

*CP 2
MA*



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Prime Minister

N 3/4

2 April 1986

*CDP
CDP 2/1*

*I have
announced
a draft reply*

Dear Prime Minister

It is apparent that there are profound differences in our perceptions of the functions and purpose of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. No useful purpose would be served at this time by detailed discussion of our respective views.

Your assertion that you are committed to and will not suspend the operation of the Agreement precludes the requisite degree of flexibility necessary in the circumstances.

We are disappointed that you have studiously avoided addressing the substance of the proposals placed before you. The request for reasons why the quality of our British Citizenship should be different from that enjoyed in the rest of the United Kingdom is not answered by alleging that to protest about such inequality is to deny the sovereignty of Parliament. We find no acknowledgement of the positive suggestions for a two stage conference to discuss both devolved government and the future relationship of any devolved government with the Governments in London and Dublin.

We have difficulty in appreciating how a conference on devolved government entered into with the Agreement still in operation cannot be seen as other than conforming with the devolution provision in the Agreement itself. A conference on those terms would be nothing less than acceptance of the Agreement. The SDLP has of course a pre-condition for discussing devolution - it is the continued operation of the Agreement about whose terms they were closely consulted.

We are of course anxious to find a way out of the present impasse, but the terms of your letter and the presumptive statements of some of your Cabinet colleagues sadly rejects consultation in favour of confrontation.

We are still even at this stage anxious to have your views on our positive proposals which remain unanswered.

Yours ever

Jim Molyneux

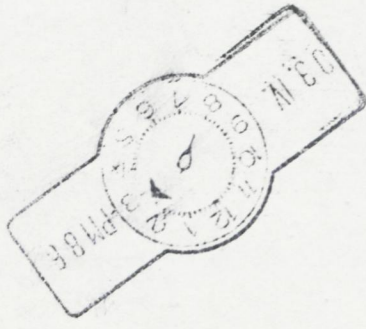
Tim R. K. Pawley



OFFICE OF THE
LONDON



CONDITIO



James Molyneux MP



DA
10/4,

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

Acc/ 3 April 1986

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Prime Minister has received from James Molyneux MP and Ian Paisley MP.

I should be grateful if you would provide a draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature, to reach this office as soon as possible.

I am sending a copy of this letter and enclosure to Colin Budd (FCO) and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

(Timothy Flesher)

Neil Ward, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

JA



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
WHITEHALL
LONDON SW1A 2AZ

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

c - Mr. Mallaby

CABINET OFFICE	
A	3598
8 APR 1986	
FILING INSTRUCTIONS	
FILE No.

8 April 1986

Dear Charles,

I am replying to Tim Flesher's letter of 3 April asking for a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to Messrs Molyneux and Paisley in response to their letter of 2 April.

... The Secretary of State feels that the attached short draft is the most likely way to achieve the aim of drawing a positive response from the unionist leaders. The draft does not contain anything to which they are likely to take exception and nor does it give them anything which they might interpret as a concession. The Secretary of State would like to consider further the question of when the letter should issue and I will be in touch about this.

/ I am copying this letter to Colin Budd (FCO) and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

*Yours sincerely
Neil Ward*

J A DANIELL

RESTRICTED

DRAFT LETTER

FILE NUMBER.....

ADDRESSEE'S REFERENCE.....

<p>To</p> <p>The Rt Hon James Molyneaux JP MP</p> <p>Rev Ian Paisley MP</p> <p>(Full Postal Address)</p>	<p>Enclosures</p>	<p>Copies to be sent to</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 [Dr Paisley] [Mr Molyneaux] sent to me on 2 April. I welcome your wish to find a way out of the present impasse. For my part, I am ready to discuss with you ~~all~~ the issues you have raised with me, including the contents of the resolutions which you sent to me with your letter of 7 March.

not the original record

We have both said that we prefer consultation to confrontation. You told me in your letter of 7 March that your purpose was to create a framework within which dialogue can take place. I believe that we should now meet to see whether such a framework can be established.

MT

RESTRICTED

PRIME MINISTER

CDJ
15/4

REPLY TO MR MOLYNEAUX AND DR PAISLEY

Tim King has produced the attached very brief reply to the recent letter from Mr Molyneux and Dr Paisley. You will recall that he said this afternoon that he thought it would be a mistake ~~at~~ this time for you to reply at any length.

You were keen to establish a firm agenda for any talks with Mr Molyneux ^{and} ~~Dr Paisley~~ though this could be followed up orally rather than put in the letter where it might smack of a pre-condition.

Are you content to write to Mr Molyneux and Dr Paisley in these terms?

CDP

Charles Powell

9 April 1986

CONFIDENTIAL



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

10 April 1986

The Prime Minister and the Northern Ireland Secretary had a word this evening about the proposed reply to Mr. Molyneux and Dr. Paisley, to which both of them had some amendments to propose. I enclose a copy of the text as it emerged. If your Secretary of State is content, I shall get the Prime Minister to sign it but hold it here until you confirm that you are content for it to be despatched.

C.D. POWELL

J.A. Daniell, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

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EC

PC



Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

11 April 1986

Dear Charles,

Letter from James Molyneux MP and Ian Paisley MP

The Foreign Secretary has seen the proposed draft reply for the Prime Minister's signature to send to Messrs Molyneux and Paisley in response to their letter of 2 April, contained in Daniell's letter to you of 8 April, and is content with it.

I am copying this letter to Michael Stark (Cabinet Office) and to Jim Daniell (NIO).

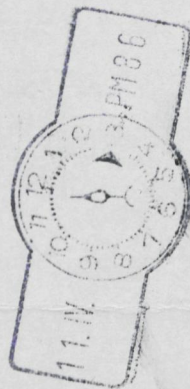
Yours ever,
A C Galsworthy

(A C Galsworthy)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AA





10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

16 April 1986

Dear Jim,

Thank you for the letter which you and Dr. Paisley sent to me on 2 April. I welcome your wish to find a way out of the present impasse. You told me in your letter of 7 March that your purpose was to create a framework within which dialogue can take place. For my part I am ready to arrange discussions to try and see whether such a framework can be established. May I say how much I hope that it can and that it will lead on to a constructive dialogue.

Yours

Raymond

The Right Honourable James Molyneux, M.P.

*JE VC
Cress H
MO
FCO*

PA



10 DOWNING STREET

Je VC
C Press of
NIO
FC

THE PRIME MINISTER

16 April 1986

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Pps. JF 17/4

Dear Mr. Paisley

Thank you for the letter which you and Mr. Molyneux sent to me on 2 April. I welcome your wish to find a way out of the present impasse. You told me in your letter of 7 March that your purpose was to create a framework within which dialogue can take place. For my part I am ready to arrange discussions to try and see whether such a framework can be established. May I say how much I hope that it can and that it will lead on to a constructive dialogue.

Yours sincerely
Margaret Thatcher

The Reverend Ian Paisley, M.P.

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

Handwritten initials



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE
WHITEHALL
LONDON SW1A 2AZ

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

23 April 1986

Dear Charles

... As agreed on the telephone, I enclose the text of the letter which the Unionist leaders have sent to the Prime Minister. Dr Paisley particularly wanted the Secretary of State to see it in advance of an interview which he is giving this evening. Its contents have not yet been made public.

Your sincerely
J A Daniell

J A DANIELL

Encl

JLD

ER.

Prime Minister (2)
This is the reply which
Mr. Molyneux & Dr.

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM JIM MOLYNEAUX AND IAN PAISLEY TO THE PRIME MINISTER
DATED 23 APRIL 1986

Dear Prime Minister

Thank you for your letter of 16 April. Your readiness to arrange discussions for establishing a basis for future dialogue is appreciated. We are conscious that a clear understanding of our respective positions is necessary if such discussions are not themselves to prove abortive and therefore prejudicial to any future progress.

Paisley will probably
send. X might cause
some difficulty. We shall

have to
make
clear

X | We have already made known to you the parameters of any future dialogue as set out in the resolutions attached to our letter to you dated 7 March.

but we
are not

We enclose for the record the statement which we issued on receipt of your letter of 16 April.

bound
by

Perhaps through the usual channels we could reach agreement about a first meeting.

their

Yours sincerely

'parameters'

CDP
L3/4

JIM MOLYNEAUX
IAN R K PAISLEY

Statement from:

The Rt Hon James H Molyneaux JP MP
The Reverend Ian K Paisley MP

We note the Prime Minister's recognition that an impasse exists - which impasse results from the fact that consent for the Anglo-Irish Agreement simply does not exist.

On 7 March 1986, we wrote to the Prime Minister enclosing separate resolutions from our respective parties, both of which reiterated our opposition to the Agreement and our rejection of joint London/Dublin authority over Northern Ireland. It follows that we could not enter into negotiations about structures of Government for Northern Ireland within the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

In our letters to the Prime Minister we expressed a willingness to assist in designing a different framework for talks and we welcome the Prime Minister's willingness to arrange discussions to see if such a framework can be established.

It is our belief that the road to peace and stability lies in subsequent negotiations under an acceptable framework to find an alternative to and a replacement of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

It is therefore imperative that the framework be designed to enable us to submit proposals to that end for consideration by the Prime Minister. It would be essential that during the period of those negotiations, the Anglo-Irish Agreement should not be implemented.

We shall be replying to the Prime Minister, and, in the meantime, we shall have no further comment to make.

16 April 1986

IAN PAISLEY

JIM MOLYNEAUX



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS,
STORMONT,
BELFAST BT4 3SY

23rd April, 1986.

*CDP
20/4*

Dear Prime Minister

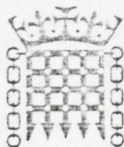
Thank you for your letter of 16th April. Your readiness to arrange discussions for establishing a basis for future dialogue is appreciated. We are conscious that a clear understanding of our respective positions is necessary if such discussions are not themselves to prove abortive and therefore prejudicial to any future progress.

We have already made known to you the parameters of any future dialogue as set out in the resolutions attached to our letter to you dated 7th March.

We enclose for the record the statement which we issued on receipt of your letter of 16th April.

Perhaps through the usual channels we could reach agreement about a first meeting.

Yours sincerely
Jim Holyoake
Ken R. K. Paisley



HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

Statement from:

The Rt. Hon. James H. Molyneux, JP., MP.
The Reverend Ian K. Paisley, MP.

We note the Prime Minister's recognition that an impasse exists - which impasse results from the fact that consent for the Anglo-Irish Agreement simply does not exist.

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It is our belief that the road to peace and stability lies in subsequent negotiations under an acceptable framework to find an alternative to and a replacement of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

It is therefore imperative that the framework be designed to enable us to submit proposals to that end for consideration by the Prime Minister. It would be essential that during the period of those negotiations, the Anglo-Irish Agreement should not be implemented.

We shall be replying to the Prime Minister, and, in the meantime, we shall have no further comment to make.

16 April, 1986.

Ian Paisley

Jim Molyneux

SECRET

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

PERSONAL

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1



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

WHITEHALL

LONDON SW1A 2AZ

Charles Powell Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

25 April 1986

Dear Charles,

Yes

Prime Minister

Content for these

talks to take place?

CDP 27/4

The Molyneaux and Paisley letter of 23 April is not as positive as we would have wished; but it seems to be intended to open the way to further dialogue. As the Secretary of State explained to the Prime Minister on Wednesday evening, he believes that the next step should be "talks about talks" with senior officials to explore the Unionist position and the prospect of moving on to more substantive negotiations at Ministerial level. Tentative arrangements have now been made for a meeting to take place on Tuesday 29 April between Mr Molyneaux and Dr Paisley on the one hand and Sir Robert Andrew and Mr Bloomfield on the other. If the Prime Minister is content, we will confirm these arrangements on Monday when the Secretary of State will be discussing with officials the line they are to take. If the outcome of his preliminary meeting is encouraging the next step might be a meeting with the Secretary of State himself. We will of course keep you informed of developments.

I am copying this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Lord President, the Secretaries of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and the Home Office, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chief Whip and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

Yours Sincerely
Nerd Ward

N D WARD

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(13) file ECL
a Sir P Cadogan

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

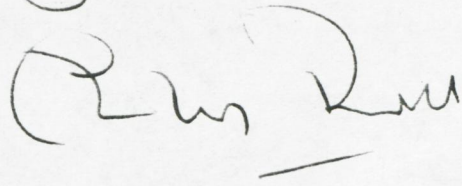
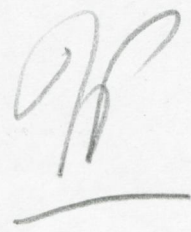
28 April 1986

Dear Neil,

Thank you for your letter of 25 April reporting the tentative arrangements which have been made for a meeting to take place on 29 April between Mr. Molyneaux and Dr. Paisley on the one hand and Sir Robert Andrew and Mr. Bloomfield on the other. The Prime Minister is content with this.

Am I right to assume that you do not at this stage envisage any written reply from the Prime Minister to the latest letter from Mr. Molyneaux and Dr. Paisley? Failure to reply would of course mean letting their point about the parameters of discussions pass unchallenged.

I am copying this letter to Joan MacNaughton (Lord President's Office), Tony Galsworthy (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Stephen Boys Smith (Home Office), David Morris (Lord Privy Seal's Office), Murdo Maclean (Chief Whip's Office) and Michael Stark (Cabinet Office).

yes surely.
 

(Charles Powell)

Neil Ward, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

SECRET AND PERSONAL

SECRET

PERSONAL

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

14



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE

WHITEHALL

LONDON SW1A 2AZ

Prime Minister
CDP
30/4

Charles Powell Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON
SW1

30th April 1986

mf

Dear Charles,

Thank you for your letter of 28 April.

Our view is that it would be better not to send a written reply to the Molyneux-Paisley letter of 23 April. As you point out, this means letting their point about the parameters of any future dialogue pass unchallenged. On the other hand, to take issue with them on this would bring a note of controversy into the correspondence which we would prefer to avoid at the present delicate stage. The important thing, as we see it, now is to get the "talks about talks" started: it will be one of the purposes of these talks to explore the matters to be covered in any subsequent substantive negotiations and I do not think we need be limited by the terms of the resolutions referred to in the Molyneux-Paisley letter.

You should know that there has been a hold-up in arranging the meeting with officials, which we had hoped to hold on 29 April, because Mr Molyneux is unwell. We judge his presence to be highly desirable and would therefore prefer to await his recovery. We hope that the delay will not be more than a few days.

Yours sincerely
Neil Ward

N D WARD

SECRET
PERSONAL