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(1)

PRIME MINISTER

Anglo-Irish Summit: The Draft Communiqué

(attached) You will, I think, want to spend some part of tomorrow's briefing meeting discussing the draft Communiqué. You may like to have one or two personal thoughts on it.

There seem to me to be two basic points to bear in mind:

- (a) The improved relationship between London and Dublin is an achievement of yours which you want to preserve and build upon. In the short term it aids the development of cross-border security co-operation. In the longer term it is an essential component of any solution in the North. (I do not think it would have been conceivable two years ago for Dr. Fitzgerald to take the line he has about the Irish Constitution.) Therefore you do not want the Communiqué to leave the impression that this meeting has been less successful than the last two. At the same time, of course, you want to avoid giving the impression that there has been a "sell out". The balance between these two considerations, which are of equal importance, is a matter of judgement;
- (b) You have to weigh at each point in the text the disadvantages of language that could be interpreted as giving the Taoiseach a voice in the North against the advantages of committing him to formulations that are helpful to you.

On both (a) and (b) it seems to me that publishing the <sup>joint</sup> studies will leave you less vulnerable to innuendo and criticism from Dr. Paisley and his ilk.

On your specific points:

/ (a)

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- (a) Paragraph 5. This, I think, merely blesses the conclusions of the study on structures which have already been approved by Ministers. The Chairman would be the host country's senior representative and the membership would vary at different levels;
- (b) Paragraph 6. The first sentence is essentially factual. As regards the second sentence, I agree that the Taoiseach's offer is small beer but we can hardly stop him making it if he wants to;
- (c) Paragraph 8. The points I make above are relevant. The language marks little if any advance on previous Communiqués. It would be rather useful to have the Taoiseach's agreement that there are indeed two major traditions in Ireland (a geographical expression);
- (d) Paragraph 9. Again, see above. The acceptance by Dublin of the guarantee is essentially a plus for us. The first square bracketed passage is, I think, based on Sunningdale. The second bracket is Irish and unacceptable;
- (e) Paragraph 10. This is an attempt to do something serious about extradition. Again, there is a choice to be made between practical advantage and possible criticism about "creeping unification".

4 November 1981

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Draft Communique

("B" in the margin of passages in square brackets denotes words suggested by the British side; "I" similarly denotes words suggested by the Irish side)

1. The Prime Minister, the Right Hon Margaret Thatcher MP, had discussions today, 6 November, at 10 Downing Street with the Taoiseach, Dr Garret FitzGerald TD. The Prime Minister was accompanied by the Right Hon The Lord Carrington, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, the Right Hon James Prior MP, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Right Hon Nigel Lawson MP, Secretary of State for Energy. The Taoiseach was accompanied by the Tanaiste and Minister for Industry and Energy, Mr Michael O'Leary TD, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator James Dooge.

2. The meeting was the first between the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach since Dr FitzGerald took office. They discussed a number of international questions and a range of issues arising in the European Community which are to be considered at the European Council in London on 26 and 27 November.

3. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach reaffirmed the importance they attached to the maintenance and development of close Anglo-Irish relations.

4. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach <sup>to</sup> received considered a joint report (annexed to this communique) on studies made by officials from both countries of possible new institutional structures, citizenship rights, security matters, economic co-operation and measures to encourage mutual understanding. The papers on which this report is based, other than that on security matters, will be published soon. *or Tues. 10 Nov.*

5. Recognising the unique character of the relationship between the two countries, the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach have decided to establish an Anglo-Irish [ ] through which institutional expression can be given to that relationship at inter-governmental level. This will involve regular meetings between the two Governments to discuss matter of common concern. The

*Chairman?  
Membership?*



Prime Minister and the Taoiseach agree that this body should consider proposals, for recommendation to the Parliaments concerned, for the establishment of a complementary body at the Parliamentary level comprising members to be drawn from the British and Irish Parliaments, the European Parliament and any elected Assembly that may be established for Northern Ireland. They also agree to work towards the establishment of an Advisory Committee, linked to the Anglo-Irish [ ] on economic, social and cultural co-operation, with a wide membership.

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The Joint Study  
done - add  
up  
This will be  
revised with  
some changes

6. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach noted that each country afforded the other's citizens most of the rights and privileges available to its own. / The Taoiseach indicated that the arrangements for the grant of voting rights at parliamentary elections to British citizens resident in the Republic were well advanced and that he hoped to have the necessary legislation introduced soon.

7. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach approved a range of proposals set out in the Joint Studies for the improvement of economic co-operation between the two countries and between the North and the South in Ireland. They expressed the hope that such co-operation would make a contribution towards the improvement of the economy throughout the two countries and that the practice of economic co-operation would, in itself, generate further co-operation. They gave special consideration to the question of co-operation on energy matters. They noted that assessments of the possibility of the supply of natural gas from the Republic to Northern Ireland had suggested such a project might be viable and that discussions of the terms on which gas might be supplied were now in train. They agreed on the desirability of restoring electricity interconnection between the two parts of Ireland. They also agreed that economic and technical studies should be vigorously pursued on the possibility of an electricity link across the Irish Sea.

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We must not  
forget the Northern  
Ireland  
in Ireland?

8. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach agreed on the continuing need to diminish the divisions between the two sections of the community in Northern Ireland and to reconcile the two major traditions in Ireland. Such a development could come about only on the basis of mutual respect as between those traditions, to the achievement of which the Taoiseach had made a public commitment.



*Said that*

*as the — Dec 11 1973 provided*

*crossed out that*

9. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach agreed that any change in the constitutional status of Northern Ireland would require the consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland. The Taoiseach affirmed that it was the wish of the Irish Government and, he believed, of the great majority of the people of the island of Ireland, to secure the unity of Ireland by agreement and in peace.

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The Prime Minister said that, if the time came when a majority of the people of Northern Ireland wished it to unite with the Republic, the British Government would accept their decision. [and recognised that such consent did not at present exist. Pending such consent the British Government would be ready to join in working towards any arrangements that might be agreed by the people of the two parts of Ireland for the conduct of their affairs.]

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10. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach affirmed their resolute opposition to violence, and commended the level of co-operation between the security forces of the two countries. They endorsed the view that those who committed crimes in one country should not be able to escape prosecution and conviction by seeking refuge in the other, and invited the British and Irish Attorneys General to give urgent consideration to how this could best be achieved, including the possibility of establishing a new Court which could be comprised of judges from, and could sit and have jurisdiction in, both parts of Ireland.

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11. The Prime Minister and the Taoiseach looked forward to holding their next meeting in Dublin in the framework of the new institutional arrangements agreed upon at this meeting.