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**HOUSE OF COMMONS**  
LONDON SW1A 0AA

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From: The Ulster Unionist Parliamentary Party.  
Embossed until 10:00 a.m. 16/2/95

Text of letter sent by Ulster Unionist MPs to the Prime Minister. 14/2/35

Thank you for agreeing to meet us this morning and for spending so much time in crafting the careers position with regard to the framework document.

We are sorry to say that the discussion has done nothing to dispel our concerns. On the contrary it has confirmed the suspicion, voiced by our Party Chairman in a statement earlier today that "London, Dublin and the pan-nationalists from ... are sitting for a bridge too far." As Jim McGuinness says in that statement, "If the negotiators believe that Unionists can be bought off by some unelected Assembly at Singapor that has no freedom to determine how it can order its own affairs, they are gravely mistaken."

Michael Attrem MP this morning referred to a letter dated 14th October 1994 from our team for dealing with the internal government of Northern Ireland. He quoted the first sentence of the penultimate paragraph of that letter. The whole paragraph is relevant. In it Jim Nicholson MEP, Reg Empey and Jeffrey Donaldson say,

"We remain totally disatisfied with the present handling of the framework document process. We are unaware of the contents of the various drafts and find it repugnant that representatives of the Irish Government and we believe the SDLP and Sinn Fein are in possession of HMGE's thinking on these matters and we as the largest political party in Northern Ireland are kept in ignorance. This is intolerable.

It was because there was no improvement in that insolent's situation that the author of the letter concluded, after a meeting with Michael Awsum MP the following month, that there was no point in continuing contact with him.

This morning we were made aware of some of HMG's thinking and we can now see why Michael was so reluctant to be open with our internal government team. For that team had made it clear that the sort of North/South body now proposed would be unacceptable to Ulsterites, as can be seen from the following letter sent by them to Michael Ancram MP:

"The Ulster Unionist Party will not support any proposal which envisages the establishment by the two governments of a unitary North-South

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institutions or bodies to discharge or oversee a range of executive functions on matters which they decide will be administered uniformly through the island. It is our view that any structures to facilitate North-South co-operation must be established by agreement between, and derive their authority from, the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Dail."

Letter to Michael Anderson dated 12th August 1994

"We will not lend our support to any proposal which envisages the establishment of statutory North/South institutions or bodies with the capacity to administer executive functions delegated by mutual agreement and legislation of the British and Irish governments. It is our view that any structures to facilitate North/South co-operation must be established by agreement between, and derive their authority from, an Assembly and the Dail."

response to the Novoey document of 1991)

As our leader, the Rt Hon Jaunet Molynsark MP, made clear on the Labour Party programme on 21 January 1995, proposals that would impose on Assembly members a "duty of service" with regard to the North/South body, and which would provide default and override powers enabling Dublin to raise the internal workings of the Assembly and any failure to co-operate within the North/South body before the Intergovernmental conference, in the expectation that TDG would discipline recalcitrant unionists, amount to joint authority "in a particularly hideous form".

It is especially unfortunate that the two governments have not tried to build on the repeated willingness of Unionists to discuss co-operation in the full knowledge that that might lead to joint action if agreeable to the Irish government and the new administration in Northern Ireland. Such willingness is implicit in the above extracts and was made clear in a letter from the Rt Hon James H. Molony MP and the Rev Ian R. K. Paisley MP to the then Prime Minister, Rt Hon Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP on 28th August 1985,

"Provided United Kingdom sovereignty remains undiminished, and provided that 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 number 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 on United Kingdom sovereignty over Northern Ireland."

That offer, however, was based on the assumption that there would be an effective devolved administration in Northern Ireland.

We could not proceed with the co-operation envisaged in the letter of August 1925 on the basis of an Assembly so governed by checks and balances and blocking powers that it was ineffective. Even if

the Assembly were as we would propose these remains the point made in today's statement by Ian Nicholson MBE.

We are Unionists. We wish to maintain the Union between Northern Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom. We wish to repair the damage done to that Union by the ill-considered Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. The creation of all-Ireland political institutions with governmental powers to treat Ireland as one unit for say taxation is the antithesis of Unionism. Co-operation and even cross-border bodies, properly defined, are one thing; all-Ireland bodies are quite another matter. And no amount with the Irish constitution can make such a contradiction of unionism palatable.

We wait to see what the framework document will actually contain when it is published. However, we must point out that a framework document containing the proposals which we have indicated is completely unacceptable and would not provide a basis for political progress and we will have to advise our party accordingly. While we remain willing to discuss our own responsible proposals, we would not be able to enter into talks on the basis of an agenda which we regard to be a one-sided nationalist agenda. As we said to you this morning, we heard nothing that would be welcomed by Unionists.

It is a matter of profound regret to us that what might be a good chance of resolving our troubles is being destroyed by nationalist greed and intolerance.

### Symmetry.

William Rose MP   W Martin Smith MP   David Toms MP