.

~~Charles Powell~~

The attached
are from the
Chief Whip with
his compliments.

Teresa Norton

11-3-86

Please file on
Norton related to
(Exchange of letters between
PT & M. by Stan drafted
by Enoch Powell. NOT used) (C)

I thought I should write to you following the meeting on 25th February and subsequent events.

I am afraid that in the existing circumstances your suggestions, as set out in para 2 of the Press Statement, were bound to be read in the context of the Anglo-Irish Agreement continuing in force and as thus implying on the Unionist side some degree of acceptance of that Agreement and willingness to assist in making it viable.

However, after studying what the Secretary of State said in answer to certain supplementary questions on 4th March, it occurs to me that the reference in the Statement to "consultations about the arrangements for handling N.I. business in Parliament at Westminster" could be held to cover discussions on bringing the legislative and administrative government of Northern Ireland into line with that in the rest of the kingdom and that, though not strictly incompatible with the Agreement, this could be explored without prejudice to the Ulster Unionist Party's fundamental objection to the Agreement and determination not to acquiesce in it.

If so, the possibility of consultation in some form continuing confidentially need not, I feel, be necessarily ruled out. In this connection I may draw to your attention the enclosed passage in a binding resolution on policy adopted by the Party's Executive on 28th February.

Thank you for your letter and enclosure of
I am glad you wrote as you did, and I look forward to our being able
to make some progress.

It may help if I say that the Government has no objection in principle to Northern Ireland sharing the same form of parliamentary government and legislation as the rest of the United Kingdom - with two provisos. First, there would have to be some transitional provision to cover problems in moving over from the present arrangements. Secondly, we would like to see the devolution to an elected body or bodies in Northern Ireland of the matters which in Great Britain are administered by local authorities and in this context to consider a possible future for the Assembly.

It seems to me that none of this would conflict with your Party's Executive's resolution of 22nd February which you let me see. So I hope we can now move forward.

RESTRICTED



File
CCMA

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

ack/ 11 March 1986

I enclose a copy of the much-heralded letter to the Prime Minister from Mr. Molyneux and Dr. Paisley. It does not amount to very much.

BF 11

I should be grateful for a draft reply by 18 March.

I am copying this letter to Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Murdo MacLean (Chief Whip's Office), and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

C D POWELL

Jim Daniell, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office

RESTRICTED

R1113



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Seen by PM.
Draft reply
reported.
CDD
4/3.

7th March 1986.

Rt. Hon. Margaret H. Thatcher, MP.,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON SW1.

Dear Prime Minister

At our meeting on Tuesday 25th February we agreed to reflect on a number of suggestions put by you and to that end we held consultations with our colleagues at various levels in our respective Parties.

At each level the overwhelming view was that your statement indicated no change in the situation which has obtained since 15th November 1985 when you signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Accordingly, we do not see in it a basis for continuing, constructive discussion.

However, it remains our purpose to create the framework within which dialogue can take place. To that end we enclose for your consideration two Resolutions - one unanimously approved by the Executive of the Ulster Unionist Party on 28th February; the other unanimously approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Democratic Unionist Party on 6th March.

We hope that you will view these proposals as a constructive development.

Yours sincerely
Jim Molyneux
Ian Paisley

RESOLUTION

28 February 1986

We the Executive Committee of the Ulster Unionist Party register our deep dismay at the negative response of the Prime Minister to the representations made by Mr Molyneaux and Dr Paisley and congratulate our Leader on his determined and resolute defence of the policy of this Party determined by this Executive on Monday 18 November 1985.

We reaffirm our repudiation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement and our determination never to submit or consent to joint London/Dublin authority over Northern Ireland.

We insist that arrangements for the government and administration of Northern Ireland, in so far as they differ from those applying in the rest of the United Kingdom, must be agreed with the representatives of our people and we call upon Her Majesty's Government to abandon or suspend the Anglo-Irish Agreement pending discussion of our proposals.

We believe the Government's objectives of peace, stability and reconciliation can be pursued and achieved either through a policy of total integration with Britain or by way of an alternative agreement centred on devolution acceptable to the majority of the people of this province.

We remind the Prime Minister that the historic and consistent demand of Unionism has been for equality of citizenship within the United Kingdom. We consider it our fundamental right to be governed in accordance with the principles, procedures and practices which obtain in the Kingdom as a whole and if Government persists in its refusal of this just demand we invite it to give the reasons why.

If integration continues to prove unacceptable, and if Mrs Thatcher's intentions are as she has suggested, then we believe her objectives can, in large measure be pursued in harmony with the majority community in Northern Ireland by way of a two-tier or two-stage Conference -

THE FIRST between Her Majesty's Government and the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland to consider the Government's proposals for devolution, and

THE SECOND - dependent upon agreement at the first - between the Governments in London and Dublin and a newly constituted Government of Northern Ireland to agree a new British/Irish framework within which genuine friendship, co-operation and consultation may be developed and encouraged within these islands.

We appreciate that the success of this proposal would require agreement at both Conferences but we warn that if agreement is to be achieved the process of compromise and barter must be a two-way street.

Specifically we believe it must be made plain to Nationalists that they must be expected to give as well as to take and that we have no intention of entering into negotiations on the basis of abject surrender.

In order that our position be understood, and to alleviate any possibility of subsequent confusion or misunderstanding, we wish it to be understood that the requirements made of Unionism at one Conference would have a direct bearing on our capacity for manoeuvre and accommodation at the other. This is to say we will expect Nationalists to consider which is the more important - a new relationship with the Irish Republic or a role in the internal government of Northern Ireland.



RESOLUTION.

1. THE PRIME MINISTER CLOSED THE DOOR ON DEMOCRACY WHEN SHE FAILED TO RESPOND TO THE REJECTION OF THE ANGLO/IRISH AGREEMENT AT THE BALLOT BOX. RECOGNISING THAT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS HAS BEEN STYMIED BY THE PRIME MINISTER WE REAFFIRM OUR TOTAL AND UNDIVIDED COMMITMENT TO STEP UP THE CAMPAIGN OF OPPOSITION TO THE UNWORKABLE ANGLO/IRISH AGREEMENT.

2. IF THE PRIME MINISTER REFLECTS UPON THE SITUATION AS SHE AGREED TO DO AT THE DOWNING STREET MEETING ON 25TH FEBRUARY 1986, SHE SHOULD ACCEPT THE POSITIVE SUGGESTION ALREADY PLACED BEFORE HER AS A PRINCIPAL BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION NAMELY THAT THE ANGLO/IRISH AGREEMENT SHOULD NOT BE IMPLEMENTED WHILST ROUND TABLE TALKS ARE HELD INVOLVING THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND ALL PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND THAT ESCHEW VIOLENCE.

3. IN KEEPING WITH THE COMMUNICATION SENT BY DR. PAISLEY AND MR. MOLYNEAUX ON 21ST AUGUST 1985 WE ARE PREPARED UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES DESCRIBED ABOVE TO CONSIDER STRUCTURES FOR THE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND AND THEN WORK OUT OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE IRISH REPUBLIC NOT AS INFERIORS BUT AS EQUALS.