

Ref. A05881

PRIME MINISTER

Anglo-Irish Summit

*1. I just want to agree that Communism. I have a lobby handle. The last one present text would be regarded as a full. 3rd. not.*

Mr. Nally, Secretary to the Irish Government, and I met here today to discuss arrangements for your meeting with the Taoiseach on 6th November. He was accompanied by his Ambassador and a representative of the Department of Foreign Affairs; I by representatives of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Northern Ireland Office and the Cabinet Office.

Joint Studies

2. Mr. Nally made clear that the Taoiseach was likely to wish to publish both the agreed summary (as an annex to the Summit communique) and, early next week, the actual studies on structures, citizenship, economics and understanding but not the study on security. I reserved your position. But, having in mind your view that publication might prove inevitable (Mr. Alexander's letter of 19th October to Mr. Wright) and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland's similar conclusion in the light of Dr. FitzGerald's fear of Mr. Haughey publicly revealing knowledge of the five texts (Mr. Hopkins's letter of 30th October to Mr. Heyhoe), I agreed that we should plan on the basis that that might be what you and the Taoiseach would decide on. I did not press for the publication of a shortened version of the security study; given the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland's disposition to agree that none of it should be published even if the other four studies were published.

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3. Mr. Nally and I therefore agreed ad referendum on suitable texts, for publication, of the summary (amended to take account of non-publication of the security study) and of the four studies other than security. These will be submitted to you and your colleagues shortly. The texts of the studies take account of all the changes agreed on by OD(AI) last week and of a small number of further changes suggested by the Irish. It was agreed that, if the studies were to be published, they should be published simultaneously by the two Governments, but that otherwise the mechanics of publication would be a



matter for each side separately. On our side I thought that we would table the documents in the Library of the House - so that they were available to Members by the time you answer questions on 10th November - and probably follow up by issuing them as a White Paper; Foreign and Commonwealth Office officials are now considering the details of this.

Summit Arrangements

4. Mr. Nally and I agreed that, subject to your and Dr. FitzGerald's views, the Summit should be organised as follows.

- (a) The Irish party (Taoiseach, Tanaiste, Foreign Minister, Ambassador and six or seven officials), who will be coming to London on Thursday evening, should arrive at 10 Downing Street at 11.30 am on Friday. After a photo call, you and Dr. FitzGerald should meet alone, with Mr. Nally and myself as notetakers, until lunchtime. During this time the rest of the Irish team should hold a single separate meeting in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Secretary of State for Energy and British officials. This separate meeting will discuss European Community issues among others. Mr. Nally will do his best to prevent the Tanaiste trying on "coalition leadership" grounds to get in on your tete-a-tete (as he did on Mr. Prior's meeting with Dr. FitzGerald last week); the existence of a single meeting below Prime Minister level will make it easier to sidetrack Mr. O'Leary in this way, and will also suit us in that Mr. Prior will be concerned both in some of the energy questions which the Tanaiste is scheduled to discuss with Mr. Lawson and in many of the questions likely to be discussed by Lord Carrington and Senator Dooge.
- (b) Lunch at No. 10 should be six a side. The Irish team should be the Taoiseach, their two other Ministers, their Ambassador, Mr. Nally and Mr. Donlon (the influential ex-Ambassador to Washington who has just become Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs). Ours should be yourself plus five out of the following: your three colleagues, Sir Leonard Figg, myself and Mr. Alexander. Other members of the Irish team will be given lunch in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.



(c) There should be a plenary session after lunch, at 2.30 pm or when you are ready.

5. The Taoiseach, who will not be returning to Dublin until early on Saturday, is at present minded to give a separate press conference of his own at the Irish Embassy as soon as the Summit is over (the Irish Embassy are already telling the press to expect this at 6.00 pm, with a number of separate interviews thereafter). There is clearly no possibility of his agreeing to do without press conferences altogether. So I concentrated on stressing your preference for a joint press conference, as being in accordance with your normal practice at bilaterals with other European Community Heads of Government; and on arguing the merits of this as a means of lessening the danger of wedge-driving. Mr. Nally undertook to report. But I formed the clear impression that Dr. FitzGerald would not be deflected from giving a press conference on his own rather than jointly. If he insists on holding his own press conference separately, I am afraid that you will have to hold a press conference yourself. If you did not, reporting in the weekend press would be too much coloured by whatever Dr. FitzGerald has chosen to say.

Communique

6. Given the prospect of no joint press conference, I thought it right to seek to negotiate a draft communique text with Mr. Nally, to give us at least some measure of joint control over how the upshot of the Summit is publicly presented. I made clear that none of my suggestions had been approved by you or your colleagues, and that everything in this area was therefore ad referendum. In response to our draft tabled last week (and attached to the Steering Brief YMV(81) 1) Mr. Nally produced a very "Irish green" draft which had been seen by Irish Ministers but patently went a great deal further than he had any real hope of pushing us. After a good deal of negotiation we evolved, without commitment, and ad referendum on both sides, the attached draft. So far as the British side is concerned, the draft is intended to maintain a momentum in Anglo-Irish co-operation, without making any undue concessions to "greenness". As you will see, it offers alternative British and Irish wording in one key passage in paragraph 9, as well as including a joint reserve on the title of the proposed



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intergovernmental structure and an Irish reserve (which Mr. Nally expects no difficulty in lifting) on the idea of referring next steps in the extradition/extra-territorial legislation field to the two Attorneys General.

7. The draft follows the order of our draft which you saw over the weekend, proceeding from the general (Anglo-Irish relations) to the particular (Northern Ireland). The Irish draft had gone straight into Northern Ireland, and then proceeded to the joint studies. Mr. Nally thought that the Taoiseach might want to argue for that sequence; so we agreed that the draft could be treated as a series of "building blocks" to be used in whatever order Dr. FitzGerald and you might agree. The Irish also clearly continued to hanker after something like the following wording from their original draft, which we managed to exclude from this draft:

No "The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach share a deep concern about the political, social and economic problems of Northern Ireland which have caused immense human suffering. They share a commitment to taking every measure within their power to eliminate the causes of this tragedy".

We thought that this implied a greater degree of responsibility for the Taoiseach in relation to the affairs of Northern Ireland than we could accept. But I should not be surprised if the Taoiseach presses you to include words on these lines.

8. I am sending copies of this minute to the Home Secretary, the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Lord President, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, the Lord Privy Seal, the Secretary of State for Energy and the Attorney General.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

(approved by Sir R. Armstrong and signed on his behalf)

2nd November, 1981

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