

SUBJECT
cc Master.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

30 August 1985

Dear Jim,

PRIME MINISTER'S MEETING WITH MR MOLYNEAUX AND
DR PAISLEY

Mr Molyneaux, M.P., and Dr Paisley, M.P., called upon the Prime Minister today, at their request, to hand over a joint letter. Your Secretary of State was also present.

I am enclosing a copy of their letter and would be grateful if you could provide me by Monday 9 September with a draft of a letter for the Prime Minister to send in reply. (If your Secretary of State thinks that the reply should be delayed beyond that date please let me know so that I can consult the Prime Minister).

In the discussion, Mr Molyneaux, after thanking the Prime Minister for seeing them at such short notice, said that the stability in the Province created by the Prime Minister's statement on the eve of the last Summit, was being eroded by leaks regarding the current Anglo/Irish talks. This had prompted them to draw up a short document, which he handed to the Prime Minister. They did not expect any response today.

Dr Paisley said that he shared the British Government's wish for a better relationship between the United Kingdom and the Republic, though his views might divert from the Government's about the means to be employed to that end. When Stormont had existed, there had been considerable contact between the Northern Ireland Government and the Government in the Republic, on for example railway and power matters. He would expect such arrangements to continue in any devolved Government, provided that the Government in Northern Ireland could voluntarily enter into such talks and it was recognised that they they were the keeper of Northern Ireland's interest. When the British Government spoke to the Government in the Republic, they should talk as representatives of the whole of the United Kingdom, not just Northern Ireland. There were, however, difficulties in a neighbourly relationship North and South of the Border while the South claimed jurisdiction over the North. A dangerous situation was developing in the Province and the British Government might perhaps be faced with talking

with leaders other than Mr Molyneaux and himself who had very different ideas on how best to solve the problem. He would welcome a further meeting with the Prime Minister to discuss her response to their letter.

The Prime Minister then recalled Mr Molyneaux's statement that many Roman Catholics in the North wanted to remain citizens of the United Kingdom. Mr Molyneaux said that the South Antrim election results demonstrated that fact. Mr Barry's claim that the Republic was the guardian of the Catholics in the North was a monstrous one. He shared Dr Paisley's assessment of growing dangers. Responsible middle class opinion increasingly put the question to him "Are they going to sell us out?". This made it extremely important for there to be an early resolution of the current uncertainty. Dr Paisley was especially concerned that Mr Hume and the SDLP were kept well briefed by the Government of the Republic. All he could do was to react to reports. Reaction politics were not good enough. The Secretary of State emphasised his wish for a quick agreement and the Government's intention for sovereignty should not be touched. The Prime Minister recalled the Government's insistence for there to be a debate in the House of Commons. Mr Molyneaux said that people accepted the Prime Minister's statements but were asking why it was necessary to give a consultative role to a foreign government.

Concluding Dr Paisley and Mr Molyneaux said that they did not intend to tell the press of their visit but if asked, they would say that they had presented the Prime Minister a document with constructive proposals and looked forward to her response. They did not intend to publish the document at this stage.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Len Appleyard (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Richard Hatfield (Cabinet Office).

Yours sincerely
Nigel Wick

Jim Daniell, Esq.,
Northern Ireland Office.

PRIME MINISTER

Mr. Molyneaux and Mr. Paisley are pressing for a short meeting with you, as soon as possible, on the AngloIrish talks. Because Mr. Molyneaux leaves the country for a fortnight early on Monday, and Mr. Paisley sets off on a tour before Mr. Molyneaux returns in a fortnight's time, they say they would be ready for a short meeting at any time, even on Saturday.

Mr. Molyneaux has explained that the meeting need take only a few minutes, and they would pass a document to you, signed by both of them, setting out their views. They would be seeking no publicity. In fact, I think Mr. Molyneaux would be happy simply to send you the document, but Mr. Paisley is pressing strongly for a meeting. He would I think be willing, if necessary, to see you on his own next week. I have of course explained in general terms the severe practical difficulties from a diary point of view, and said I would ring them back at lunchtime tomorrow.

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland thinks it would be a good idea to see them, if at all possible. Charles Powell, to whom I mentioned the request on the telephone, thinks there is nothing to be gained by a meeting at this stage, and if anybody sees them now it should be Mr. Hurd.

You will wish to have a word about this at your meeting tomorrow morning before coming to a decision. All those due to attend will be primed up to discuss the matter.

Mark Addison

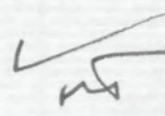
MEA

29 August, 1985.

PRIME MINISTER

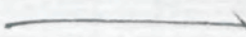
MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND OTHERS
AT 1130 ON FRIDAY 30 AUGUST

Attendance

Secretary of State for Northern Ireland
Mr. David Goodall (representing the Foreign Secretary)
Sir Robert Armstrong
Mr. Mallaby of the Cabinet Office - if you agree ✓
(he drafted the note below) 

Agenda

(i) Mr. Mallaby's note of 28 August seeking instructions for Sir Robert Armstrong's next round of talks with the Irish on 3 September (flag A): after asking participants whether they have any general comments on Mr. Mallaby's note, you might seek conclusions on the decision points in paragraphs 4-10 of the note. You will also want to confirm that you are generally content with other aspects of the draft communique.

(ii) Mr. Hurd's minute of 28 August about contingency plans for political strike in Northern Ireland (flag B): this does not seek decisions. It looks to be a thorough piece of contingency planning for an inevitably uncertain situation; but you may wish to ask Sir Robert Armstrong to arrange for it to be considered by interested departments e.g. in the CCW. 

N.L.J.

NIGEL WICKS

29 August 1985

ADVANCE COPIES

19

NORTHERN IRELAND

PS
PS/LADY YOUNG
~~PS/PUS~~
MR GOODALL

PS/ S of S
PS/MR R ANDREW, OAB 1/56
MR BRENNAN
MR BURNS
MR J LYON

NIO

HD/RID
Dep. HD/PUSD (2)
HD/INFO DEPT
HD/NEWS DEPT

SIR R ARMSTRONG)
DIO) CABINET OFFICE

PS/ NO 10 DOWNING STREET (3)

~~RESIDENT CLERK~~

14.11.84



Prime Minister

*You may wish to be aware in view of tomorrow's meeting.
MEST 29/8*

UNCLASSIFIED
FM DUBLIN
TO DESKBY 291100Z FCOLN
TELNO 575
OF 291010Z AUGUST 85

MY TELNO 573: ANGLO-IRISH TALKS

1. REMARKS MADE YESTERDAY BY MR SCOTT TO REUTERS AND BY MR HURD TO RTE ARE WIDELY REPORTED IN TODAY'S PAPERS. THIS MORNING'S RADIO NEWS PROGRAMME ALSO CARRIED A REPORT AND INTERVIEW WITH ITS NORTHERN CORRESPONDENT, JIM DONGAL WHO SPECULATED ABOUT BRITISH MOTIVES IN 'RAISING EXPECTATIONS' IN THIS WAY.

2. THE IRISH INDEPENDENT CARRIES THE STORY AT THE TOP OF ITS FRONT PAGE UNDER THE HEADING 'DUBLIN TO GET 'CONSULTATIVE ROLE' IN NORTH: BRITISH MINISTER'. THE IRISH TIMES ('NEW HINT OF DUBLIN ROLE IN NI SECURITY') AND THE CORK EXAMINER ('DUBLIN ROLE?') ALSO GIVE IT FRONT PAGE TREATMENT. THE IRISH PRESS RELEGATES ITS REPORTS TO PAGE 4 AND FOCUSES MORE ON MR HURDS STATEMENT THAT HE 'EXPECTS TALKS RESULTS WITHIN WEEKS'. THERE IS NO EDITORIAL COMMENT.

STIMSON

cc Press.

House of Commons
Westminster
LONDON SW1A 0AA

28 August 1985

To The Prime Minister
The Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

Dear Prime Minister

The people of Ulster are profoundly anxious about the secrecy surrounding current Anglo-Irish talks and we are fearful for the future of constitutional politics should an Anglo-Irish agreement accord the Republic of Ireland any role in the direction or control of Ulster's affairs.

To the people of Northern Ireland any proposal for increased Anglo-Irish co-operation must be suspect given the Republic's claim to the territory of Northern Ireland which is a repudiation of Northern Ireland's right of self-determination. This being so we call upon Her Majesty's Government to challenge the Government of the Republic to withdraw its territorial claim and recognise Ulster's right to self-determination as an essential prerequisite to greater friendship, co-operation and understanding.

Whilst we are eager to accept your assurance that United Kingdom sovereignty over Northern Ireland will remain undiminished we seek assurance that your interpretation of sovereignty accords with our own and, specifically, that sovereignty precludes any British/Irish machinery dealing only with Northern Ireland rather than with United Kingdom/Republic of Ireland relations as a whole.

PROVIDED United Kingdom sovereignty remains undiminished, and provided the Republic's territorial claim is withdrawn, we are willing to contribute to a process of British/Irish discussion and co-operation

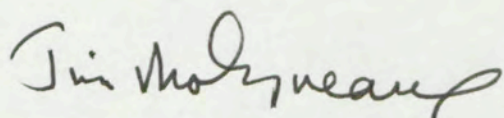
- [a] As members of a newly formed Government of Northern Ireland meeting with opposite numbers in the Government of the Irish Republic to consider matters of mutual interest and concern within the purview of respective departmental responsibilities, and
- [b] As members of a devolved government comprising part of a United Kingdom delegation to talks with the Government of the Irish Republic about matters of mutual interest and concern to both States exclusive of those matters referred to in [a] above, and those touching upon United Kingdom sovereignty over Northern Ireland.

We submit that a continuing SDLP veto over internal political development and a continued denial of local democracy in the wake of any Anglo-Irish agreement could only further erode the confidence of the Unionist majority in the constitutional process, with calamitous consequences.

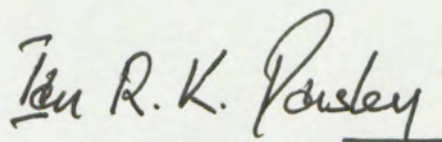
We believe moreover that the SDLP veto is a needless impediment to the Government's professed wish to begin the process of devolution since the SDLP do not want and, vis-a-vis Provisional Sinn Fein, could not sustain a position as members of a Northern Ireland Government.

Short of seats in Cabinet we are nonetheless prepared to consider any reasonable proposals for the protection of minority interests in a new Parliament of Northern Ireland.

Yours sincerely



James H Molyneaux



Ian R K Paisley