FILE

DCAA2S

cc NIO
FCO
CO
Press

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

4 February 1986

Dear Dr. Paisley,

Now that the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been in operation for some weeks and you have returned to Westminster, I am sure that it would be helpful if we were to meet to discuss Northern Ireland and the very different views which we still have of the agreement. In particular, I should like to explain to you the Government's approach to implementing the Agreement.

My office will be in touch with yours to suggest a time when we can meet.

I am also writing to Mr. Molyneaux and Mr. Kilfedder; if you would prefer to come together that would, of course, be quite acceptable. I also plan to suggest meetings to Mr. Hume and Mr. Cushnahan.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

Dr. Ian Paisley, M.P.

FILE

DCAA2R

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FCO
CO
Press

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

4 February 1986

Dear Jim,

Now that the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been in operation for some weeks and you have returned to Westminster, I am sure that it would be helpful if we were to meet to discuss Northern Ireland and the very different views which we still have of the agreement. In particular, I should like to explain to you the Government's approach to implementing the Agreement.

My office will be in touch with yours to suggest a time when we can meet.

I am also writing to Dr. Paisley and Mr. Kilfedder; if you would prefer to come together that would, of course, be quite acceptable. I also plan to suggest meetings to Mr. Hume and Mr. Cushnahan.

Yours sincerely

Margaret

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

FILE

DCAAZT

cc NIO
FCO
CO
Press

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

4 February 1986

Dear Mr Kilfedder,

Now that the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been in operation for some weeks and you have resumed your seat at Westminster, I am sure that it would be helpful if we were to meet again to discuss Northern Ireland and the very different views which we have of the Agreement. In particular I should like to explain to you the Government's approach to implementing the Agreement.

My office will be in touch with yours to suggest a time when we can meet. I am also writing to Mr. Molyneaux and Dr. Paisley and, if you would prefer to come together, that would of course be quite acceptable. I also plan to suggest meetings to Mr. Hume and Mr. Cushnahan.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

James Kilfedder, Esq., M.P.

CONFIDENTIAL

cc PC

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

6 February 1986

CDP 6/2.

Dear Charles,

Northern Ireland

The Foreign Secretary has seen Mr Mallaby's letter to you and its enclosures. He is in agreement with what is proposed, but believes that it will be important to keep the Taoiseach as well as Mr Hume and Mr Cushnahan informed about the Prime Minister's meetings with the three unionist leaders. His own regular meetings with Peter Barry in the margins of European Foreign Ministers meetings will provide useful opportunities for keeping the Irish Government up-to-date with what is going on, as well as for impressing on Barry himself the undesirability of claiming too much for the Agreement and the role of the South in following it up. Sir Geoffrey Howe also thinks that Mr Barry's suggestion of an informal meeting with Mr King outside the context of the Inter-Governmental Conference is a helpful one.

On the question of how to respond if Dr Paisley and Mr Molyneaux ask if all the unionist Members of Parliament can attend their meeting with the Prime Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe believes there could be advantage in meeting such a request, provided it does not make the meeting too unwieldy. The unionists' line-up against the Agreement is by no means monolithic: some show signs of being more reasonable than others. It could well help us to exploit the divergences of view between them if they were all present when the Prime Minister gave an authoritative account of how the Government propose to take matters forward.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Private Secretaries to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Lord President, the Home Secretary, the Defence Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal and the Chief Whip; and to Christopher Mallaby at the Cabinet Office.

Yours ever,

Len Appleyard

(L V Appleyard)
Private Secretary

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

CONFIDENTIAL

Ireland: Taoiseach PH3.

(1)

Prime Minister
Agree to write to the Unionist leaders in the terms proposed?
You should also see the short paper setting out the game-plan for the next few weeks.
CDP 31/1

CONFIDENTIAL

B.07305

MR POWELL

See overleaf

Northern Ireland

In your letter of 30 January to Mr Daniell in the Northern Ireland Office you recorded that the Cabinet Office should produce a draft letter from the Prime Minister to Unionist party leaders offering an early meeting, and a brief paper setting out the steps which should be taken in relation to the unionists, the SDLP and the Irish Government over the next few weeks.

2. I attach a draft letter from the Prime Minister to Messrs Molyneaux and Paisley and a slightly different draft letter to Mr Kilfedder, a note of the sequence of steps to be taken over the next few weeks, and a preliminary list of points which the Prime Minister might make in a meeting with Unionist leaders. This material has been prepared in consultation with officials from the Northern Ireland Office and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The Private Secretaries to the Northern Ireland Secretary and the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will no doubt let you know as soon as possible the reactions of their Secretaries of State to the material.

3. Mr Kilfedder is included in the invitation to a meeting with the Prime Minister because he campaigned before the recent by-elections jointly with the other two Unionist leaders and on the same manifesto; and because his presence at such a meeting might exert some moderating influence on Dr Paisley.

4. The draft letters to Unionist leaders seek to make clear that the Prime Minister does not agree with the views in the statement by Messrs Molyneaux and Paisley of 28 January and that her policy is to implement the Anglo-Irish Agreement, but to avoid language on these matters which would be certain to cause the recipients of the letters to refuse a meeting.

5. The draft letters to Unionist leaders do not state that the Northern Ireland Secretary would attend any meeting between the Prime Minister and the Unionist leaders. But the view of officials is, of course, that Mr King should be present.

6. Officials will continue to reflect on a suggestion by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary that arrangements should be made at an appropriate time for the Opposition leaders to endorse in Parliament a statement there by the Prime Minister to the effect that the Anglo-Irish Agreement was a positive step forward and would be implemented by the Government. The purpose would be to demonstrate once again to unionists that Parliament, representing the United Kingdom as a whole, stood by the Agreement.

7. I am sending copies of this minute and attachments to the Private Secretaries to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Lord President, the Home Secretary, the Defence Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal and the Chief Whip.

C Mallaby

C L G Mallaby

31 January 1986

Draft letter from the Prime Minister to

Mr James Molyneaux MP and Dr Ian Paisley MP

DRAFT RS

Now that the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been in operation for some weeks and you have ~~resumed~~ returned ~~your seat at Westminster~~ to, I am sure that it would be helpful if we were to meet to discuss Northern Ireland and the very different views which we still have of the agreement, as exemplified by your statement with [Dr Paisley/ Mr Molyeaux] of 28 January. In particular, I should like to explain to you the Government's approach? ~~to implementing~~ ~~policy in implementation of~~ to the Agreement.

2. My office will be in touch with yours to suggest a time when we can meet.

3. I am also writing to [Dr Paisley/Mr Molyeaux] and Mr Kilfedder; if you would prefer to ~~see me~~ come together that would, of course, be quite acceptable. I also plan to suggest meetings to Mr Hume and Mr Cushnahan.

I don't think that we need to retain in brackets, because the difference in views is quite clear from the preceding phrase, and the following sentence makes clear that we shall be implementing the Agreement.

CDP.

intends to apply the agreement

approach with sincerity.

I don't feel the words are quite right – but I haven't been able to do much better

Draft Letter from the Prime Minister to

Mr James Kilfedder MP

ART

Now that the Anglo-Irish Agreement has been in operation for some weeks and you have resumed your seat at Westminster, I am sure that it would be helpful if we were to meet again to discuss Northern Ireland and the very different views which we have of the Agreement. In particular I should like to explain to you the Government's ~~policy~~ approach ~~in implementation of~~ towards to the Agreement.

2. My office will be in touch with yours to suggest a time when we can meet. I am also writing to Mr Molyeaux and Dr Paisley and, if you would prefer to ~~see me~~ come together, that would of course be quite acceptable. I also plan to suggest meetings to Mr Hume and Mr Cushnahan.

Sequence of Next Steps on Northern Ireland

1. Work on briefs for a meeting between the Prime Minister and the Unionist leaders and for the Prime Minister's meeting on 19 February with the Taoiseach will continue until shortly before those meetings.

2. The proposed letters from the Prime Minister to Mr Molyneaux, Dr Paisley and Mr Kilfedder suggesting a meeting should issue as soon as possible.

3. The Northern Ireland Office should inform Messrs Hume and Cushnahan that the Prime Minister was proposing to meet the three Unionist leaders and would in the near future also be proposing meetings with Mr Hume and with Mr Cushnahan.

4. The date for a meeting with Unionist leaders should then be fixed with their offices. (If Messrs Molyneaux and Paisley asked to bring their deputies, this could be conceded; but if they asked to bring all Unionist MPs, Ministers would need to consider how to respond.)

5. 7 February: meeting already arranged between Sir Robert Armstrong and Mr Nally; this will provide an opportunity to press the Irish Government on co-operation about terrorism and the SDLP's attitude to the Royal Ulster Constabulary and to the Assembly, among other things.

6. The Northern Ireland Secretary should aim to see Mr Hume (who is thought to be abroad until about 8 February) to press him (a) to make a statement supporting the RUC AND UDR * and encouraging Roman Catholics to join it, and (b) to indicate publicly the SDLP's willingness to participate in new elections for the Northern Ireland Assembly and then, without pre-conditions about power sharing, to take up seats in the Assembly.

* See MOD TO CDP 14/2

Next steps cont'd.

7. Before or after item 6, dates should be fixed for meetings between the Prime Minister and Mr Hume and between the Prime Minister and Mr Cushnahan.

8. The Prime Minister's meeting with Unionist leaders, attended by the Northern Ireland Secretary. In order to make it possible for Mr King to have met Mr Hume beforehand, and in view of the Armstrong/Nally meeting on 7 February, the Prime Minister's meeting with Unionist leaders might best take place around 11 February.

9. The Prime Minister's meetings with Mr Hume and Mr Cushnahan.

10. 13 February (to be confirmed): Anglo-Irish meeting on legal matters between the Northern Ireland Secretary, the Irish Minister for Justice and the two Attorneys General.

11. 19 February: the Prime Minister's meeting with the Taoiseach.

12. Probably late February: third regular meeting of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Conference.

Preliminary List of points which the Prime Minister might raise in her meeting with Unionist leaders

1. The Government stand by the Anglo-Irish Agreement and intend to make it work.

2. The Agreement reinforces the status of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom and the position of the majority in determining the status of Northern Ireland.

3. The Molyneaux/Paisley statement of 28 January was wrong in claiming that the Agreement established joint authority between London and Dublin in Northern Ireland.

4. The Molyneaux/Paisley statement was also wrong in saying that the Agreement had created instability in Northern Ireland. On the contrary, instability is fostered by intemperate misrepresentations of the Agreement. The Government understand the feelings of unionists about the Agreement, but unionist leaders must take account of their responsibility to help to maintain stable administration and their responsibility towards the House of Commons and indeed the union.

5. There is no question of the Government giving undue weight to the views of the Republic in relation to Northern Ireland. As before, great weight will be attached to the views of everyone in Northern Ireland and notably the unionist majority.

6. The Government are determined that the results of the work of the Intergovernmental Conference should benefit all the people of Northern Ireland.

Preliminary list cont'd.

7. The Government are working all out for improved co-operation with the Irish Republic against terrorism. Reference to the seizure of arms in the Republic on 26 January. We look for more successes of this kind. Reference to the question of Irish accession to the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism.

8. The by-elections in Northern Ireland produced a notable swing in the nationalist vote from Sinn Fein to the SDLP. That is a success for constitutional politics and a set-back for terrorism.

9. Since the by-elections, we are increasing our pressure on the SDLP to come out in support for the RUC and to encourage Roman Catholics to join.
[Mention any further statement on this by Mr Hume.]

10. If unionists want to reduce the scope of the work of the Intergovernmental Conference, they should surely explore moves towards devolution. We are pressing the SDLP to move in that direction.

11. We understand your wish to be better informed about the work of the Intergovernmental Conference. The Northern Ireland Secretary is ready to discuss arrangements for this.

12. [Possibly something about Parliamentary arrangements - either changes in the handling of Northern Ireland business in the House of Commons or the question of a Parliamentary body under Article 12 of the Agreement.]

cc PC

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
MAIN BUILDING WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2HB
Telephone 01-~~230 7022~~ 218 2111/3

MO 19/3L

14th February 1986

CP
Please avert to Next Steps as suggested
CDP
17/2

Dear Charles,

NORTHERN IRELAND

Christopher Mallaby kindly copied to me his minute to you of 31st January outlining the steps which should be taken in relation to the Unionists, the SDLP and the Irish Government over the next few weeks.

There is just one small point concerning paragraph 6 of the Sequence of Next Steps attached to Christopher Mallaby's letter which may inadvertently have been overlooked. Although paragraph 6(a) refers only to the RUC, I am sure that it would be entirely appropriate for the UDR also to be mentioned in this context. In our view it would be extremely helpful if Mr Hume could be persuaded to make a statement supporting the UDR and encouraging Roman Catholics to join the Regiment. We hope, therefore, that paragraph 6(a) can be amended slightly to reflect this.

I am sending copies of this minute to the Private Secretaries to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Lord President, the Home Secretary, the Lord Privy Seal and the Chief Whip; and to Christopher Mallaby.

Yours ever,

Denis

(D BRENNAN)

C D Powell Esq
10 Downing Street

IRELAND

RELATIONS

PT 13