PART ONE

MT.

SECRET

NEW FILE COVER

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

Policy on requests by ex-Prime Ministers for access to papers from their administrations.

Assistance for former Prime Ministers.

EX-PRIME MINISTER

Part One April 1974

~~April 1974~~

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
~~28.3.90~~							
~~30.4.90~~							
~~10.5.90~~							
~~27.11.90~~							
~~4.1.91~~							
24.1.91							

PART ONE ENDS

PREM 19/3329

5
3005

HMSO Dd8953031 6/88 C60 GP2265 CCN13412 (3932)

Ref.AO91/202

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

cc Mr Turnbull
Mrs Case

Assistance for former Prime Ministers

Sir Robin Butler held a meeting with Mr Turnbull and Mrs Case on Wednesday 23 January to discuss assistance for former Prime Ministers.

2. Sir Robin said that the issue had been raised by difficulties faced by Mrs Thatcher immediately after leaving office. He had had a brief discussion with the present Prime Minister, who had welcomed the suggestion that officials should look at the options for providing assistance to former Prime Ministers. There were two issues. First of all, immediately after ceasing to hold office, former Prime Ministers received a very large volume of correspondence relating to their departure. They faced this burden at a time when they lost all the official support which they had previously enjoyed in No. 10. Support at this stage might include assistance in finding clerical and secretarial staff to help with the immediate volume of post. In this context, Mrs Thatcher had also mentioned the need to find accommodation; in practice, however, the House of Commons were generally very helpful in finding a suitable office for outgoing Prime Ministers, and Mrs Thatcher had refused the offer made to her only for personal reasons. The second issue related to the continuing volume of correspondence and invitations received by former Prime Ministers by virtue of their being former Prime Ministers. Here, help might take the form of a specific grant

related to secretarial help, for as long as former Prime Ministers remained in public life. Such a grant could either be routed through the Parliamentary allowances system or direct from a departmental Vote. Mrs Thatcher had mentioned a third category of help in relation to travel; Sir Robin took the view, however, that this was less justifiable. Either former Prime Ministers travelled on behalf of the Government, in which case their expenses would be met by the Government, or in the case of private travel, costs would usually be met by the organisation sponsoring the tour.

2. In discussion, the following points were made.

i. The preliminary view of Parliamentary Counsel was that the Parliamentary allowances related only to Parliamentary duties and could not be extended to cover the additional responsibilities of former Prime Ministers, which by their nature arose out of their Government office. Counsel also took the view that while that backbenchers' allowances could be amended by Resolution, Ministers' salaries and payments required primary legislation. If the payment was to be made as a voted sum, it would be important to confirm that there were appropriate powers available to the Department to make such a payment under the Vote.

ii. Former leaders of the Opposition faced similar, although generally smaller-scale, problems to those of outgoing Prime Ministers, and similar arrangements would be needed for them. Any assistance would need to be in proportion to the money made available to the Opposition and minority parties via the Short Money system.

iii. The case for secretarial and clerical help during a period of transition after Prime Ministers left office was very strong. No.10, however, faced an exceptionally heavy

workload during the same period. The incoming Prime Minister also received a very high volume of letters, and there was additional work to be done in amalgamating his previous diary with that of the outgoing Prime Minister. However, No. 10 had a pool of staff, particularly former No. 10 secretarial staff, on whom they drew in times of particular need; they might, therefore, be able to help in putting together a support team for the outgoing Prime Minister from these people. Cabinet Office might also be able to help on the clerical side. In the case of outgoing leaders of the Opposition, it was noted that the Chief Whip's office made clerical staff available to the Leader of the Opposition; this might be a source of assistance for an outgoing Leader.

3. Summing up the discussion, Sir Robin Butler said that the next stage would be to commission someone - perhaps from the Pay Divisions in the Treasury - to look at the practical issues arising. Having collected initial ideas and discussed these within the Treasury and No. 10, Sir Robin would wish to report to the Prime Minister and get his endorsement of the general approach, before asking the reviewing officer to go and discuss the emerging ideas and their perception of the need with former Prime Ministers and the Leader of the Opposition. He would be grateful for any ideas from Mrs Case on an appropriate person to undertake this review.

Sonia Phippard

MISS S C PHIPPARD

24 January 1991

THE RT. HON. MARGARET THATCHER, O.M., F.R.S., M.P.

NSPM
PT 17(1)

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

CABINET OFFICE
A 558
17 JAN1991
FILING INSTRUCTI

cc - M. Turnbull (No 10)
Miss Andrews
M. Robertson

14th January 1991

Dear Robin

at last

I am replying to your letter of 4th January taking into account our further discussions last Friday in the Cabinet Office.

Three points arise:

1. We agreed that I should have the top copies of major speeches and identified a number which correspond to that description. I understand a full list will be coming across shortly and incidently I may wish to add a few more!

2. I will of course treat the papers in the same way as if they were the originals subject to the Public Records Act and will use my best endeavours to see that my heirs fully understand what this involves and will therefore similarly respect the legal conditions.

3. With regard to keeping the archives in this country - that would be my wish and I have spoken to Mark and Carol about it. They agree subject only to unforseen conditions of great hardship in which case first refusal of purchase would go to H.M.G. We do not expect such conditions to arise but as we have occasion to know, the unexpected does happen!

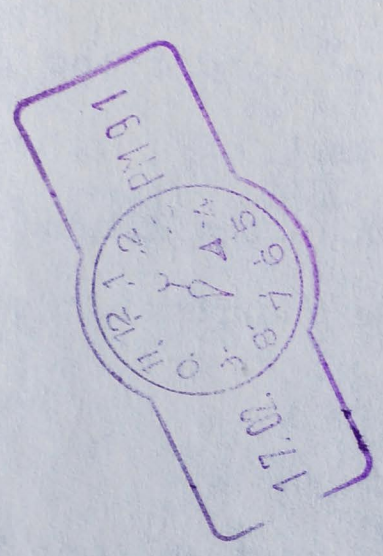
Would you please thank those colleagues whom we saw on Friday for their kind co-operation. I look forward to examining the papers further as I know Robin Harris does.

Yours ever

Margaret

Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Ex PM: Access to Papers
APR 79



Ref. A091/21

MR TURNBULL

c Miss Andrews

cc Mr O'Donnell

PB discussed with PofMs this morning. Do you see any problem with (iii) a-c? They seem to me to be things that add little to our burdens but could be quite useful to Mrs Thatcher.

AT 4/1

Help for Mrs Thatcher

I had a long talk with Mrs Thatcher at 93 Eaton Square today. Mrs Thatcher was anxious to establish what help she could call on, and our conversation fell into three categories:

(i) Secretarial Help

Mrs Thatcher knows that no help is available at present, but I acknowledged that there was a case for providing help at public expense for former Prime Ministers, in acknowledgement of the public duties which they were called on to continue to perform by virtue of being former Prime Ministers. I said that I had in mind help under two headings - transitional arrangements for former Prime Ministers leaving office as Prime Minister or Leader of the Opposition - for, say, three months or so to help them deal with the transitional correspondence and period of adjustment - and continuing help of a much more modest sort, for example, allowance for a secretary and/or Research Assistant to help them with the continuing public duties falling on them as a former Prime Minister. Only the second of these was now likely to be relevant in Mrs Thatcher's case and any scheme would be subject to negotiation with the Treasury, Ministers, and the Leader of the Opposition. I led her not to expect anything very large or very quick.

(ii) Access to Official Papers of her period as Prime Minister

Mrs Thatcher asked what help would be available to help her find her way through the Cabinet Office and No 10 papers. I

said that I would be willing to provide clerical assistance in identifying and providing the official papers which she needed, whether from the Cabinet Office or the No 10 records, but could not help with annotation or summaries. This normally ought to be done by her personally, but I would be prepared to stretch the rule by allowing her to have the help of someone who had been within the Government during her period of office, had had access to papers in the categories which she would be looking at and was adequately vetted. I quoted Robin Harris as an example. Mrs Thatcher also asked about her personal papers: I referred to the categories and to the conditions on which she could take them away if she wished to, but added that I would ask her for an assurance that she would bind her heirs to treat them as the originals and not to transfer them out of the United Kingdom. I have written to her to follow up this latter point. The one point of grievance which continues to exist is whether she should have the top copies of at least some of her major speeches as her personal possession rather than official records: we will need to discuss this point further.

(iii) <u>Continuing Provision of Information</u>

Mrs Thatcher asked for help under three categories:

(a) supply of the main economic press notices and the list of release dates of forthcoming indicators;

(b) the No 10 forward fortnightly look and the daily press digests;

(c) the booklet on past movements of exchange rates, RPI, et cetera.

Perhaps you, Mr O'Donnell and I could have a word about what help we might give her under these three categories and how we might organise it. The provision of any No 10 papers will of course need to be approved by the Prime Minister.

F.E.R.B.

ROBIN BUTLER

4 January 1991

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBIN BUTLER

PRIME MINISTER'S PAPERS

You minuted the former Prime Minister on 27 November. I have looked again at the papers and realise that, while she had not responded to my invitation to approve the minute on the front page, she had commented on the last page. Against your reference to an undertaking which would be binding on her heirs that the archives should not be transferred out of this country, she wrote

> "Except that my grandson is a US citizen and may at some later stage prefer to have some of them in his own country."

She then added when asked to confirm that these arrangements were acceptable to her

> "Yes, and may I have a copy of this minute."

This resolves the issue except for the problem of her grandson. This might resolve itself since, as I know from my own experience, children born in the United States cannot retain dual citizenship and he ultimately may have to choose whether to take British or US citizenship.

In a recent conversation with me, Mrs. Thatcher indicated that she is keen to get on with the process of marshalling material for her memoirs and she may soon approach you about the arrangements for looking at Cabinet papers or at No.10 files. She may also raise the issue of whether former Ministers can nominate their own research assistants who can have access to classified material.

AT

ANDREW TURNBULL

19 December 1990

file

Ref. A090/2846

PRIME MINISTER

Content?
AT 27/4

Your Papers

We had a word last Friday about your personal papers, and you may like to have a more formal note.

2. The convention has been that, as a former Prime Minister, you may, subject to certain conditions, take away (or have us store for you) papers in the following categories:

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by yourself) excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters you sent to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

5. Copies of personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Copies of speeches and related material.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your administration.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

No 10 have been putting aside these categories of papers as they have gone along, so that the archive should be ready for you fairly quickly.

3. Any papers you decide to take away will remain subject to the Official Secrets Act and will of course continue to do so after your lifetime. We would therefore need to be satisfied that you had secure storage to keep them in. Copyright will, of course, remain vested in the Crown.

4. I would also ask you to give an assurance that you and your heirs would treat them in the same way as the originals, which are subject to the Public Records Acts - ie without the consent of the Cabinet Office access to third parties would not be given to them for 30 years from the date of each document and that before any such access was granted the papers would be reviewed and any which are copies of public records being held back from public release should similarly be held back among your papers.

5. You would of course be able to draw on the papers yourself for the purpose of writing any memoirs. This is the same rule as the one which applies to your consulting Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers and the official No 10 papers of your administration: you will be entitled to consult these papers by coming personally to the Cabinet Office and we will provide both a room and any of the documents which you wish to consult.

6. There is one further point which I would like to suggest in the light of the problem which we have had over Lord Wilson's archive papers. As you know the undertakings mentioned above do not cover the future export of the archive. But it is in my view inappropriate that Lord Wilson should be thinking of selling his

archive abroad. I should like to ask you (and, if you agree, introduce it as a permanent arrangement for the future) to give an undertaking which would be binding on your heirs that the archive should not be transferred out of this country. – except that my grandson is a U.S. citizen & may at some later stage prefer to

7. If you would like to discuss any of this, I am of course at your service. Subject to that, I should be grateful if you would confirm that these arrangements are acceptable to you.

have some of them in his own custody

Yes - and may I have a copy of this minute

nb

F.R.B.

ROBIN BUTLER

27 November 1990

Ref. A090/2812

MISS ANDREWS

c Mr Turnbull

The Prime Minister's Personal Archive

Mr Turnbull and I had a preliminary discussion with the Prime Minister about her personal papers this morning; and it might be as well if I were to send her a more formal note. I attach a draft of what I have in mind, and would be grateful for your comments. I would like to put this up to the Prime Minister no later than Tuesday, but if you could ask the Treasury Solicitor in a preliminary way what might be the form of an undertaking which would effectively keep the archive in this country in the future, I should be grateful to know.

2. The Prime Minister asked this morning whether she would be able to take away the originals of her speeches and related material. I see that categories 5 and 6 in the list do not specify that what is included are copies. Mr Turnbull may like to check on what No 10 have in fact put aside under these categories: if the practice is to keep the originals of personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments and of speeches and related material, we ought perhaps to insert the words "copies of" at the beginning of categories 5 and 6.

3. I should be grateful for any comments by Monday evening at the latest.

R.E.R.B.

ROBIN BUTLER

23 November 1990

DRAFT MINUTE FROM SIR ROBIN BUTLER

PRIME MINISTER

_____

Your Papers

We had a word last Friday about your personal papers, and you may like to have a more formal note.

2. The convention has been that, as a former Prime Minister, you are able to take away (or have us store for you) papers in the following categories:

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by yourself) excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters you sent to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

5. Personal correspondence relating to

Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches and related material.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your administration.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

No 10 have been putting aside these categories of papers as they have gone along, so that the archive should be ready for you fairly quickly.

3. The condition on which you would take these papers away is that they remain subject to the Official Secrets Act and would of course continue to do so after your lifetime. We would therefore need to be satisfied that, if you take the papers away, you have secure storage to keep them in. I would also ask you to give an assurance that you would treat them in the same way as the originals, which are subject to the Public Records Acts - ie access to third parties would not be given to them for 30 years from the date of each document and that before any such release they would be reviewed and any papers which are copies of public records being held back from public release should similarly be held back among your papers.

4. You would of course be able to draw on the papers yourself for the purpose of writing any memoirs, but you should not provide access to a biographer or an assistant who did not have access to them in No 10. This is the same rule as the one which applies to your consulting Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers and the official No 10 papers of your administration: if you want at any time to consult these official records, you will be entitled to do so by coming personally to the Cabinet Office and we will provide both a room and any of the documents which you wish to consult.

5. There is one further point which I would like to suggest in the light of the problem which we have had over Lord Wilson's archive papers. As you know the undertakings mentioned above do not cover the future export of the archive. But it is in my view inappropriate that Lord Wilson should be thinking of selling his archive abroad. I should like to ask you (and, if you agree, introduce it as a permanent arrangement for the future) to give an undertaking in a form which would be binding on your heirs that the archive should not be transferred out of this country.

6. If you would like to discuss any of this, I am of course at your service.

ROBIN BUTLER

STRICTLY IN CONFIDENCE

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBIN BUTLER

LORD WILSON

The Prime Minister has noted your minute of 19 November to Mr Sutton. She agrees that if Lord Wilson transfers his papers to a Canadian University there is no obligation to consider special help for Lord Wilson from the Trustees of the Parliamentary Pensions Fund.

The question of whether the Parliamentary Pensions Bill should include a clause bringing pensions of past Prime Minister's up to the entitlement of the current holder of the office will be for the new Prime Minister to consider. I believe the case for this is even stronger following the resignation of Mrs Thatcher. I do not believe one can defend a pension of £17,000 a year, which is lower than she would have received had she simply served as a Cabinet Minister. I propose, therefore, to put the issue to the new Prime Minister.

I am copying this minute to Mr Sutton (Lord President's Office) and Mr Phillips (HM Treasury).

AT

Andrew Turnbull

23 November 1990

STRICTLY IN CONFIDENCE

STRICTLY IN CONFIDENCE

Prime Minister
To note. Agree to case for getting a fair deal for past PM's pensions stands?
AT
19/11

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS Telephone 071-270 0101

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Yes

Ref. A090/2772

MR SUTTON

Lord Wilson

Lord Armstrong has now had a reply from Lady Falkender about Lord Wilson's papers. The upshot is that Lord and Lady Wilson want to include the Prime Ministerial papers (apart from any which need to be held back on grounds of national security) with the rest of the archive to be transferred to a Canadian university.

2. The legal advice which we have received is that, subject to the requirements of national security, we cannot stand in the way of this. I will now make arrangements for the papers to be examined, with a view to removing any which need to be withheld on grounds of national security; and I will seek to obtain an undertaking that public access is not given to the rest until the 30 year period applying to official records is completed.

3. This therefore releases us from any obligation on this account to ask the Trustees of the Parliamentary Pensions Fund to consider special help for Lord Wilson. We are also free to consider solely on its merits the case for bringing the pensions of extant former Prime Ministers up to that of the present Prime

Minister (although inevitably Lord Wilson's representatives have learned in the course of the discussion that this idea was under consideration).

4. In short, the way is now clear to go ahead with the Bill without any special consideration of the Wilson factor.

5. I am copying this minute to Mr Turnbull (No 10) and Mr Phillips (HM Treasury).

R.E.R.B.

ROBIN BUTLER

19 November 1990

TOWN OF WESTPORT
PM 3 0

RSONAL AND IN CONFIDENCE

SIR ROBIN BUTLER

cc : Mr Turnbull

Lord Wilson of Rievaulx

I was sorry to receive your minute of 10 August (reference A090/1977) but I cannot immediately see a way of helping from the various special funds which I administer on the Prime Minister's behalf. To make a worthwhile contribution to Lord and Lady Wilson's income I assume that something in the region of £2,500 per annum would be needed, and I am afraid that we do not normally have amounts of that order available for such a purpose.

The most likely source might have been the **Royal Bounty and Special Service Fund** (to give it the full title), which is fed from dividends on dedicated investments and a small grant from the Civil List, providing a combined annual income of about £30,000. The bulk of this is disbursed as 'Special Service' payments (perhaps numbering 50 or 60 in the course of a year, for amounts varying between about £350 and £1,500) under statutory provisions which are fairly restrictive as to the purposes for which disbursements may be made. Perhaps the most significant of these, in the present context, is that they are restricted to "incidental expenditure of a quasi-public nature not suitable to be borne on the Votes."

The 'Royal Bounty' side of the Fund, which does not usually take more than about £2,000 per annum, is used to make grants for the relief of temporary or immediate distress to writers, artists, musicians or scientists of distinction. In deciding on such cases the same criteria are applied as for Civil List Pensions (see further below) - only rather less strictly, in recognition of Royal Bounty grants being single once-only payments (though they could be repeated) whereas Civil List Pensions, once granted, continue annually and automatically until death. Under existing precedents we normally award Royal Bounty grants of £600-700 to two or three deserving cases each year, and very seldom to the same case twice. To bring Lord and Lady Wilson

under this arrangement would cut right across established practice by excluding all other cases for as long as payments continued - and even so would not provide the level of income being sought.

As regards **Civil List Pensions** these are strictly limited to persons "who have achieved national distinction in the fields of literature, the arts and sciences" and who can demonstrate financial need. There is no hard and fast definition of financial need, but there are so many applicants that we would not really be able to help any couple whose annual income exceeded about £10,000 (they must undergo a rudimentary means test) - and the largest pension which, as yet, has been awarded is £1,500. The names of pensioners are laid before Parliament.

There are several other extremely small funds at the Prime Minister's disposal - but they are too restrictive in their purposes or too irregular in terms of income generation to be worth reciting here.

Robin Catford

15 August 1990

PERSONAL AND IN CONFIDENCE

B/F thereafter next seeking with PERB.

Ref. A090/1977

MR CATFORD

---

c Mr Turnbull

Lord Wilson of Rievaulx

I have been having a sad correspondence with Lord Armstrong about the papers of Lord Wilson of Rievaulx. There is a proposition that his papers should be sold to a Canadian University in exchange for a sum of money which would be used to create a Trust Fund to support Lord and Lady Wilson during their lifetimes and subsequently to fund scholarships. I am concerned with the question whether the papers to be transferred should include his personal papers as Prime Minister.

2. I have a number of concerns about this, both as regards the status of the papers under the Public Records Act and the classification of some of them. More generally, I am concerned that the despatch of a Prime Minister's Archive out of this country would attract adverse comment and would be a bad precedent for other collections.

3. In general, however, the case of a former Prime Minister fallen on hard times in this way seems to me a very sad one and I wonder whether any of your funds would be able to help Lord and Lady Wilson to an extent which would make it unnecessary for them to pursue the idea of export of the Prime Ministerial Archive. When I asked what difference the inclusion of these papers would make to the sum which Lord Wilson would raise by the sale of the rest of his Personal Archive, a figure of £25,000 was mentioned, although this might be an overestimate.

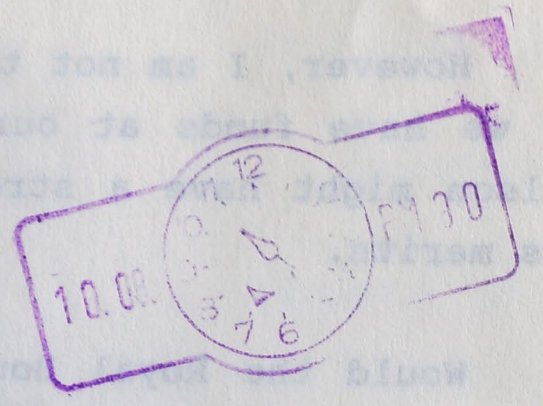
4. However, I am not thinking of a deal. It seems to me that if we have funds at our disposal of this order Lord and Lady Wilson might have a strong claim which should be considered on its merits.

5. Would the Royal Bounty provide a means of helping in this case? Or do you know of any other source?

R.E.R.B.

ROBIN BUTLER

10 August 1990


10.00

House of Lords

as from:

New Court,
St. Swithin's Lane,
London EC4P 4DU.

071 280 5701

from Lord Armstrong of Ilminster

Sir Robin Butler, K.C.B., C.V.O.,
Cabinet Office,
70 Whitehall,
London SW1A 2AS.

CABINET OFFICE
A 9172
9 AUG 1990
FILING INSTRUCTIONS

7 August 1990

cc- Miss Andrews
Mr. Turnbull (No 10)

My dear Robin,

Lord Wilson's papers

Some months ago I wrote to you about the proposal that Lord Wilson's papers should go to a Canadian university, which would in exchange provide a sum of money which would be used to create a trust fund, the proceeds of which would be used to help Lord and Lady Wilson during their lifetimes and subsequently to fund scholarships. The question on which I consulted you was whether the papers which Lord Wilson took away with him from his periods of office as Prime Minister could be included in the papers which went to the Canadian university.

You - indeed, both of us - were a little concerned about this. We both understood, I think, that the university concerned would feel that they were getting a less than complete set of papers, if these were not included, and that that might cause them to reduce the sum which they were prepared to put into the trust; on the other hand you felt - for reasons with which I have much sympathy - that papers which were (even if not technically public records) derived from and related to the office of a Prime Minister should preferably stay in this country, both for reasons of seemliness and for reasons of precedent.

I therefore undertook to find out whether some one could be found who would be willing to purchase the "Wilson No. 10" papers and deposit them in a suitable place in this country - the Bodleian Library, for instance.

I am afraid that I have to report failure. Others have tried, and I have myself approached some whom those others were reluctant to try; but none of those who have been approached is sufficiently interested to be prepared to help. I can only speculate why this should be so.

As I told you, I have no idea what would be regarded as a reasonable sum to give for these papers. I received no guidance on the subject, and when I was asked by those whom I approached I plucked the figure of £25,000 out of the air. I am very ready to believe that this was over-ambitious.

When we discussed this, you mentioned one possible source, which you did not think could run to as much as this. I think that, if that source were able to help with a smaller sum - say, £10,000? - I could take that proposition back.

Failing that, I am afraid that we come back to the original proposal - that the No. 10 papers should be included with the rest which go to the Canadian university - subject, of course, to the exclusion or reservation of any which are and have to remain classified.

Perhaps we could talk about this again as soon as we are both back in London - early in September, for instance.

Yours ever

Robert

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS Telephone 071-270 0101

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Ref. A090/1118

10 May 1990

cc - M. Turnbull
Miss Andrews

Dear Jim,

Thank you for your letter of 12 April. I am sorry for the delay in replying, but I wished to wait until I could confirm that the papers were being delivered to the House of Lords - I understand that this is happening today.

Yours ever,

Robin

The Rt Hon The Lord Callaghan of Cardiff KG
House of Lords
London
SW1

10 DOWNING STREET

Receipt for Cabinet papers.

MR? Johnson

ADDRESS H-O L

No OF LETTERS

DATE 10 - 5 - 1990

TIME RECEIVED 3.15 p.m

RECEIVED BY D Johnson

Bas 272586/2/8938205 15m 2/89 ATP

file
a:\Callaghan.dsg

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

MISS PHIPPARD

CABINET OFFICE

LORD CALLAGHAN'S "PERSONAL" PAPERS

I have seen Pat Andrews' draft reply to Lord Callaghan about his papers. I think the best course is to avoid any reference to the Public Records Act until the lawyers confirm that the papers are subject to it. This can then be done for all the surviving ex-Prime Ministers. My only change is to invite Lord Callaghan to arrange for the House of Lords Records Keeper to contact No. 10 about collection. The draft is attached.

Andrew Turnbull

30 April 1990

AK

Mr Kerr
I don't think we should refer to the legal status of the documents
a) until lawyers have advised that it is
b) until we are in a position to say the same thing to all the other PM's.

AT
30/4

MR. TURNBULL

LORD CALLAGHAN'S PAPERS

Pat Andrews has sent in a draft letter for Robin Butler to send to Lord Callaghan. She has asked for your approval of it.

She says we may wish to avoid the 'health warning' that these papers come under the ambit of the Public Records Act, at any rate until the lawyers say that this is true. To the extent that the majority of these papers are copies of minutes, letters and telegrams all from official files destined for the Public Records Office, my guess would be that they are covered by the Public Records Act. The exception is his diaries - which are his affair - and, in the past, speeches the files of which we did not submit to the PRO. So I think Robin probably could add the necessary qualification to authorising their transfer.

I have filled out the draft a bit and altered the sentence on any proposal to writing memoirs since Lord Callaghan has already written his.

Are you content with my redraft? If so I will draft you a minute for Sonia Phippard.

DEREK KERR

28 April 1990

DRAFT LETTER FOR SIR ROBIN BUTLER TO SEND TO:

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Callaghan of Cardiff K.G.
House of Lords
London SW1

Thank you for your letter of 12 April 1990.

The papers which you are, as a former Prime Minister, allowed by convention to take away, fall into the following categories:-

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes to Ministerial colleagues (those signed by yourself) excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters you sent to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your Administration.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

I understand that you already have the papers in category 4. above; the remainder, which comprise about a metre of shelf space, are boxed and can be sent to the House of Lords' Record

Office at any time. Perhaps you could ask Mr. Cobb to contact Derek Kerr at No. 10 to make arrangements for their transfer.

CABINET OFFICE

HISTORICAL SECTION

Hepburn House, Marsham Street, London, SW1P 4HW

Telephone: 01-~~xxx~~ 217 6050

HO90/134

D Kerr Esq
10 Downing Street
London SW1A 2AA

27 April 1990

Dear Mr Kerr

LORD CALLAGHAN'S 'PERSONAL' PAPERS

We have spoken on the above topic and I have now seen Mr Turnbull's minute of 25 April 1990 to Sir Robin Butler.

As you know, Sir Robin asked me to draft a letter, in consultation with Mr Turnbull, for him to send in response to Lord Callaghan's letter of 12 April 1990 of which Mr Turnbull has a copy. I attach a draft which I have today sent to Sonia Phippard in Sir Robin Butler's office and should be most grateful if you could let her know direct whether Mr Turnbull is content with it. In my view it says as much as we can at this stage in advance of receiving the legal advice which we have sought in the context of the Wilson papers. The legal advice will concentrate on whether the papers are in fact public records - if they are they will remain subject to the Public Records Acts and so what is said in the last paragraph of the draft is simply a statement of fact. We could, of course, leave out any reference to public records and the Acts and cover those in a later letter but that might look rather odd!

When the letter has gone to Lord Callaghan may I leave it to you to liaise with Mr Cobb in the House of Lords about transferring the papers to the Record Office?

Yours sincerely

Pat Andrews

MISS P M ANDREWS

G.R.
R type in draft.
Derek
2/4

DRAFT LETTER FOR SIR ROBIN BUTLER TO SEND TO:

The Rt Hon The Lord Callaghan of Cardiff KG
House of Lords
London SW1 OPW

Thank you for your letter of 12 April 1990.

~~As you may already know,~~ The papers which you are, as a former Prime Minister, allowed by convention to take away, fall into the following categories:- to ministerial colleagues

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by yourself) excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters you sent to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your Administration.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

I understand that you already have the papers in category 4. above; the remainder, which comprise about a metre of shelf space, are boxed and ~~will~~ can be sent to the House of Lords' Record Office ~~[during this week]~~ at any time. Perhaps you could ask Ian Cobb to contact ~~Hilary Andrew Turnbull~~ Derek Kerr at No 10 to make arrangements for their transfer.

[In authorising the transfer of these papers I should perhaps remind you that such of them as are official and public records remain subject to the Public Records Acts (and, of course, to the Official Secrets Act); and that, should you draw on the papers for the writing of memoirs etc you are expected to clear the memoirs in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Radcliffe Report on Ministerial Memoirs.]

You have of course written your autobiography, but should you consider further memoirs you are ~~of course~~ free to draw on these papers, and official papers still held at No 10, for that purpose. As previously you would be expected to clear any further publication in accordance with the convention laid down in the Radcliffe Repat on Ministerial Memoirs. Your biographer however would not have access to these papers.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBIN BUTLER

CABINET OFFICE

LORD CALLAGHAN'S PERSONAL PAPERS

You copied to me Lord Callaghan's letter to you of 12 April about his personal papers.

For convenience I attach a list of the categories of papers he is entitled to take away. I believe Lord Callaghan already has category 4 papers. We have categories 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8 at No. 10. They comprise about a metre of shelf space. The papers have been sifted and all Top Secret papers removed. The papers are boxed and may be collected at a time convenient to Lord Callaghan. May I leave it to you to arrange a suitable date and transport. Derek Kerr can act as contact here.

On the related subject of Lord Wilson's papers, I know you have asked for legal advice on the propriety of 'personal' papers being moved abroad. We agreed however that we should be even-handed and allow Lord Callaghan the same categories of papers afforded to his predecessors.

AT

ANDREW TURNBULL

25 APRIL 1990

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by the Prime Minister) excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters from the Prime Minister to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by the Prime Minister.

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of the administration.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

M/Ken
Thanks
dft 25/4

file

Andrew

LORD CALLAGHANS PAPERS.

We have boxed in CF. the following :-

— Personal Minutes to Ministers
— Copies of telegrams to/from abroad.
— Speeches. We are keeping the speech files.
— Typed diaries.
— PM (Personal) file series — which you have looked at.
— Letters to HM The Queen.
— Papers on Ministerial appointments.

We don't have his third cartons.
Garden Rooms sent these to Lord C in 1979.

I have checked our files and Lord C has not received a letter from the P.M. outlining the categories of papers he may have and how he should handle them. But Robin Butler could cover this in his reply. Pat Andrews will cover these in her draft to Robin.

In the meantime I have prepared the attached minute for you to send to Robin

Derek

25/4/90.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, K.G.

c - Mr Turnbull
Miss Andrews

HOUSE OF LORDS

12th April,

CABINET OFFICE
A 3952
17 APR 1990
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

Dear Robin

Further to our talk at the Indian Dinner I have told Mr.H.S.Cobb, Clerk of the Records at the Record Office, House of Lords, that you would be ready to send my personal papers across to join the other papers of mine that he already holds. I shall be very glad if you will do so at your convenience, and perhaps you will let me know when you send them.

Many thanks.

Yours ever

Jim C.

Sir Robin Butler, KCB., CVO.,
Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the
Home Civil Service,
Cabinet Office,
10 Downing Street,
London SW1

[illegible] - LB - DS - DJS - SB - TW - MR.

Letter: I'd rather do
[illegible] week if poss - weds
1814.

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

James Callaghan's Papers.

It's likely that Lord Callaghan will ask for his papers shortly. Andrew wants us to start getting them ready.

It shouldn't take long since things like 'M' and 'T' messages are likely to be in order.

Would a 10-6er or Tony or Mark please volunteer their services from next Tuesday so that we get shot of them. Everyone should take a turn.

I've attached a list of what

Category of papers may be taken with speeches. We need to let Lord C. have a copy of the speech. To save time and paper I think we should let the ex PM have the original copy of the speech, and we can keep the master copy and all the related drafts etc.

Jim Callaghan and Harold Wilson shared the same file series since they were part of the same Administration. But Mr Callaghan is not permitted personal papers belonging to Wilson (and vice versa) if they happen to be on the same file.

Papers need weeding for Top Secret material.

Derek 6/4

HOUSE OF LORDS

AF 2/4

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx KG OBE FRS

28 March, 1990

Dear Mr Turnbull,

Thank you for your letter of the ~~21~~ March.

I am most grateful to you for the trouble you have taken over the queries from Mr. Mervyn Jones via Peter Shore.

I am afraid I cannot as of now provide any further clues.

With kind regards,

Yours,

Wilson of Rievaulx

Andrew Turnbull, Esq.

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL

File MJ

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBIN BUTLER

PRIME MINISTER'S PAPERS

You mentioned to me a proposal that Lord Wilson's private papers should be deposited in the library of a Canadian University. You are investigating the question of access to such papers by biographers, research assistants and literary executors, and how we enforce any condition which we impose on the release of these papers. You may find that moving the papers to another jurisdiction has implications for this enforcement.

But setting that aside, I confess to being unhappy about the politics/morality of this idea. I think a British Prime Minister would rightly be subject to criticism for moving papers, which will be of interest to future students of British history, out of the country. It will be very inconvenient for future historians if part of the archive material on say the 1967 devaluation is in London and another part in Toronto.

The fact that the papers are being deposited abroad in order to raise money makes the matter worse. Although these are formally Lord Wilson's private papers, they are part of our history, and, it will be said, not really his to "sell off".

If, as you suggest, a trust fund needs to be set up to provide Lord Wilson with additional care in his old age, I think the obligation for this falls to the Labour and Trade Union movements, and the duty to put the necessary fund raising in hand lies with the current Leader of the Labour Party.

AT

Andrew Turnbull
27 March 1990

CONFIDENTIAL AND PERSONAL

CONFIDENTIAL

716

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBIN BUTLER

PRIME MINISTER'S PAPERS

You asked about our practice in assembling the private papers of Prime Ministers and the ones they are entitled to remove with them for safekeeping. Your letter to Edward Heath of 4 July 1988 listed eight categories. Our practice in relation to each is as follows:

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by the Prime Minister, excluding those marked TOP SECRET).

   These are known as M minutes and a separate copy is put aside as and when one is issued. They could be available to release almost immediately. They are catalogued only in the sense of being kept in date order.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

   Position as with 1, only these are numerous.

3. Copies of any letters sent to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

   I interpret this literally as meaning <u>letters</u> which are very rare being mainly concerned with letters of thanks or condolence. They are handled through the same mechanism as 4 below and it would be difficult now to draw them into a separate collection. We exclude the numerous submissions for honours or appointments which are regarded as official papers.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by the Prime Minister.

   Third carbons of all these are accumulated day by day and set aside and as such could be removed at short notice. They are catalogued only by date order.

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

These are all the letters sent to and received from Ministers on their appointment or resignation. They are held on Appointments branch files and no separate copies have so far been taken. I will be asking Miss Drever before she leaves to assemble, for each Ministerial appointment or reshuffle, a copy of the Press Notice and copies of any letters exchanged. Once we have the backlog dealt with, we can make it our practice to put by separate copies so that the set is kept up-to-date.

6. Speeches and related material.

We keep separately texts of all speeches in Confidential Filing though as one moves towards the informal occasions the borderline between a speech and "a few remarks" becomes hazy. These represent a very substantial body of material and so we do not propose to make additional copies to be taken away until it is actually decided that that is to happen. If, as in Mr Callaghan's case, his private papers remain in No.10, this may never prove necessary.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary.

These are accumulated separately day by day and could be available at short notice.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

I am aware of only a small number of papers in this category.

As will be seen from the above, separate copies of the really numerous categories of papers are being put by in date order. Once the papers on Ministerial appointments are separated out (not a particularly numerous category) we would be in a position to respond quite quickly to a request for the papers to be removed.

AT

Andrew Turnbull
26 March 1990

cc Mervyn Jones

10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

21 March 1990

Dear Lord Wilson,

You wrote on 26 February and again on 9 March, asking if No.10 could track down a letter which Lady Megan Lloyd George wrote to you around the end of April 1966, to which you replied in your letter of 4 May 1966. I have also spoken about this to Mr. Mervyn Jones who is writing a biography of Lady Megan.

I regret that we have been unable to trace such a letter. I have managed to establish, however, that one of Mr. Jones' lines of inquiry was incorrect. He had surmised that the letter to which you replied on 4 May was Lady Megan's acceptance of her offer of a Companion of Honour. This cannot have been the case as you wrote to Lady Megan informing her that you wished to recommend her for a CH on 9 May. We do have on our files the standard form, completed in a very weak hand, giving the details of name and address as Lady Megan would wish them to appear in the London Gazette. This must have been one of the last things she wrote before her death.

I have spoken to Mr. Jones and informed him of this. If you or he are able to provide any further clues, particularly about the subject matter of the letter, we could make a further offer to trace the letter.

I am sorry we are unable to produce a more positive outcome.

Yours sincerely,
Andrew Turnbull

ANDREW TURNBULL

The Right Honourable Lord Wilson of Rievaulx, K.G., O.B.E.

MERVYN JONES
10 WATERSIDE PLACE
PRINCESS ROAD
LONDON
NW1 8JT
071 586 4404

2013

19 March 1990

Mr Andrew Turnbull,
10 Downing St.

Dear Mr Turnbull,

I believe that Mr Peter Shore has been in touch with you in the following matter, and he has suggested that I should write to you.

I am working on a biography of Lady Megan Lloyd George, who died on 14 May 1966. The then Prime Minister, now Lord Wilson, had decided to recommend her for the C.H. in the current honours list - I think the Dissolution Honours, as there had been a general election - and had inquired whether she would accept. Her letter to him, which I am trying to trace, would have been her acceptance, and was probably the last letter she wrote before she died. Wilson then wrote on 4 May to thank her. The formal letter notifying her of the C.H. reached her on 12 May.

I should be extremely grateful if you could assist me by tracing Lady Megan's letter.

I am enclosing Lord Wilson's letter, and shall be glad if you would return it in due course.

Yours sincerely,

Mervyn Jones

10 Downing Street
Whitehall

4th May, 1966

My dear Megan,

Just a brief note to thank you very much for taking the trouble to write to me. You should not have bothered. But it was good to hear from you and I must say I agree with what you say about 1918/22 and all the problems at the present time.

With kind regards.

Yours,

Harold

Lady Megan Lloyd George

10 DOWNING STREET

Andrew

No luck I'm afraid.
Public Records only go
up to 1964 at present.
And CF have no trace
on present information.
A subject matter may
help - but I am
not optimistic.

13/3

K13/3

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx KG OBE FRS

9 March, 1990

Dear Mr. Turnbull,

Further to your call about the correspondence from Mr. Peter Shore about Mervyn Jones' book on Lady Megan Lloyd George, the timing in 1966 would be approximately April - around the 22 April I think.

I hope this helps in tracing the original letter from Lady Megan.

Yours sincerely,

Wilson of Rievaulx

Andrew Turnbull, Esq.

GR?

R28/2

HOUSE OF LORDS

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx KG OBE FRS

26 February, 1990

Dear Nigel,

I have just been approached by a Mervyn Jones about a biography he is writing about Lady Megan Lloyd George.

He wanted to see a copy of a letter Lady Megan sent to me in 1966. I am afraid I am unable to find it and I wondered whether it would be possible to let me have a copy.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Wilson of Rievaulx

Nigel Wickes, Esq.

Margaret
Beattie
270 5801

I am not sure
who they mean
but you could
try Mike
DEAN -
270-5830

10 DOWNING STREET

Charles
28/9

Charles

We want to fix a
van but ~~Ca~~ Robin
Butler's Office tell me
you have a contact in
the Cabinet Office whom
we should speak to
to arrange things

Margaret
Beattie
270-5801.

Can you help?

Many thanks
Derek
28/9.

Derek

HOUSE OF LORDS

The Rt. Hon. Baroness Falkender, CBE

25 September, 1989

c- M. Turnbull (No 10)

Dear Robin

Further to my letter of the 6 September, I should be grateful if you could let me have a reply, and a date on which I can arrange for the collection of Lord Wilson's personal papers.

I am anxious to complete this task by the time Parliament reassembles.

Kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Marie

Sir Robin Butler, KCB CVO

10 DOWNING STREET

~~Ian~~ Derek,
PC proceed as suggested
AT 25/9

Andrew

I'm sorry I've taken some time to give you an answer on Harold Wilson's papers. I came across 2 boxes of papers which ~~he~~ he is entitled to take away but the No10 copy could not be found. We've therefore had to photocopy all of them. That has now been done and the short answer to your question is that the papers are now ready for collection.

Robin says in his note that the papers will presumably need collecting from the Cabinet office. I had a word with Trevor Woolley about the propriety of us (or the Cabinet Office) delivering the papers direct to the NCP building. This would avoid the need for us to deliver the boxes to the Cabinet Office, where they would have to arrange secure storage and collection. It would seem to

me to see far quicker to cut out the middleman.
Trevor agreed and suggests I have a word with
Charles Fountain in case there are any security
objections. He has none and thinks ~~the~~ the
Cabinet Office delivering the goods is eminently
preferable; ~~we~~ we would at least be sure they got
there.

If you are content with this I will arrange
a van and security officer escort with the Cabinet
office.

Finally I have found the attached letter which
confirms Lord W. was sent his 1974-6 diaries. I
can only presume he has his 1964-70 diaries.
This was the last blank spot.

25/9/89

TMW

file

11 May 1976

I attach a copy of your diary as Prime Minister from 1974 to 1976, as requested.

P.WOOD

The Right Honourable
Sir Harold Wilson, K.G., O.B.E., F.R.S., M.P.

Is this ok
Are they available. If so I
could phone Lady Falkender.
AT

CABINET OFFICE
A 9444
11 SEP 1989
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

The Rt. Hon. Baroness Falkender, CBE

c. Mr Turnbull

Presumably Lady Falkender will collect the boxes from the Cabinet Office. Are they available for collection?

11/9

Dear Robin,

As you will know, Mr. Fountain came to see the storage facility in Manchester Street, where Lord Wilson's papers are kept. He telephoned me the next day to say that all was well and that he would be contacting you to let you know he was happy with the arrangements.

I have left it until now to write again as I assumed you would probably be away on holiday at some point. However, I should very much appreciate it if you could kindly let me know when it would now be convenient for the boxes to be collected.

With kind regards,

Yours

Marcia

Sir Robin Butler, KCB CVO
Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the
Home Civil Service

MR. TURNBULL

LORD WILSON'S PERSONAL PAPERS

On Monday, 31 July I met Lady Falkender at 40 Manchester Street, which is where the above papers are to be stored. The building concerned is in the centre of what was once a row of large terraced houses, now converted to offices. Lord Wilson has the rooms in the basement. The rest of the building is used by the owners, National Car Parks.

Although access through the front door is remotely controlled, the building as a whole is not very secure as cleaners have unsupervised access in the evenings, and it would not be too difficult to break in via the basement steps.

However, one of the rooms has had a concrete floor laid to take heavy cabinets, the one window overlooking a small inner courtyard is fitted with heavy bars, and the entrance door is steel lined with two locks including a chubb. This is the most suitable room to use, with only Lord Wilson's staff being allowed entry.

Strictly by the book, the room should either be inspected every two hours or fitted with an alarm connected to an external monitoring firm. The former is not possible, and the latter could give rise to problems with key-holders for call-outs etc. Additionally, for short-term it would be expensive.

The documents must be housed in a secure container. I would have preferred to have provided on loan an approved one with mersey or combination lock, but neither No.10 or the Cabinet Office has any spares.

There is, in the room referred to above, a very large and heavy Swedish lockable container which should hold the documents. If the lock is ever in doubt, lugs could be welded on, and a bar fitted through the drawer handles, with a

padlock to secure.

The building manager who is also the National Car Parks Security Officer (ex Ch. Supt. Met.) was very hostile, and clearly resented housing Lord Wilson's staff on the premises. He raised several doubts about security, and in particular said he was concerned about bad publicity if any papers went missing. Evidently there has been some publicity about the use of the rooms in the basement.

Although not fully meeting regulations, as a workable compromise I recommend:

a. Using the one room in the basement to house the documents. Lord Wilson's staff only to have access with them retaining the keys.

b. Using the Swedish container for the documents with the locking bar reinforcement if necessary.

Lady Falkender would be happy to comply with the above.

Carnell Wilcox

pp C. FOUNTAIN

2 August, 1989.

03 DEC 1969

CR

CABINET OFFICE
A 8669
1 AUG 1989
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx
KG OBE FRS

c- Mr. Turnbull

28 July, 1989

Dear Robin,

I have just seen the letter you wrote to Marcia on the 19 July, about my personal papers which have until now been stored for me at the Cabinet Office.

This is to confirm that she has my authority, and that it is my wish, that the papers should now be moved so that they may be in the safe keeping of the family together with my other personal and political papers.

With kind regards,

Yours.
Harold.

Sir Robin Butler, KCB CVO

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
1960

MR. TURNBULL

N Kerr
I will let you know when
collection is imminent
AT
20/7

cc: Mr. Woolley

LORD WILSON'S PAPERS

I have had a sift through Lord Wilson's papers and have found those papers listed a,b and d in Mr. Woolley's minute of 11 December 1987 to Sir Robert Armstrong. I have only come across one file of correspondence between Lord Wilson and The Queen (item c) but am still looking.

With regard to his diaries, I cannot locate any of them. Garden Rooms think Lord Wilson may have them. They say this is one of the first things they send to ex-Prime Ministers when they leave office. I would not however quote that as Gospel since we still have Mr. Callaghan's diaries. But, again, I shall continue the hunt.

Most of his papers are now boxed and ready to move. Assuming Lord Wilson wants them straight away, with the above additions we could have them all ready by early next week.

Derek Kerr

19 July 1989

EL.66

f.

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS
01-270 0101

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Ref. A089/1937

19 July 1989

cc - Mr Turbull
Mr Fountain } No 10

Dear Marcia,

tel enclosure.

Many thanks for your recent letter about Lord Wilson's personal papers and for letting me know that you want now to arrange for their transfer.

I agree that the first stage is for us to inspect the premises in which the papers are to be stored. I am asking Mr Charles Fountain, who is in charge of security at No 10, to make contact with you for that purpose. Thereafter, arrangements for transfer will be best made with my office. We will need to ask you to arrange for Lord Wilson to provide personal written authority. As you will recall from your correspondence with Robert, some of these personal papers remain public records and access by an authorised biographer to the papers would continue to be subject to the agreement of myself or my successor.

With best wishes,

Yours ever,

Robin

The Lady Falkender CBE
3 Wyndham Mews
Upper Montagu Street
London
W1H 1RS

Et P.M. april 1974

Policy on requests by Et PM
for access & papers from
their admin.

20 JUL 1989

pp's pl

CABINET OFFICE
A 7647
11 JUL 1989
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
File No

The Rt. Hon. Baroness Falkender CBE

c- M. Turnbull (No 10)

July, 1989

Dear Robin,

see PP at flag

As you will know, I had a meeting with Robert Armstrong some time ago about Lord Wilson's papers still retained for him at No.10. You may rememberthat I mentioned the subject to you when we met last summer.

I should now like to arrange for their collection and removal as soon as possible. They are to be stored in an NCP facility at 40, Manchester Street, WI where his other papers are kept. This has been arranged for Lord Wilson by the Chairman of NCP, Mr. Ronald Hobson. Do you wish one of your people to see the premises before the papers are moved there ? If so, perhaps you could let me know, and also whom I should contact about the collection, date etc.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely

Barbara

Sir Robin Butler

8/W

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Principal Private Secretary

MR. WOOLLEY

MR. HEATH'S PAPERS

Thank you for your minute of 28 September in which you sought comments on the attached draft of the letter for Sir Robin Butler to send to Mr. Heath about his papers. Could I ask that the first sentence of the second paragraph should read:

> "The No.10 office take extra copies of the papers defined by the first four categories set out in my letter of 4 July....."

Could I also ask that the last paragraph should read:

> "The No.10 office are assembling papers which relate to categories 5-8 in your letter. But I am afraid that they do not keep press cuttings for the period. For reasons of quantity they treat these as ephemera."

Otherwise, no comment.

N.L.W.

(N. L. WICKS)
29 September 1988

8/W

Sue and Sara,

PC spk urgently

N.

Ref. A088/2830

MR WICKS

Mr Heath's Papers

We discussed recently the problems of locating Mr Heath's papers in Number 10, and subsequently I spoke to Mr Heath's Private Secretary, Richard Burn. Sir Robin Butler now proposes to reply to Mr Heath's letter of 8 July as set out in the --- attached draft. I should be grateful for your confirmation of the facts in the draft as they relate to Number 10 (especially the last paragraph).

Trevor Woolley

T A WOOLLEY

28 September 1988

DRAFT OF 28 SEPTEMBER 1988

DRAFT FROM SIR ROBIN BUTLER

TO THE RT HON EDWARD HEATH MBE MP

I am sorry not to have replied sooner to your letter of 8 July about your personal papers for the period when you were Prime Minister.

The Number 10 office take extra copies of the papers defined by the categories set out in my letter to you of 4 July at the time they are signed and put them into a discrete package of personal papers for Prime Ministers to take with them on relinquishing office. A search for this package has not revealed it and Number 10 believe that you have already taken it. I gather that your Private Secretary has kindly agreed to confirm that the papers you hold at Arundells cover the relevant categories.

I am afraid that the Number 10 office do not keep press cuttings for the period. For reasons of quantity, they treat these as ephemera.

TAWAJV

pc

10 DOWNING STREET

Nigel,

Re the attached:
we don't have press cuttings here at No10 for Mr Heath's term of office. Press office thought the Cabinet Office kept them but presumably that's not the case as F.E.R.B was asking you!

Appts section keep cuttings on ministerial changes but that's about it.

Sue
12-7-88

Miss Harris,
cf to file
Rt sgt.
NCU
11.7

Ref. AO88/2120

MR WICKS

You have received separately a copy of Mr Heath's letter of 8 July in reply to mine about access to his Prime Ministerial papers. For completeness, I am attaching now both my letter to him and his reply.

2. Could you please establish what papers No 10 holds for Mr Heath in the categories in my letter and where they are located.

3. I feel sure - indeed I hope - that the answer to Mr Heath's question about press cuttings is negative!

R.E.B.

ROBIN BUTLER

11 July 1988

PC Mr Wicks

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS
01-270 0101

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Ref. A088/2012

4 July 1988

Dear Ted,

I have heard from Robert Armstrong that, in the task of writing your memoirs, you are now approaching the period of your Prime Ministership and will want to refresh your memory of official papers. You are, of course, entitled to consult the Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers, and the 10 Downing Street papers, in respect of your time as Prime Minister. I should be glad to arrange for you to have access to these papers whenever you wish and to provide a room here in which you could consult them.

Robert also asked what papers you were entitled to remove. The convention is that, as a former Prime Minister, you are able to take away papers in the following categories:

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by yourself) exluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters you sent to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches and related material.

/7.

The Rt Hon Edward Heath MBE MP

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your administration.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

Your taking out these papers would be subject to your being able to assure secure storage of those which are official papers and therefore public records. Access to them should not be provided to third parties and, in so far as the papers taken out were official papers and public records, they would be subject to the Public Records Acts (and of course to the Official Secrets Acts), and would remain so whomsoever they might pass to after your death.

You would of course be able to draw on the papers for the purpose of writing your memoirs, but you will know that you are expected to clear those memoirs in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Radcliffe Report on Ministerial Memoirs.

I have not checked, before writing this letter, what papers of yours No 10 hold in the categories set out above. If you would like me to, I will of course have enquiries made and let you know the result.

Yours ever,

Robin

From: The Rt. Hon. Edward Heath, M.B.E., M.P.

CABINET OFFICE
A 7309
11 JUL 1988
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

8 July 1988

c- M. Wicks

Dear Robin.

I am extremely grateful to you for your kind help in the task of writing my memoirs and I have noted all the papers that I am entitled to remove in respect of my time as Prime Minister.

I will be able to assure secure storage of those which are official papers and therefore public records. I understand that I will be expected to clear those memoirs in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Radcliffe Report on Ministerial Memoirs.

I would be very pleased if you could cbeck for me what papers of mine No 10 hold in the categories you mention in your letter. I look forward to hearing from you in due course in this respect.

Many thanks again.

Does No 10 hold the press cuttings for any period?

Yours ever,

Ted

Sir Robin Butler, KCB CVO

R 11/7

Miss Norris,

Is the answer

to X - No. ?

N.L.W.

From: The Rt. Hon. Edward Heath, M.B.E., M.P.

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Many thanks again.

Yours ever,

Sir Robin Butler, KCB CVO

x/ Does No 10 hold the press cuttings of any period?

Mr Wicks

Please see Mrs Thatcher's letter to me of 4 July 1988 and my reply of 7 July 1988 about her papers.

N.C.W.

4.7

CABINET OFFICE

70 Whitehall London SW1A 2AS
01-270 0101

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service
Sir Robin Butler KCB CVO

Ref. A088/2012

4 July 1988

Dear Ted,

I have heard from Robert Armstrong that, in the task of writing your memoirs, you are now approaching the period of your Prime Ministership and will want to refresh your memory of official papers. You are, of course, entitled to consult the Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers, and the 10 Downing Street papers, in respect of your time as Prime Minister. I should be glad to arrange for you to have access to these papers whenever you wish and to provide a room here in which you could consult them.

Robert also asked what papers you were entitled to remove. The convention is that, as a former Prime Minister, you are able to take away papers in the following categories:

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by yourself) exluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

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4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches and related material.

/7.

The Rt Hon Edward Heath MBE MP

NB. No papers regarding honours are allowed to be seen by ex P-M's.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your administration.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

Your taking out these papers would be subject to your being able to assure secure storage of those which are official papers and therefore public records. Access to them should not be provided to third parties and, in so far as the papers taken out were official papers and public records, they would be subject to the Public Records Acts (and of course to the Official Secrets Acts), and would remain so whomsoever they might pass to after your death.

You would of course be able to draw on the papers for the purpose of writing your memoirs, but you will know that you are expected to clear those memoirs in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Radcliffe Report on Ministerial Memoirs.

I have not checked, before writing this letter, what papers of yours No 10 hold in the categories set out above. If you would like me to, I will of course have enquiries made and let you know the result.

Yours ever,

Robin

010

pa.

Ref. A087/3552

MR BUTLER

---

c Mr Wicks

Lord Wilson's Papers

Lord Wilson, Lady Falkender and Lord Weidenfeld came to see me on Friday 11 December 1987 in pursuance of a letter which Lady Falkender had sent to me on 21 October about Lord Wilson's "private papers".

2. The papers with which they were concerned were those which Lord Wilson, as a former Prime Minister, is permitted to take away. They fall into the categories set out in the Prime Minister's letter of 30 July 1987.

3. I had with me some 40 boxes of those papers; and I explained that there were probably a few more boxes still to come (though they did not take much interest in that). I said that Lord Wilson was at liberty to remove these papers subject to our being able to agree upon satisfactory arrangements for secure storage and for limiting access to them. We had a long and rambling discussion about where the papers might go. It was clearly important to Lord Wilson and Lady Falkender that they should be kept together with other personal papers of Lord Wilson, which are presently stored under circumstances that we should not find satisfactory for the papers that remain here. One possibility was that private arrangements should be made to keep them in some suitable place. An alternative was that they might be deposited with a suitable university or college: among the institutions mentioned in this context were the Bodleian Library, University College, Oxford, the Library of Nuffield College, Oxford, Churchill College, Cambridge and the University

RTAAFI

of Southampton. In the end they said that they would go away and think further about that. In the meantime the papers will continue to be held in 10 Downing Street, though I have made clear that Lord Wilson could have access to them at any time by arrangement. We then discussed the question of access to the papers. Plans are afoot for Lord Weidenfeld to commission an authorised biography of Lord Wilson. It sounds as if the frontrunners for this task are Professor John Vincent of Bristol University and Mr Philip Ziegler. I said that, while it would no doubt be for my successor to take a decision, I thought that if either of those two persons were commissioned to write an authorised biography of Lord Wilson, we should be content to authorise him to have access to the private papers in question, on the understanding that he would clear with us any parts of the texts in which he made use of material from those papers and agreed to accept any amendments or deletions which we felt to be necessary on grounds of national security or the preservation of international relations, and to consider any representations which we might make to him about the breaching of confidential relationships.

4. Lady Falkender and Lord Weidenfeld then asked about access for the authorised biographer to official papers relating to Lord Wilson's time as Prime Minister. I said that we should not be able to permit such access. I said that I thought that an authorised biographer would find that there was a great deal of material already publicly available in one form or another and he might well find that he did not need access to official papers not released under the 30 year rule.

5. They then asked whether, once the authorised biographer had done his research, if he found that there were gaps which could be filled only by reference to official papers, he would be free to put questions to Lord Wilson and Lord Wilson would be able to refresh his memory of the official papers. I said that Lord Wilson, as a former Prime Minister, would be allowed to refresh

RTAAFI

his memory of papers that he saw when in office, though he would not be allowed to take copies of such papers away with him. It then became clear that that was not going to be of much help to them, because, even if Lord Wilson refreshed his memory of the official papers, he would have forgotten again by the time he reached the front door. They therefore asked whether, if Lord Wilson wished to refresh his memory of the official papers, he could be accompanied by someone: for instance Lady Falkender. I reminded them that Lady Falkender did not see classified papers when she was Lord Wilson's Personal and Political Secretary. It was the case, however, that some former Prime Ministers had been allowed to bring a suitable person with them when refreshing their memories of official papers, and I did not exclude the possibility of our agreeing to Lord Wilson being accompanied by some suitable person, who could be permitted because he had had access to the papers at the time, for instance a former Private Secretary.

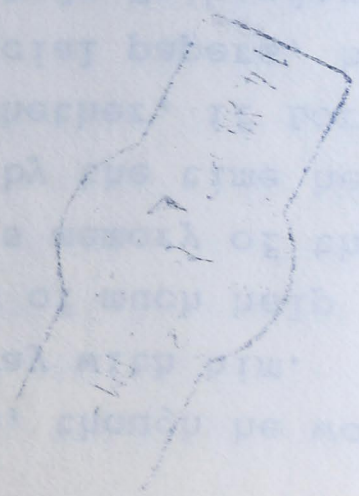
6. Lady Falkender then said that the authorised biographer would have to deal with the Spycatcher allegations about efforts to destabilise Lord Wilson's Government in 1974 to 1975. I said that I did not think there were any papers that we could make available to an authorised biographer for this purpose, and Lord Wilson had already seen the only papers that had any bearing on the matter. I recognised, however, that the biographer would have to deal with the matter, and that it would need careful handling. This might be a matter on which it would be more appropriate for Lord Wilson to seek further advice nearer the time.

7 If you are in general content, I think that it would be as well to record the gist of what I said in a letter to Lord Wilson. This could minimise the danger of misinterpretation.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

14 December 1987



FOI 3
14

Ref. A087/3546

c. Mr Turnbull
We spoke.
17/7 (1989)

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

Lord Wilson's Papers

The personal papers of Lord Wilson which have been assembled by No 10 are numbered in boxes 1 to 36, as indicated in the annex to this note. (There are in fact a total of 43 boxes as there are 8 box 11s - a to h.)

2. The categorisation in general reflects that set out in the second paragraph of the Prime Minister's letter to Lord Wilson of 30 July. But there is not a comprehensive set of private papers as defined by that letter. In particular:

a. there are no outgoing personal minutes for 1974; ✓ found

b. there are no personal telegrams and messages to and from Heads of State for 1975; ✓ found. Master Copy.

c. there are no copies of letters to The Queen for 1974 to 1976;

d. there is no personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments for 1974 to 1976; ✓ found.

e. there are no typed daily diaries for the whole of his administrations. with Wilson?

3. The absence of these papers is clearly embarrassing. No 10 assure me that it is not for want of searching and they would be reluctant to promise that the missing papers can be uncovered. On the assumption that Lord Wilson will not wish to take away

any papers today - he will need first in any case to assure us that he has secure storage before he takes any papers - I think we can probably get by by indicating the impressive array of papers which have been assembled, while noting that there are some papers we have not been able to find but which No 10 will continue to search for (without any commitment as to ultimate success). I suspect the crunch will come only when Lord Wilson's biographer sets to work on the papers.

T A WOOLLEY

11 December 1987

LETTERS SENT FROM PRIME MINISTER

01	October, 1964	-	March, 1965
02	April, 1965	-	December, 1965
03	January, 1966	-	December, 1966
04	January, 1967	-	December, 1967
05	January, 1968	-	December, 1968
06	January, 1969	-	May, 1970
07	March, 1974	-	December, 1974
08	January, 1975	-	September, 1975
09	October, 1975	-	April, 1976

MISCELLANEOUS

10	Personal Correspondence MPs Letters to Queen and Royals Letters to Organisations
11 (A-H)	Messages to and from Heads of State and Government (excluding 1975) Ministerial appointments Personal minutes to Members of Cabinet (1964-70, 1975-76)
12 & 13	Personal Files
14	Personal Papers

SPEECHES

15	October, 1964	-	May, 1965
16	June, 1965	-	April, 1966
17	May, 1966	-	October, 1966
18	November, 1966	-	February, 1967
19	March, 1967	-	May, 1967
20	June, 1967	-	July, 1967
21	August, 1967	-	November, 1967
22	December, 1967	-	March, 1968
23	April, 1968	-	May, 1968
24	June, 1968	-	September, 1968
25	October, 1968	-	December, 1968
26	January, 1969	-	April, 1969
27	May, 1969	-	June, 1969
28	July, 1969	-	September, 1969
29	October, 1969	-	December, 1969
30	January, 1970	-	February, 1970
31	March, 1970	-	April, 1970
32	May, 1970	-	September, 1970
33	March, 1974	-	December, 1974
34	January, 1975	-	May, 1975
35	May, 1975	-	March, 1976
36	PERSONAL PAPERS		

file DCA

CCCO
J. Green
D.R.O.

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

30 July 1987

Dear Lord Wilson,

Thank you for your letters of 16 and 25 June about your private papers still at No.10. I am sorry I have taken some time to reply, but we have had to arrange for the collection of your "private papers" here to be assembled in proper order for you to inspect and in due course take away.

The convention is that, as a former Prime Minister, you are able to take away papers in the following categories:

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by yourself) excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters you sent to The Queen, excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches and related material.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your administrations.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

Your taking out these papers would be subject to your being able to assure secure storage of those papers which are official papers and therefore public records. Your biographer would not have access to those papers nor to other official papers held at No.10. In so far as the papers taken out were official papers and public records, they would be subject to the Public Records Acts (and of course to the Official Secrets Acts), and would remain so to whomsoever they might pass after your death.

You would of course be able to draw on the papers for the purpose of writing an autobiography, but you would be expected to clear any such autobiography in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Radcliffe Report on Ministerial Memoirs, which the Government accepted when you were Prime Minister.

If you wish to come and inspect the papers, it might be more convenient for you to inspect them in the Cabinet Office rather than in No.10. If you would like to make contact with Robert Armstrong, he will arrange a time when you can come and inspect the papers. I should be content for you to be accompanied by Lady Falkender when you come to inspect the papers that fall within the categories described in the second paragraph of this letter. If you were also minded to inspect other papers which would be retained here - and which would all be public records within the meaning of the Public Records Acts - I should not object to Lady Falkender seeing papers which she saw or can be presumed to have seen at the time when you were Prime Minister; but that would be stretching the normal rule, and it would be

difficult to extend it so as to enable her now to see papers which she did not see at the time.

In your letter of 25 June you say that there is a separate and confidential question which Professor Vincent and Lord Weidenfeld wish to raise. I believe the appropriate person for such a discussion would be the Cabinet Secretary, and I have asked Robert Armstrong to make himself available for that purpose.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx, K.G., O.B.E., F.R.S.

C/F done by GR 30/7

NB, I sent a copy of PM's letter & Lord Wilson

PRIME MINISTER

Lord Wilson sent you two letters in June about access to his "personal" papers which are stored here at Downing Street. I have written to him twice to explain that your reply would be delayed while we sorted out his papers - now in 35 cardboard boxes.

& the Cab. Off

As the minute from Sir Robert Armstrong at Flag A makes clear, Lord Wilson's request poses somewhat unusual problems. But I think that the letter attached, which Robert has drafted, meets them.

Letter attached for your signature.

N.L.U.

(N.L. WICKS)

29 July 1987

DCACBJ

6

PRIME MINISTER'S PAPERS

No. 10 Papers

1. An outgoing Prime Minister is able to take with him, if he wishes, the following papers concerned with his Administration:

(1) Copies of outgoing personal minutes (i.e. minutes signed by the Prime Minister himself), excluding those marked Top Secret.

(2) Copies of all personal telegrams sent overseas, again excluding Top Secret.

3) Copies of any letters sent to The Queen by the Prime Minister.

4) Copies of all other letters signed by the Prime Minister.

5) Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments, e.g. resignation letters, etc.

6) Speeches and related speech material.

7) A copy of the typed daily diary for the whole of his Administration.

8) Files held in the Private Office (as distinct from the Political Office) which are personal rather than official: these would include files relating, e.g. to the conferring of a City Freedom, First Day Covers. They would also include files relating to personal activities of a political nature (as distinct from official subject files) - thus the file regarding all the discussions between the Prime Minister and Mr. Steel in connection with the Lib/Lab Pact could be included among the Prime Minister's personal papers, whereas the file relating to the Cabinet's consideration of civil aircraft policy would not.

/The file copies

Copies to Cl.

2. The file copies of Prime Minister's minutes and telegrams are on registered files in No. 10 and are State papers and, as such, will be transferred to the Public Record Office when the files are due for opening. ~~[D.H. But the Prime Minister has copies in his personal papers also?]~~

3. Official files relating to subjects, which are not included in the personal papers described above, remain in No. 10 for the immediate future and a former Prime Minister has access to these files to refresh his memory; copies can, of course, be provided of papers relating to any particular meeting or correspondence, subject to security classification.

4. Access to official files which remain in official charge is normally on the basis that the Prime Minister ~~or a research assistant, appropriately vetted~~, would come to the Cabinet Office or No. 10 to look at papers. Alternatively, copies of particular documents can be given to the Prime Minister, as in paragraph 3 above.

5. Copies cannot be provided of highly classified material from official files, but a former Prime Minister could, of course, have access to them in secure accommodation and he would also have access to those minutes and telegrams classified Top Secret which are excluded from the personal papers listed at 1. and 2. above.

6. The official papers described above which the Prime Minister could take with him on leaving office would probably fill a four-drawer security filing Cabinet measuring 4ft. x 1½ft. x 2ft. Some of the papers will be classified SECRET, the Cabinet Secretariat will need to be

Political Office Papers

7. All Political Office files will leave with the Prime Minister. [Mrs. Sharpe to advise please on the nature and size of the Political Office records and whether they should be segregated in any way.]

Treasury Papers (1964-67)

8. The Treasury Record Office have flimsy copies of letters sent by the Prime Minister as Chancellor of the Exchequer giving

references to relevant files. They also have 100ft. run of press cuttings kept at Mr. Callaghan's request which ~~These copies and the press cuttings~~ will be kept by the Treasury until required. The Prime Minister will have access to the Treasury files to refresh his memory on exactly the same basis as No. 10 files ~~but the Treasury do not accept research assistants. [D.N.~~ Can he have copies ~~?~~ if he wishes to.

Home Office (1967-70)

9. The Home Office do not keep a separate set of Private Office papers as such - they are all on registered files which are available for consultation, on the same basis as No. 10 and the Treasury. The Home Office will accept a suitably vetted research assistant for this purpose.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1974-76)

10. There are 14 boxes ~~(size?)~~ (nearly 5ft.) at Cornwall House containing copies of minutes, telegrams and minutes of meetings - exchanges with other Foreign Ministers, etc. These are available, as with other records, for the Prime Minister to refresh his memory and copies can be provided. The Foreign Office do not give access to research assistants unless accompanied by the Minister. ~~[D.N. Or Copies?]~~

General

The papers described above which can be taken away when the Prime Minister leaves office become his personal property and constitute part of his estate. The official files which remain in the Departments and No. 10 in respect of his tenure of office become State records and, as such, can never form part of a Prime Minister's estate. Copies of documents on those files which a former Prime Minister asks for are normally sent on a "see and return" basis and likewise do not form part of a Prime Minister's personal estate.

/The disposal

The disposal of a former Prime Minister's papers is for him to decide and different Prime Ministers have made different arrangements. The personal papers will, of course, be directly related to the Prime Minister's memoirs, which also form part of his estate. The disposal of papers and memoirs in relation to tax is a complicated matter on which expert advice is needed.

2 April 1979

cc: J. Green
D.R.O.

Ref. A087/2241

MR BEARPARK

Lord Wilson's Papers

Thank you for your minute of 22 July. You raised three points:

1. The categories of papers listed in the second paragraph of the draft letter from the Prime Minister to Lord Wilson submitted with Sir Robert Armstrong's minute of 17 July reflect a note prepared by the then Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister of 14 January 1981 itself revising a previous note by the then Principal Private Secretary to the Prime Minister of 2 April 1979. The 1979 minute does not include the bracketted clarification which appears in the 1981 version. I am not clear why this change was made, not least because it creates an inconsistency with paragraph 88 of "Procedure for General Election". You may wish to examine your own files to see whether an explanation appears. Sir Robert Armstrong is inclined to stick to the 1981 formulation, and to amend "Procedure for General Election" accordingly.

2. Presumably most codeword material is already classified Top Secret. To the extent that among Lord Wilson's personal papers there is codeword material classified Secret, Sir Robert Armstrong considers that, for the purposes of this exercise, it should be regarded as "Top Secret".

TAWABI

3. We have used the term "private" papers as encompassing that category of papers which the Prime Minister is entitled to take away with him after he leaves office, as defined in the second paragraph of the draft letter to Lord Wilson.

Trevor Woolley

T A WOOLLEY

24 July 1987

TAWABI

10 DOWNING STREET

LONDON SW1A 2AA

From the Private Secretary

MR. WOOLLEY
CABINET OFFICE

LORD WILSON'S PAPERS

Sir Robert Armstrong's minute A087/2131 to Nigel Wicks refers. Could you please let me know the position on the following points:

(i) Paragraph 88 of the extract from procedures for general elections says that Prime Ministers may take away copies of letters written by Private Secretaries quoting directly the wishes of the Prime Minister and conveying these to other Ministers. These are not, however, included in Sir Robert Armstrong's categories 1-8. Should they be?

(ii) What is the position on code-word material.

(iii) What exactly do you understand by the phrase "private papers".

P. A. Bearpark
22 July 1987

File Prem
30

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

22 July 1987

I am very sorry that the Prime Minister has not been able to send you a substantive reply to your letters of 16 and 25 June. The points you raised are being looked at urgently, and we are carefully checking through the cupboards here to see exactly what papers there are. I hope that the Prime Minister will be able to write to you soon; meanwhile, thank you very much for your patience.

N. L. Wicks

The Right Honourable The Lord Wilson
of Rievaulx, K.G., O.B.E., F.R.S

cc: J. Green
DRO

Ref. A087/2131

MR WICKS

File with PAB

We discussed the other day the reply to send to Lord Wilson's letters of 16 and 25 June about his "private papers" at 10 Downing Street.

2. I think that we may be on the verge of some difficult problems and decisions.

3. It is clear what categories of papers Lord Wilson is entitled, as a former Prime Minister, to take away. What I do not know is how far the "private papers" to which Lord Wilson is referring fall within those categories. I think that we had better sort them out, so as to separate those that he can take out from those which he cannot.

4. In so far as the papers contain official papers which are public records (and particularly if they are classified), the only stipulation we make is that the former Prime Minister should be able to assure secure storage.

5. If Lord Wilson were planning to write an autobiography, he would of course be able to draw on the material in any papers which he took out for the purpose of writing that autobiography, though he would be expected to comply with the requirements laid down by the Radcliffe Committee on Ministerial memoirs in 1966 (which were endorsed by Mr Wilson as Prime Minister). In this case the plan appears to be for Professor Vincent to write a biography. In normal circumstances we should not give access to official papers to a biographer, even an authorised biographer, until they were available to the public under the Public Record Acts.

SECAAW

6. A further problem is presented by Lord Wilson wishing to bring with him, when he inspects the papers, Lady Falkender, who (he says) is his "sole literary executor". In the normal course of business we would not give access to official papers to a research assistant to a Prime Minister or Minister who was writing an autobiography. In the case of Sir James Callaghan, we allowed him to bring Lord Donoughue with him when he inspected Cabinet papers which he had seen as Prime Minister, because Lord Donoughue would undoubtedly have seen them at the time. Lady Falkender is rather a different case. She did not as a matter of office routine see many classified official papers; indeed, I think that Lord Wilson has on occasion claimed that she saw very few official papers of any kind. I think that it would be stretching the rule beyond what would be reasonable, in terms of precedent, if she was allowed now to see papers which she did not see at the time when Lord Wilson was Prime Minister.

5. I think that all this suggests that the Prime Minister's reply to Lord Wilson should be "by the book", and that we should not try to anticipate problems at this stage but to see what problems present themselves when the Prime Minister has sent the "by the book" reply.

--- 6. I attach a draft letter.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

17 July 1987

SECAAW

NCW.

RTA would like to discuss
all this with you after DepSec tomorrow.

8/7

Extract from Procedure for General Election.

88. An outgoing Prime Minister is entitled to retain certain "personal" papers. These include all papers relating to his constituency affairs, his diary, his public speeches, papers relating to his political speeches, copies of personal messages exchanged with other Heads of Governments, the "third carbon" copies of minutes and letters which he sent during his term of office and copies of letters written by Private Secretaries quoting directly the wishes of the Prime Minister and conveying these to other Ministers. After the change of Administration, these papers must be sorted and sent to the former Prime Minister. In addition there are rules governing access to official papers relating to his period of office by a former Prime Minister. He may call in and see such papers, but if this is not always practicable it is reasonable for him to have temporary custody of the papers provided the security of that custody and of the transit is satisfactory. If a former Prime Minister who is writing his memoirs employs a researcher who needs access to the official papers which are being made available it can be arranged for such papers to be seen by the researcher, provided that the Prime Minister of the day has been consulted.

D88

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

1 July 1987

The Prime Minister was about to reply to your letter of 16 June when she received your subsequent letter of 25 June in which you raise a number of supplementary issues. These are being looked at urgently, but it may be a few days before she is able to send you a full reply.

N. L. Wicks

The Right Honourable The Lord Wilson
of Rievaulx, K.G., O.B.E., F.R.S.

D88

AB
PL spk
NCW

Ref. A087/1846

MR WICKS

attap

Your minute of 22 June asks for advice on a reply to a letter which Lord Wilson of Rievaulx sent to the Prime Minister on 16 June about his private papers at No 10.

2. I presume that you do have in No 10 a collection of private papers of Lord Wilson dating from his periods as Prime Minister, and that you are satisfied that they are all papers which Lady Falkender could be allowed to see and Lord Wilson could be allowed to take away, when he has made the necessary arrangements to keep them securely.

3. Subject to this the Prime Minister may like to write to Lord Wilson on the lines of the draft attached.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

25 June 1987

DRAFT LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER TO THE RT HON THE LORD WILSON OF RIEVAULX, KG, OBE FRS

Thank you for your letter of 16 June about your private papers held here.

You are of course entitled to have access to them whenever you will. I dare say that it would be more convenient for you to inspect them in the Cabinet Office than in No 10; if you would like to make contact with Robert Armstrong he will arrange a time when you and Lady Falkender can come in and inspect the papers, and will provide a room in which you can do so.

As to their removal from here, they will of course be available for you to take out, as soon as you can make appropriate arrangements to store them securely. In the meantime there will be no problem about their being kept at No 10 for as long as you like.

GA - PRIME MINISTER : Access to Papers April 94

DRAFT LETTER FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO

THE RT HON THE LORD WILSON OF RIEVAULX KG OBE FRS

Thank you for your letters of 16 and 25 June about your private papers still at No 10.

The convention is that, as a former Prime Minister, you are able to take away papers in the following categories:

1. Copies of outgoing Personal Minutes (those signed by yourself) excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

2. Copies of all personal telegrams and messages sent to or received from overseas, again excluding those marked TOP SECRET.

3. Copies of any letters you sent to The Queen, excluding those marked Top Secret.

4. Copies of all other letters signed by you.

RTAACJ

5. Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments.

6. Speeches and related material.

7. Copies of the typed daily diary for the whole of your administrations.

8. Files held in the Private Office which are personal rather than official.

If this would be a help, I could arrange for some one here to go through the collection of your "private papers" which is held here, extract those papers which fall within these categories, and put them aside for you to inspect and in due course take away.

Your taking out these papers would be subject to your being able to assure secure storage of those papers which are official papers and therefore public records. Your biographer would not have access to those papers nor to other official papers held at No 10. In so far as the papers taken out were official papers and public records, they would be subject to the Public

Records Acts (and of course to the Official Secrets Acts), and would remain so to whomsoever they might pass after your death.

You would of course be able to draw on the papers for the purpose of writing an autobiography, but you would be expected to clear any such autobiography in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Radcliffe Report on Ministerial Memoirs, which the Government accepted when you were Prime Minister.

If you wish to come and inspect the papers, it might be more convenient for you to inspect them in the Cabinet Office rather than in No 10. If you would like to make contact with Robert Armstrong, he will arrange a time when you can come and inspect the papers. I should be content for you to be accompanied by Lady Falkender when you come to inspect the papers that fall within the categories described in the second paragraph of this letter. If you were also minded to inspect other papers which would be retained here - and which would all be public records within the meaning of the Public Records Acts - I should not object to Lady Falkender ~~seeing papers which she saw or can be presumed to.~~

RTAACJ

seeing papers which she saw or can be presumed to have seen at the time when you were Prime Minister; but that would be stretching the normal rule, and it would be difficult to extend it so as to enable her now to see papers which she did not see at the time.

In your letter of 25 June you say that there is a separate and confidential question which Professor Vincent and Lord Weidenfeld wish to raise. I believe the appropriate person for such a discussion would be the Cabinet Secretary, and I have asked Robert Armstrong to make himself available for that purpose.

House of Lords

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx KG OBE FRS

25 June, 1987

In Confidence

Dear Prime Minister,

Nigel Wicks has very kindly acknowledged the letter I sent to you on the 16 June, about my papers.

However, I feel I should write to you again to explain a little about the present need and the degree of importance I attach to them. There is also another related problem that will have to be raised.

All of my official papers are still at No.10. My political and personal papers have been very kindly, though rather haphazardly stored for me, since 1982, by Sir Donald Gosling, the joint Chairman of National Car Parks, whom I think you also know. He has been together with his partner, Mr. Ronald Hobson, providing space for them in his basement at NCP headquarters. Sir Donald has been, and still is of course, one of my loyal supporters in this way, together with Mr. Hobson. Sir Donald and Mr. Hobson will be happy, I understand, if the official papers that can be moved from No.10 are added to those they already have in storage. This could be done at some early point, and might be one solution to the problem of Professor Vincent's access to them.

However, there is a separate and confidential question Professor Vincent wishes to raise, and would like to do so together with my publisher, Lord Weidenfeld, about certain other material, normally barred by the 30 year rule, but in certain cases partially waived for one or two earlier Prime Ministers.

Perhaps all the above questions could be discussed further with the appropriate person at No.10 ?

With kind regards,

Yours,
(Harold) Wilson of Rievaulx

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.

Ex-PM's : access to papers

26. VI. PM 8 7

hle ECL

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

I attach a copy of a letter from Lord Wilson of Rievaulx in which he asks about access for himself and Lady Falkender to his papers.

I should be grateful if you could let me have advice on how the Prime Minister should reply to Lord Wilson's letter.

BF

I should perhaps point out that there are some personal papers of Lord Wilson in my confidential cupboard to which he presumably will need access.

N.L. WICKS

22 June 1987

10 DOWNING STREET

Amanda – C.F.

Could you please track down exactly how many papers there are & where.

Andy 19/6

Mr Wicks,

Index of papers is as flagged on file. A random check tells us this. They are in the No10 basement but there is quite some history & I suggest you consult RTA before replying

AH 22/6.

010. Ackd by NLW 18/6

House of Lords

The Rt. Hon. The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx KG OBE FRS

16 June, 1987

Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you about my private papers when Prime Minister, which are still being stored at No.10.

My publishers are anxious to organise the writing of an official biography, probably by Professor John Vincent, whom I think you know.

First, however, before any final decision is taken, I need to know exactly what papers are at No.10 and I wondered if one day I could come along, together with Lady Falkender, who is my sole literary executor, to look at them so that we may take a view about their future. Clearly it is high time they were moved, though I am afraid it is the case I shall have difficulties over doing so for some little time yet, as I have no resources or facilities to speak of to make it possible.

However, the first need is to look at them again and I hope, as I have said, that you will feel able to allow Lady Falkender and myself access to them at a time of course convenient for No.10.

With kind regards,

Yours,

Harold.

The Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.

Ref. A087/129

MR WICKS

As you know, Lord Wilson of Rievaulx asked to look at the documents relevant to his terms of office as Prime Minister which in any way relate to the Peter Wright case in Australia. He is of course fully entitled to make such a request and to see the papers. With your agreement, I said that I should be content for him to be accompanied by Mr John Silkin when he came to see them.

2. Lord Wilson and Mr Silkin came in yesterday afternoon at 4.45 pm. I showed them all the papers which you had kindly looked out for me. I said that those were, so far as I was aware, all the papers which Lord Wilson originated or saw while at No 10 on matters relating to MI5 and arising out of or connected with issues raised by the Peter Wright case.

3. Lord Wilson's inspection of the papers was fairly cursory.

4. Mr Silkin looked at some of them rather more closely. They showed most interest in the string of papers about Sir Anthony Blunt dating from 1974, the minute from my predecessor of August 1975 about penetration, Hollis and all that, and the correspondence between Mr Martin Gilbert and Mr Chapman Pincher.

5. Mr Silkin said that Lord Wilson would like to see Peter Wright's manuscript, so as to know what Mr Wright was saying about him. He had approached Mr David Hooper, Heinemann's solicitor, who had said that he would have no personal objection to showing Lord Wilson the manuscript but thought that the Treasury Solicitor would make difficulties. I said that I had been advised by the Attorney General that it would be improper for me to show the manuscript or any part of it to anyone not direct involved in the Australian proceedings without the agreement of the Australian court. If we sought the Judge's

agreement to show the manuscript to Lord Wilson, we should be obliged to do likewise for other Prime Ministers concerned, including Mr Heath and Mr Callaghan. I suggested that, so long as the Australian proceedings were sub judice, the best possible position in which Lord Wilson could be was that in which he could say to the press or other enquiries that he could not comment on a book which he had not even seen. After discussion, Lord Wilson and Mr Silkin accepted that view of the matter, and did not press the request that Lord Wilson should see Peter Wright's manuscript.

--- 6. I return your papers herewith.

7. I am sending a copy of this minute to the Legal Secretary to the Law Officers.

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

15 January 1987

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

F

Mr Sawyer. Spk.
PC spk urgently
NLW
19.12

Ref. A086/3540

MR WICKS

--- We briefly discussed Mr Silkin's letter of 16 December
--- (copy attached), to which I have replied as in the copy below.

2. As you will see I have attempted to clarify the nature of of the documents which Lord Wilson may want to see. I should be very grateful if you could arrange to have them looked out and sent over here: I should like to glance through them before Lord Wilson and Mr Silkin come in to see them.

RTA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

18 December 1986

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

THE RT. HON. JOHN E. SILKIN, M.P.

CABINET OFFICE
A 12810
17 DEC 1986
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

16 December, 1986

Private & Confidential

Sir Robert Armstrong, GCB. CVO.,
Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the
Home Civil Service,
Government Offices,
Great George Street,
London SW1P 3AL

Dear Sir Robert:

I believe that Murdo Maclean has already mentioned to you that Harold Wilson would like to look at the documents relevant to his period as Prime Minister which in any way relate to the MI5 case in Australia. The trouble, as I hope Murdo will have explained, is that Harold Wilson's memory is not as good as it was and he does not feel competent to deal with matters on his own. He has, therefore, asked me as a Privy Counsellor and an old friend whether I would be willing to accompany him. I have told him that this must be a matter for you to decide and I am, therefore, writing to ask you whether you would have any objection if I accompanied him?

Yours sincerely,

John Silkin

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

70 WHITEHALL, LONDON SW1A 2AS

01-233 8319

From the Secretary of the Cabinet and Head of the Home Civil Service

Sir Robert Armstrong GCB CVO

Ref. A086/3544

18 December 1986

Dear Mr Silkin,

Thank you for your letter of 16 December.

I am of course very ready to enable Harold Wilson to look at documents which he saw during his period of office and which relate to matters raised in the course of the Peter Wright case in Australia. I take it that that would include any documents which he saw as Prime Minister relating to Security Service investigations of penetration by the Russian Intelligence Services during and after the war (including papers about Anthony Blunt and Roger Hollis); any documents relating to allegations of a relationship between Lord Kagan and an officer of the KGB; and any documents which he saw as Prime Minister in relation to allegations of attempts by members or former members of the Security Service to destabilise him or his government.

I should have no objection if you accompanied him when he came to see the documents.

If he or you would like to let me know when you would like to come, I will have the documents ready, and a room set aside in which you can peruse them.

Yours sincerely

Robert Armstrong

The Rt Hon John E Silkin MP
House of Commons

18. XII 1986

MR. CAMERON TAYLOR

c.c. Mr. Hatfield, Cabinet Office
Miss Drever

MR. CALLAGHAN'S PAPERS

I went to see Mr. Callaghan yesterday with a list of the files of the Labour Administration between 1974 and 1979. I agreed with Mr. Callaghan as follows:-

(i) Since he has a secure combination cupboard in his room at the House of Commons, to which only he and his secretary have access, I agreed that the list of files could be kept there, but would be returned to No.10 when he has finished with it for the purpose of writing his present book (which he hopes to complete by March next year);

(ii) His research assistant, Dr. Caroline Anstey, would be in touch with Nigel Fray or Peter Lakey about the files which Mr. Callaghan wanted to consult. He would consult these files in the room in the Cabinet Office which Sir Robert Armstrong's Office are arranging for him, and his research assistant would not have access to the files.

(iii) Before he saw any files which covered Lord Wilson's period of Administration as well as his own, we would check them to see whether there was any reason why Lord Wilson would be unlikely to want Mr. Callaghan to see the files. In the absence of such a reason, Mr. Callaghan hoped that he could see the whole file since this would be the most convenient way of seeing the development of a matter of policy of the Labour Administration of which he was a member.

Could you warn Nigel Fray and Peter Lakey to expect Dr. Anstey to contact them. I (or in my absence, Miss Drever) should be informed of the files which are being asked for by Mr. Callaghan, and in particular I should like to see any which also covered Lord Wilson's period of office before they are supplied to Mr. Callaghan.

27 June, 1985.

FERB

CONFIDENTIAL FILING

GARDEN ROOMS

APPOINTMENTS

HONOURS

LISTING OF SIR HAROLD WILSON'S AND MR. CALLAGHAN'S PAPERS

The indexing of the files of the Labour Government between 1974 and 1979 was a huge job, but, having been done, will not only serve Mr. Callaghan's immediate purposes, but will be very useful to us in the future. I am very grateful to everybody who helped both with the listing of the files and with the typing, and for the speed with which it was done.

FERB

27 June, 1985.

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

MTS2

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

Thank you for your minute of 29 March (AO85/979). I confirm that the policy and practice at No.10 has been not to allow a Research Assistant to look at papers. We appear to have been even more restrictive than the Cabinet Office in this respect. In the case of Lord Avon, one (positively vetted) Research Assistant was allowed to see some of the papers but was not given access to Top Secret papers which were dealt with by a Private Secretary.

Dr. Donoughue was only allowed to look at Cabinet and Cabinet Committee files, and not No.10 papers generally.

2 April 1985

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

ECL

Mr. Butler

I have a note that No. 10 does not allow a research assistant to look at papers and that only one (positively vetted) was accepted for Lord Avon on the grounds that he was too ill to read papers himself, and even then Top Secret was dealt with by a Private Secretary.

Bernard Donoughue was in fact only allowed to look at Cabinet and Cabinet Committee files when he accompanied Mr. Callaghan

fb 2/3/85

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Miss Drower

On x|, any precedents about research assistants of former PMs having access to No. 10 papers? Can you pl. advise me in time for me to reply to Sir R. Armstrong before I go to the Far East.

FERB
29.3.

Ref. A085/979

MR BUTLER

Mr Heath told me the other day that he was about to embark on the writing of his memoirs. He asked about access to papers for himself and for Michael Trend (son of my predecessor but one) who is assisting him in the writing of the book.

2. I have already told Mr Heath that there is no problem about him having access to papers which he saw as Prime Minister in 10 Downing Street and all Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers of that period. I have said that we will make a room available to him to come and read the papers as and when he wishes.

3. I am afraid that I shall have to tell him that I do not think that there can be any access to Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers for Michael Trend. We stretched the point for Bernard Donoughue when he was helping Mr Callaghan because Bernard Donoughue had seen the papers in question as Mr Callaghan's Policy Adviser at the time. The same is not true about Michael Trend in relation to Mr Heath and we have generally been very strict in refusing access to research assistants. Some former Prime Ministers have got away with it on pleas of fragility or ill health but Mr Heath made it very clear to me that he did not propose to mount a case on these grounds. Indeed, it would not be credible if he did.

ie Lord Avory

4. I imagine that the same rule will have to apply regarding access to 10 Downing Street papers as to Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers; but I should be grateful for your confirmation that this is so.

x|

RA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

29 March 1985

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

21 December 1984

Dear Harold,

Your Personal Papers

As we agreed, I am now sending you a list of the boxes we hold here, together with an index of their contents. We have measured them up again and there are 36 boxes, which measure 15"x12"x4": this would require some 13 foot of linear shelving.

You asked me about Parliamentary pensions. I think that the most helpful thing I can do is to send you a copy of the recent Act and of a note which summarises its provisions. If this does not answer your questions or if there is anything else which you want to know please do not hesitate to be in touch again.

With best wishes to Mary and you for Christmas and the New Year,

Yours ever,

Robin.

The Rt Hon The Lord Wilson of Rievaulx, K.G., O.B.E.

LETTERS SENT FROM PRIME MINISTER

C19	October, 1964 - March, 1965
A11	April, 1965 - December, 1965
C10	January, 1966 - December, 1966
C16	January, 1967 - December, 1967
C15	January, 1968 - December, 1968
A16	January, 1969 - May, 1970
A19	March, 1974 - December, 1974
C32	January, 1975 - September, 1975
C40	October, 1975 - April, 1976

SAHAGD

MISCELLANEOUS

A13	Personal Correspondence MPs Letters to Queen and Royals Letters to Organisations
C39	Messages to and from Heads of State and Government
C30 + C36	Personal Files
A14	Personal Papers

SAHAGD

SPEECHES

A4	October, 1964 - February, 1965
C8	April, 1965 - November, 1966
C31	June, 1965 - April, 1966
C20	November, 1966 - February, 1967
RFC1	March, 1967 - May, 1967
C23	May, 1967 - July, 1967
C9	July, 1967 - November, 1967
C24	November, 1967 - March, 1968
C25	April, 1968 - June, 1968
A8	June, 1968 - October, 1968
RFC2	October, 1968 - December, 1968
A6	January, 1969 - April, 1969
C17	May, 1969 - June, 1969
A15	July, 1969 - September, 1969
A17	October, 1969 - December, 1969
A12	September, 1969 - June, 1970

RFC3	January, 1970 - February, 1970
A9	March, 1970 - September, 1970
RFC4	April, 1970 - September, 1970
C21	March, 1974 - December, 1974
C38	January, 1975 - May, 1975
C35	May, 1975 - March, 1976

MR. KERR

c. Mr. Flesher

I have dictated and signed a letter to Lord Wilson and this is attached. But could you please look again at the index, which still seems to me higgledy-piggledy.

First, can we please organise the entries in each section in chronological order so that we can see that there aren't any gaps.

Second, I was astonished to see that letters from the Prime Minister's Private Office apparently only occupied part of one box - if this is all the PS letters which went out, they could not have been very busy in those days! When I asked for the box (C39) I found that it contained some Prime Minister's personal minutes, which were on the label of the box but not on the index, and Private Secretary letters only from 1967-70. Where are the rest of the Private Secretary letters? Are any of them in the boxes labelled "Letters sent from Prime Minister"?

Thirdly, I note that some of the entries under "Letters sent from the Prime Minister" span periods which are also covered by other boxes: for example C19 covers 1.10.64 to 1.6.67. But A11 also covers part of this period, vis 1.4.65 to 1.7.66. Why is this? And the dates listed in that section are all expressed differently, sometimes spelling out the month and sometimes signifying it by numbers. Could we please adopt a standard presentation as under speeches.

I am sorry to be a nuisance about this, but he was Prime Minister and we ought to present his papers to him in decent order.

Finally, I think that we ought to give him a copy of the Parliamentary Pensions Act, rather than the Bill so that he knows that he is acting on what was actually passed by Parliament.

When you have sorted this out, I am content that you should send off the letter and the enclosures without further reference to me.

17 December 1984

F.E.R.B.

E.R.

MR. BUTLER

Mark
Please could we have a word tomorrow (Friday).

FERB
13.12.

Rather belatedly, I'm afraid, I attach an index for Lord Wilson's papers. I have split them into three categories: speeches, third carbons and personal papers.

The papers are being held in CF at the moment and they could be collected (or delivered?) whenever convenient.

I also attach the Hansard extract for 19 July when Members' and Ministers' pay and allowances were last discussed.

When Lord and Lady Wilson came to No. 10 there was some discussion about the amount of shelf space that would be required to house the boxes. There are 36 boxes which measure 15" x 12" x 4". This means some 13ft of linear shelving would be needed.

MK.

MARK KERR
13 December 1984

FERB
We spoke. I have made the amendments you suggested.

MK.
15/12.

E.R.

SPEECHES

A6 ~~A17~~	~~C31~~	~~18. 6.65 - 21. 4.66~~	JAN 69 – APRIL 69.
C17	C8	15. 4.65 - 18.11.66	~~OCT 69 – DEC~~ .
A15	C38	1. 1.75 - 29. 5.75	MAY 69 – JUNE 69
A17	RFC4	22. 4.70 - 1. 9.70	JULY 69 – SEPT 69
	A8	10. 6.68 - 1.10.68	OCT 69 – DEC 69
	RFC3	~~11.12.69 - 25. 2.70~~	
	~~A4~~	~~11. 6.65 - 15. 6.66~~	
	~~A6~~	~~7. 1.69 - 19. 4.69~~	
A4	~~RFC2~~	~~3.10.68 - 14.12.68~~	OCT 64 – FEB 65.
C8	~~C24~~	~~14.11.67 - 27. 3.68~~	APRIL 65 – NOV 66
C31	~~A12~~	~~1. 9.69 - 1. 6.70~~	JUNE 65 – APRIL 66
	~~C9~~	~~21. 7.67 - 13.11.67~~	
	A9	1. 3.70 - 1. 9.70	
	C20	~~22.11.66 - 27. 2.67~~	NOV 66 – FEB 67
C20	C35	30. 5.75 - 30. 1.76	
RFC1	RFC1	3. 3.67 - 19. 5.67	MARCH 67 – MAY 67
C23	C17	21. 4.69 - 3. 7.69	MAY 67 – JULY 67
C9	C23	20. 5.67 - 18. 7.67	JULY 67 – NOV 67
C24	C25	3. 4.68 - 8. 6.68	NOV 67 – MARCH 68
	C21	6. 3.74 - 9.10.74	APRIL 68 – JUNE 68
C25	A17	~~4. 7.69 - 30. 9.69~~	JUNE 68 – OCT 68
A8			OCT 68 – DEC 68
RFC2			
RFC3			JAN 70 – FEB 70
A9			MARCH 70 – SEPT 70
RFC4			APRIL 70 – SEPT 70
A12		(Speeches Sept 69 – JUNE 70 Ministerial Apts – PM Personal Correspondence)	
C38		1.1.75 – 29.5.75	

C21 MARCH 74 – DECEMBER 74

C35 ~~JAN 1~~

MAY 75 – MARCH 76

10 DOWNING STREET

Note for the record.

Peter Batey from Edward Heath's office requested details about the former Prime Minister's trips abroad. I consulted June Dreaver and we decided that the best way of dealing with this request was to send Mr Heath's office a copy of his diaries for the period 1970 – 1974.

This I did on Wed 19 October 1983.

Steve Seary

20/10/83

FILE SW

10 DOWNING STREET

25 March, 1983

From the Principal Private Secretary

Thank you for your letter of 17 March. It is I who should apologise for a misunderstanding, since the copy of Ken Stowe's letter which you enclosedhas given us the clue to the papers which we were looking for. The papers for which you are asking are in the Cabinet Office "dungeon" and we can arrange to send them to you whenever convenient, now that you have a secure means of storing them. They are in 36 boxes each measuring 16" x 12" x 6".

The documents are covered by the 30 year rule and by the Convention set out in the Radcliffe Report of January 1976 on Ministerial Memoirs. They should not be reproduced or quoted, but you are, of course, free to draw your knowledge from the material contained in the papers, provided that whatever you say conforms with the obligations of national security and collective responsibility as laid down in the Radcliffe Report. These rules do not, of course, cover speeches as uttered, Bradford University papers or your personal stamp collection!

Perhaps your office would let me know in due course where and when you would like the papers delivered to you.

E. R. BUTLER

The Rt. Hon. Sir Harold Wilson, K.G., O.B.E., F.R.S., M.P.

NR

E.R

MR. BUTLER

We have been here before and all we need to proceed further is confirmation that Sir Harold has secure storage facilities.

Sir Harold wrote to Sir Robert Armstrong on 27 January 1981 (Flag A) and our searches then unearthed Ken Stowe's letter of 8 October 1976 (Flag B) attached to Sir Harold's current letter. The remainder of the relevant correspondence from that time is at Flags C, D, E, F and G.

The papers for which he is now asking are held in the Cabinet Office dungeon and are all available to send to him at short notice.

His entitlement to the documents is clearly spelt out at Flag H. All the papers are contained in 36 boxes each measuring 16" x 12" x 6".

Alan Davies-Jones.

Alan Davies-Jones
23 March 1983

E.R.

Mr. Davies-Jones
When giving me the advice mentioned below please will you return the letter from Sir H. Wilson so that I can answer it.
FERS 22.3.

MR BUTLER

cc Alan Davies-Jones

Sir Harold Wilson's Papers

I have discussed Sir Harold Wilson's letter which you sent to me for advice with Mr Davies-Jones in Confidential Filing.

He has all the papers listed in the letter from Kenneth Stowe which was attached to Sir Harold's letter in the Cabinet Office dungeon. These could all be made available to Sir Harold subject to a check being made for classified material which will not leave this office.

The papers are in boxes, not in filing cabinets, and I have asked Mr Davies-Jones to let you know the number of boxes involved so that Sir Harold Wilson's office can estimate the amount of storage space that will be required.

June Drewe

21 March 1983

From Rt Hon Sir Harold Wilson KG OBE FRS MP

June Dreyer AJ 23/3.
Advice please.
FERB
18.3.

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SWIA OAA

17th March 1983.

Dear Robin.

I am sorry that my enquiries seem to have got us at cross purposes and clearly I had not understood the position as now explained by you.

I had perhaps misunderstood a letter from Ken Stowe, of which I enclose a photostat. Perhaps you could say whether any of these are in No.10 and are available to me,or whether they are all covered by the 30-year secrecy provisions.

Yours,
Harold

Mr.Robin Butler,
Principal Private Secretary
10 Downing Street, S.W.1.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

8 October 1976

I have made enquiries about your collection of papers which we hold at No. 10. As these papers were accumulated over the years they are all, with the exception of personal correspondence and messages on retirement (which are filed alphabetically) in chronological (but un-numbered) order, in the following groups:

- ✓ Ministerial Appointments
- ✓ Letters to The Queen
- ✓ Personal Minutes and Messages (outgoing)
- ✓ Personal Telegrams (outgoing and incoming)
- ✓ Copies of letters signed by the Prime Minister
- ✓ Copies of letters signed by Private Secretaries conveying Prime Minister's comments
- ✓ Speeches
- ✓ Personal stamp collection
- ✓ Bradford University papers

KPS

The Rt. Hon. Sir Harold Wilson, KG, OBE, FRS, MP.

From Lady Falkender -
Sir Harold Wilson's Office.

file

EX-PM

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

4th November 1982

Dear Robin,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 29th October, about the request to Sir Harold from Merlyn Rees.

We are contacting Mr.Rees and will suggest that he now gets in touch with Robert Armstrong's office.

I am grateful to you for explaining the position.

Kind regards,

Yours

Marie

Mr.Robin Butler.

P.S. I omitted last time to say how very pleased I was about your appointment - as everyone was. Hope you are enjoying it. Please give my kind regards to your family & from Reggy too.

covering SECRET EX-PM 5

2 e AH

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

Thank you for your minute of 18 October (A09909) about the request from Mr Merlyn Rees, through Sir Harold Wilson, for access to documents received from the Northern Ireland Office in 1974. I have now replied to Lady Falkender on the lines suggested, and I enclose a copy.

alt as copied

I also attach copies of the two documents concerned so that, when Mr Rees makes an arrangement with your office, you will have them available. I should be grateful if you could let me know the outcome in due course.

F.E.R.B.

1 November 1982

covering SECRET

April 1974

SECRET

PRIME MINISTER:

SECRET

I have had a long talk today with Mr Faulkner who has given me a good deal more information about his attitude to the Council of Ireland. You will remember that Mr Cosgrave referred in passing, at your meeting with him, to a letter which he had received from Mr Faulkner. This was in fact delivered to Mr Cosgrave by hand shortly before he left Dublin for your meeting and appears to spell out his ideas.

Mr Faulkner's attitude is that it is impossible for him to get any Unionist support for the full implementation of the arrangements for a Council of Ireland agreed at Sunningdale. He has proposed in his letter to Mr Cosgrave a watered down version by which there would be a Council of Ireland with an equal number of Ministers but that it would initially have no headquarters and no Secretariat; and that there would initially be no second tier (Consultative Assembly). When confidence had been built up it would be possible to seek a mandate (in some form to be determined) to expand the Council of Ireland to the full scope set out in the Sunningdale Communique. Until that stage executive action could be undertaken but only by direct contact between the Executive and the Government of the Republic outside the framework of the Council of Ireland. Mr Faulkner said that this would be not too far from what would have happened if he had agreed to ratify Sunningdale, but had important presentational advantages and it was the minimum that he had to have if he was to go ahead at all.

I have not seen his actual letter to Mr Cosgrave but I hope shortly, through official channels, to get a reliable account of exactly what he has proposed. But on the basis of Mr Faulkner's account to me, which presumably puts the best interpretation on it, it is not likely that the South could accept, bearing in mind their attitude at your meeting on Friday.

Mr Faulkner says that he has put these revised Council of Ireland proposals to the main SDLP members of his Executive. He appears hopeful that they may agree to them but this is unlikely. I have asked him to press ahead with the discussions with his SDLP colleagues and have said that, although I do not wish to interfere in the internal discussions of the Executive, it is essential that I am consulted whether they reach agreement or not.

SECRET

19 74

SECRET

The danger is either that the Sunningdale agreement breaks down and so cannot be ratified or that Unionist support in the Assembly for the Executive disappears and power-sharing collapses. Either way the consequences are serious.

My main immediate concern is to avoid being faced with a crisis which hits us unexpectedly. Mr Faulkner has promised to keep in close touch with me, but as he is having talks with some members of his Executive there is the danger of a leak at any time.

All of this could affect your proposed visit to Northern Ireland next week. You might arrive in the middle of a constitutional crisis; you would obviously have to get involved but may prefer it to be at a time of your choosing.

If you would like to discuss this I am of course available. I am planning to return to Belfast on Thursday.

MR

F 8/4

SECRET

Ex-Prime-Minister
Access to Papers.
April 74

THE FOLLOWING FLASH MESSAGE IS FOR NO 10 VIA CABINET DUTY OFFICER . IT IS THEN TO BE PASSED FLASH TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WHO IS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AT CULDROSE.

SECRET

S E C R E T

EXCLUSIVE FOR SECRETARY OF STATE FROM COOPER

I RECOGNISE TOTALLY THE EXTREME DIFFICULTY OF THE DICISIONS MINISTERS HAVE TO TAKE AND THAT AT THE END OF THE DAY IT IS A MATTER OF POLITICAL JUDGEMENT

2. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT THE BEST COURSE - OUT OF OPTIONS WHICH ARE NONE OF THEM ATTRACTIVE - MUST BE BASED ON THE G.B. INTEREST AND INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS. HAVING THOUGHT ABOUT THE MATTER MORE MY OWN VIEWLIS:

A) WE SHOULD ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY THAT LAW AND ORDER MEASURES ARE BEING STEPPED UP: (AND INSURE THAT THEY ARE SEEN TO BE STEPPED UP):

B) SAY THAT WE ARE NOT GOING TO INTERFERE IN THE STRIKE OTHER THAN TO SAVE LIFE AND LIMB.

/3. THIS

SECRET

SECRET

3. THIS COURSE SEEMS TO ME DEFENSIBLE AND LIKELY TO BE ONE THAT WOULD COMMAND PUBLIC SUPPORT. IT WOULD ALSO PROTECT US TO SOME DEGREE IF THE EXECUTIVE RESIGNED - THOUGH THEY WOULD CHARGE US WITH NOT DOING ENOUGH.

4. THE OIL PLAN IS SO FRAUGHT (AND WILL BE WORSE AS THE ACTUAL PUMP MANNING DEPENDS ON THE N I C S WHO CANNOT BE TOLD IN ADVANCE) THAT THE OUTCOME IS MOST LIKELY TO BE A DEGREE OF CHAOS, LARGER SCALE AND UNSUCCESSFUL INTERVENTION AND PUBLIC HUMILIATION. THE FACT IS THAT AT THE END OF THE DAY WE DO NOT HAVE TRUMPS ENOUGH TO GO UP THE SCALE. WE CAN TRUMP ON THE LAW AND ORDER SIDE AND SHOULD SHOW OUR HAND AT ONCE. THE MINISTER OF STATE STILL FAVOURS THE OIL PLAN.
ENDS

SENT AT 261502Z JMB
CSL AT 261502Z GHM

SECRET

FIE 50

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

29 October, 1982

I am sorry not to have replied before to your letter of 23 September, with which was enclosed a copy of the letter to Sir Harold Wilson from Merlyn Rees.

We have on our files a minute from Mr. Rees to the Prime Minister about the attitude of the Protestants to the Council of Ireland and the implications of this for the future of the Sunningdale agreement. This minute is undated, but was received on or before 9 April, 1974.

We also have the telegram from Sir Frank Cooper which was delivered at Culdrose.

These were of course documents which Mr. Rees saw when he was Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and there would be no objection to his seeing them now. We should be perfectly content to let him see our copies, if Sir Harold Wilson has no objection to that.

I know that Mr. Rees has been looking at a number of papers in the Cabinet Office, and I dare say that the most convenient arrangement would be for him to get in touch with Robert Armstrong's Office and arrange a time when he could come and see these documents.

The documents themselves are covered by the 30 year rule; and of course Mr. Rees would be expected to observe the conventions set out in the Radcliffe Report of January, 1976 on Ministerial Memoirs. He would not be allowed to reproduce or quote from the papers in his book; but he would be free to draw on his knowledge of material in the papers, provided that what he said conformed with the obligations of national security and collective responsibility as laid down in the Radcliffe Report.

E.E.R. BUTLER

The Baroness Falkender, C.B.E.

AB

Ref. A09909

Pl type for FERB's signature
wh
28/10

MR BUTLER

Thank you for your minute of 22nd October about Mr Merlyn Rees's book about Northern Ireland.

2. I suggest that you reply to Lady Falkender on the lines of the draft attached.

RCA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

28th October 1982

DRAFT LETTER FROM MR BUTLER TO LADY FALKENDER, CBE

I am sorry not to have replied before to your letter of 23rd September, with which was enclosed a copy of the letter to Sir Harold Wilson from Merlyn Rees.

We have on our files a minute from Mr Rees to the Prime Minister about the attitude of the Protestants to the Council of Ireland and the implications of this for the future of the Sunningdale agreement. This minute is undated, but was received on or before 9th April 1974.

We also have the telegram from Sir Frank Cooper which was delivered at Culdrose.

These were of course documents which Mr Rees saw when he was Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and there would be no objection to his seeing them now. We should be perfectly content to let him see our copies, if Sir Harold Wilson has no objection to that.

I know that Mr Rees has been looking at a number of papers in the Cabinet Office, and I dare say that the most convenient arrangement would be for him to get in touch with Robert Armstrong's Office and arrange a time when he could come and see these documents.

The documents themselves are covered by the 30 year rule; and of course Mr Rees would be expected to observe the conventions set out in the Radcliffe Report of January 1976 on Ministerial Memoirs. He would not be allowed to reproduce or quote from the papers in his book; but he would be free to draw on his knowledge of material in the papers, provided that what he said conformed with the obligations of national security and collective responsibility as laid down in the Radcliffe Report.

Ex Prime Minister

2 i 6 AH

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

Thank you for your minute of 19 October (A09800) about Mr Merlyn Rees's book about Northern Ireland.

We have searched the No 10 files. We certainly have the telegram from Sir Frank Cooper, which was delivered at Culdrose. We also have a minute from Mr Rees to the Prime Minister about the attitude of the Protestants to the Council of Ireland and the implications of this for the future of the Sunningdale agreement: this minute is undated, but a comment on it indicates that it was received on or before 9 April.

I would agree with you that these documents, minus the Prime Minister's comment on the minute, are documents to which it would be right to give Mr Rees access. Since, however, the copies on our files are strictly Sir Harold Wilson's documents, we should do so with Sir Harold Wilson's agreement.

BF

In that connection, I see that I still have to reply to a letter of 23 September from Lady Falkender, which arrived while I was in the Far East and which Mr Scholar referred to your office on 27 September. Should I now reply saying that I think that we have these papers on the No 10 files and that I would be willing to give Mr Rees access to them provided that Sir Harold Wilson agrees ? If you agree that I should, I should be very grateful for your advice on the point about the thirty year rule raised in Lady Falkender's letter.

I am getting a little concerned that I have not already replied to Lady Falkender's letter of 23 September and ought to do so as soon as possible.

F.E.R.B.

22 October 1982

AH

10 DOWNING STREET

Robin Many thanks
FERS

I have already started the search for the papers referred to in RTA's minute

I will let you have them as soon as they are found

AD J.
20/10

10 DOWNING STREET

Robin

The correspondence leading to RTA minute of yesterday is attached (flag 1).

I have found 2 minutes (flags A & B) round about the time Merlyn Rees mentions in para 2 of his letter while the Frank Cooper telegram he mentions in para 3 is at flag C.

Alan J.

20/10/82.

Ref. A09800

MR BUTLER

As you probably know, Mr Merlyn Rees is writing a book about Northern Ireland, based on his experiences with it both in the Shadow Cabinet and as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

2. He has been given access to documents which he saw as a Minister, both here in the Cabinet Office and in the Northern Ireland Office.

3. There are two documents which he has so far been unable to find, about which he has now approached Sir Harold Wilson. He said that he sent Sir Harold Wilson a minute in March or April 1974 soon after he became Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. It is constantly referred to in his diaries, but he cannot trace it in his papers and it has not been possible to find any trace of it, or any reference to it, in the Northern Ireland Office papers. Before I go back on this, it would be helpful for me to know whether there is any such minute in No. 10 files.

4. Secondly, Mr Rees says that in the last days of the Ulster Workers' Strike in late May 1974 he flew to Culdrose to meet the Prime Minister (Mr Wilson); and that while he was there a long telegram arrived from Mr Frank Cooper, then the Permanent Under Secretary of State. There is no copy of this telegram in Northern Ireland Office files, and some doubt whether it existed at all. The minutes of the meeting at Culdrose refers only to "a message" received from Mr Cooper. It is possible that Sir Frank Cooper spoke to Mr Rees on the telephone. There is no trace of the message on Ministry of Defence files. On the other hand Frank Cooper himself thinks that he did send such a telegram. Again, it would be helpful for me to know whether there is any trace of the telegram on No. 10 files.

5. If either or both of these documents are available on No. 10 files, would you agree with me that they are documents which, as Mr Rees saw them when he was Secretary of State, he should be allowed to see now?

RIA

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

19 October 1982

FILE

Thanks
(1) 11/10 draft did reach us
Wilke Chased, Lindsay will ask
Richard Hatfield to
ring gy. Kay 15/10

da

11/10

Sir Harold WILSON MP

10 DOWNING STREET

Chased -
ringing back
11/10

Keep remind me 12/10
Coming by 15/10.

From the Private Secretary

MR. HATFIELD
CABINET OFFICE

I attach a copy of a letter which Robin Butler has received from Sir Harold Wilson's office about some Northern Ireland papers which Mr. Merlyn Rees is seeking to track down.

I should be grateful if you could let us have a draft reply by 11 October.

M. C. SCHOLAR

27 September 1982

88

From: Lady Falkender, on Behalf of
Sir Harold Wilson's office

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

23rd September 1982.

Dear Robin,

Sir Harold would very much welcome your advice about the attached letter which he has received from Merlyn Rees.

Sir Harold would like to be helpful to Mr.Rees but he is not quite sure of the position with regard to documents involved.

Perhaps you could advise me on how far these are non-usable because of the 30-year rule, or is there, following the inquiry by the Law Lords, a de facto 15-year rule?

If it is possible to use them then perhaps you could very kindly let me know whether they could be made available to Merlyn Rees with Sir Harold's permission?

With kind regards,

Yours Marie

Mr.Robin Butler.

Rt Hon Merlyn Rees MP

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

31August 1982

Dear Harold

As you know I am writing a book on Northern Ireland and following our brief conversation in July I write to ask for your help on the following two points.

First, in my diaries I make constant reference to a 'minute' I sent you in March/ April 1974 soon after I became Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. I cannot trace it in my papers and I wonder whether you have the original minute or letter in your files.

cannot trace

Second, in the last days of the Ulster Workers' Strike in late May I flew to Culdrose to meet you and I brought with me a letter from General King which is in my papers. While we were talkingin the Flying Control office a long telegram arrived from Frank Cooper, then the PUS. I cannot trace this although I made notes on it in my diary. Would there be a copy in your papers?

recalls it — did HW take it away?

Yours sincerely

Merlyn.

Rt Hon Sir Harold Wilson MP

Ex PMS

Note for File

Tuesday 10 Nov.

Spoke to David Wright who said that he had spoken to Boules (Callaghan's assistant) and explained to him that there was a very great deal of paper to plough through, but that he could do so in his own time in the House of Commons. I said to David that I did not feel that I Mr Whitmore would be very happy about allowing the No 10 files to go to the House without being more carefully scrutinised for sensitive papers since the files contained material other than C.T.B. David Wright said that it was difficult to deny Mr Callaghan this facility and I quite took his point.

Thursday 12 November.

Spoke briefly to David Wright again who told me that he had heard from Bowles that Callaghan was now ill and that the entire exercise would be shelved until further notice. I have informed Clive Whitmore accordingly

Alan Davies Jones

13. 11. 81.

10 DOWNING STREET

Clive [illegible]
9xi

I have now spoken to David Wright about the CTB papers. Until I spoke to him he had not done anything about it. I explained to him that you were being pressurised by Bowles for action and that you did not want to give him a negative reply when he rings again.

I have subsequently heard from Chris Cloke in D.W's office that he is mustering the relevant papers so, hopefully, we should hear from him again in the next day or so.

Alan Davies Jones 9/11/81

cc Mr Wright.

From: A M Lawrence, DSc3

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE
Main Building Whitehall London SW1A 2HB
Telephone 01-218 2857 (Direct Dialling)
01-218 9000 (Switchboard)

Your reference

Mr A Davis-Jones
10 Downing Street
London SW1

Our reference
D/DSc3/407/08
Date
5 November 1981

Dear Davis-Jones,

ACCESS TO PAPERS BY THE RT HON L JAMES CALLAGHAN MP

We spoke on 3 November about Mr Callaghan's request to refresh his memory about a certain Confidential ATOMIC graded paper of his administration.

As we see it there is no restriction to access in principle because of the continuing binding nature of the oath of Privy Council Members, the Official Secrets Acts, and the provision for the Secretary to the Cabinet to vet any potentially sensitive material before publication. As distinct from "approved to know" there is also "need to know". If, for example, the paper concerns theoretical nuclear subject matter we do not think that access would be appropriate. However, a paper dealing with political and related information might be suitable for Mr Callaghan to see again. We feel that it is for No 10 to decide this on the basis of the content of the paper requested.

If access is approved we recommend that Mr Callaghan should be reminded of the responsibilities relating to access to ATOMIC information and this can be achieved by asking him to sign an appropriate form of words (which could be used also to record particulars of the paper he has been permitted to see again).

Yours sincerely
Alan Lawrence.

Note for the file

I have spoken to Ruth Sharpe in early March and early April to establish whether Mr Callaghan has safe storage facilities for his papers and to arrange for their delivery.

On both occasions she said that she would ring back after consulting Mr Callaghan (who was abroad).

To date I have not heard from her.

Two telephone calls is enough.

Alan Dawnson

13/4/89

10 DOWNING STREET

Clive Thank you. NWL 6/3

Attached is the list of Sir Harold Wilson's personal papers stored in the Cabinet Office dungeon.

The only work involving CF will be that of marking the boxes containing third carbons some of which may carry a secret classification.

I imagine that we will probably have to arrange delivery unless the Cabinet Office is prepared to do so.

Alan

6/3/87

Original with Shelagh Wright

NOTE — NO PRI SEC. HAS YET GONE THROUGH 3rd Carbons 2nd " T+M Messages (Most of these in Shelagh but see last page.

HAROLD WILSON PERSONAL PAPERS

STORED IN CABINET OFFICE DONGGON.

Box No.

C19	Private Secretary letters Oct 64 - June 67 (8i) Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Oct (9a) - Nov - Dec 64 Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Jan-Feb-March 65 (9b)
A11	Prime Minister's 3rd carbons April-Dec 1965 Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Jan-July 1966 (9c)
C10	Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Aug-Dec 1966 Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Jan-Aug 1967 (9d)
C16	Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Sept-Dec 1967 Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Jan-Sept 68 (9e)
C15	Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Oct-Dec 68 Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Jan-Dec 69 (9f)
C32	Prime Minister's 3rd carbons Jan-June 1970 (9g) Prime Minister's original letters of Resignation Messages to Mr. Wilson on retirement (Friends, Misc, Labour Party Branches) Letters of Regret (REM 6(2))
A12	Speeches Sept 69 - June 70 (2) Ministerial Appointments - PM Personal Correspondence (3)- Personal Correspondence (Files Stoke Mandeville, Property at NW11, Lord Rea and Lib Life Peers) (4iii)
A13	Personal Correspondence (MPs individuals) (4ii) Personal Correspondence (Organisations) (4i) Letters to The Queen and other members of the Royal Family (5)
C38	PM's speeches 1 May 1975 - 29 May 1975 Jamaican speeches 27 April - 8 May 1975 Speeches - Dublin Summit 10-12 March 1975 Speeches 22 March - 26 April 1975 Speeches 1 March - 20 March 1975 Speeches 1 Jan - 1 March 1975
C35	Speeches 30.1.76 - 16.3.76 Speeches 28.11.75 - 27.1.76 Speeches 2.10.75 - 19.11.75 Speeches 30.7.75 - 30.9.75 Speeches 7.6.75 - 23.7.75 Speeches 30.5.75 - 6.6.75
C36	Personal Papers: Lord Aberdeen; Accademia Artistica; P. Binns; Lord Brabourne; R. Clare; Mrs. Crossman; Cowan Dobson- D'Oyly Carte; A. Gibson; Mrs. Griffiths; A. Haigh; Councillor Hall, Lady Harwood; Sir A. Hurst; Liverpool University; Other Club; Royds Hall School; Whinfrey; Bradford University. Papers sent to Mrs. Wilson from Debt Collection Agency March 1976 PM's 3rd carbons March 1975 PM's 3rd carbons (not taken by Mr. Wilson)

/ PM's speeches

PM's speeches 18.3.76 - 4.4.76
Duplicate second carbons (2A) 1974-5-6

C21 Speeches 14.10.74 - 29.12.74
Speeches 19 Sept - 9 Oct 1974 (Election Campaign)
Speeches 12 July - 15 Sept 1974
Speeches 6 March - 30 June 1974
Nigeria 3rd National Development Plan 1975-80 Vol. I

C8 PM's speech at

Economic Club N.Y.	15.4.65
Vietnam Debate H/C	7.7.66
Opening 35th Congress FIFA	9.7.66
University of Sussex	13.7.66
Victoria Cross & George Cross Assn	14.7.66
Statement H/C Economic Situation	20.7.66
TV - Economic Situation	20.7.66
Australian Club Dinner	12.7.66
Cavern Club, Liverpool	23.7.66
H/C Speech. Economic Situation	27.7.66
Press Conference - British Embassy (Washington)	29.7.66
Toast at White House	29.7.66
University of Nottingham	3.9.66
Statement Rhodesia CPMM	6.9.66
Speech Rhodesia CPMM	12.9.66
'This Week' Interview Rhodesia	15.9.66
'This Week' Interview Productivity	27.9.66
National Productivity Conference	27.9.66
TUC Blackpool	5.9.66
Party Conference Brighton	4.10.66
Ramsey MacDonald Centenary Lunch	17.10.66
UNESCO 20th Anniversary	19.10.66
Inauguration Scholes Housing Development, Wigan	21.10.66
Association of Lancestrians Dinner	28.10.66
Bradford University	5.11.66
Party Rally Poplar Civic Theatre	11.11.66
Lord Mayor's Banquet	14.11.66
Debate on Europe-Winding up speech	17.11.66
Beveridge Memorial Lecture	18.11.66

C20 PM's speeches at

British National Export Council	22.11.66
B.E.A.M.A. Dinner	28.11.66
Churchill Banquet	30.11.66
Statement H/C Rhodesia	5.12.66
T.V. Broadcast. Rhodesia	6.12.66
British Insurance Association lunch	7.12.66
Rhodesian Debate H/C	8.12.66
Granada 'What the Papers Say' lunch	3. 1.67
'What the Papers Say' Awards 1966 lunch	3. 1.67
'Where the Power Lies' speech	10. 1.67
Rome. Lunch given by Signor Moro	16. 1.67
Vatican	17. 1.67
Statement to Press: Ciampino Airport, Rome	17. 1.67
(2x) Council of Europe, Strasbourg	23. 1.67
Press Conference. Union Interallia Paris	25. 1.67
Huddersfield General Hospital Opening	27. 1.67

/ British Caribbean

	British Caribbean Assoc. Annual Dinner	28. 1.67
	Press Conference at Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brussels	1. 2.67
	Brangwyn Hall, Swansea	3. 2.67
	Welcome - Kosygin	6. 2.67
	Speech at Dinner	7. 2.67
	Speech at Dinner at Soviet Embassy	8. 2.67
	Opening of Anglo Soviet Historical Exhibition at Victoria & Albert Museum	8. 2.67
	Farewell to Kosygin	13 ~~12~~. 2.67
	Broadcast following Kosygin Visit	14. 2.67
	Opening of Newcastle Airport	18. 2.67
	Liverpool (Invite from Daily Mirror)	22. 2.67
	Press Conference at Hague	27. 2.67
RFC 1 PM's speech at	Greenford Hall, Greenford, Mddx.	3. 3.67
	British Socialist Agriculture Society	10. 3.67
	Luxembourg Embassy lunch (given by Luxembourg PM)	12. 3.67
	Interview "This Week"	16. 3.67
	Interview with Dr. Hunt, BBC 3rd programme	31. 3.67
	Labour Rally, Victoria Hall, Hanley	2. 4.67
	UN Association in Manchester	14. 4.67
	National Union of Journalists Diamond Jubilee Banquet	21. 4.67
	Annual Dinner Royal Academy of Arts	26. 4.67
	Opening of Hall of Residence, South Woodford	28. 6.67
	Opening of Queen Mary College, Hall of Residence, Woodford	28. 4.67
	Parliamentary Labour Party- Approach to Europe	27 ~~28~~. 4.67
	Opening of Mancurian Way, Manchester	5. 5.67
	May Day Rally, Leeds Town Hall	7. 5.67
	H/C U/K Applications to join EEC Drafts of the White Paper	8. 5.67
	H/C Speech on Europe (Folder 1)	8. 5.67
	Memorial Service for Lord Williams	8. 5.67
	Panorama	8. 5.67
	H/C Speech on Europe (folder 2)	8. 5.67
	National Union of General and Municipal Workers Claygate	17. 5.67
	National Conference of Labour Women, Southend	17. 5.67
	Parliamentary Press Gallery Dinner	19. 5.67
	CBI Annual Dinner	17 ~~18~~. 5.67
A4 PM's Speech at	Parliamentary Labour Party	15. 6.66
	Memorial Lecture for Chuter-Ede	31. 3.66
	Third Congress. International Federation of Automatic Control	23. 6.66
	Emergency Powers Debate H/C Opening and Closing	28. 6.66
	Scottish TUC	22. ~~4~~6.66
	Amalgamated Engineering Union, Eastbourne	29. 4.66
	International Federation of Agricultural Producers Conference	4. 5.66

18.2.65

Gallery lunch H/C	11. 5.66
TV Broadcast	16. 5.66
Statement H/C	23. 5.66
Russo-British Chamber of Commerce	24. 5.66
Copies of speeches 16.10.64 to 26.2.65	
Copies of speeches 1.3.65 to 11.6.65	

C31

Huyton speech	16. 7.65
Copies of speeches 18.6.65 to 9.11.65	
Copies of speeches 11.11.65 to 21.4.66	

C30 Files

Mr. P.T.C. Price Prime Minister (June 1974)
The PM's Stamp Collection PM (Personal) (April 1974)
The Prime Minister's message to the Apostolic Delegation on the Death of Cardinal Heenan PM (Personal) (November 1975)
Is Capital Transfer Tax Payable on Books presented to the University of Bradford by the PM PM (Personal) (February76)
PM Speech to British Academy in April 1975 PM (Personal) (December 1975)
Isles of Scilly Steamship Company Problems PM (Personal) (August 1974)
The PM sent a Memo to Lord Chancellor about Journalistic Malpractices. PM (Personal) (Sept 1974)
Roy Mason's Paper on Defence Matters for International Committee of the Labour Party. PM (Personal) (June 1974)
The Panov's sent a letter to PM. PM (Personal) (August 1974)
PM's Notes for Speech at World Sporting Club Dinner/Boxing Evening. PM (Personal) (October 1974)
PM's address at the Eve-of-Session Drinks Party PM (Personal) (October 1974)
The PM minuted Chief Inspector Warwicker about the Inquiry into Press Reports/Loss of PM's Tax Papers and the Land Deals Affair. PM (Personal) (October 1974)
The PM wrote to the wife of Archbishop of Canterbury, Mrs. Michael Ramsey, to apologise . . PM (Personal) (November 1974)
The Prime Minister wrote to Nixon following his Resignation PM (Personal) (August 1974)
Lord O'Neill wrote to the PM PM (Personal) (May 1975)
David Frost wrote to the PM PM (Personal) (July 1975)
John Grant wrote to the PM concerning the Anti-Inflation Publicity Campaign PM (Personal) (August 1975)
Correspondence marked "Rem" by the PM. Personal Newspaper Cutting. PM (Personal) (July 1974)
The President of the USA sent the PM a set of Pipes. PM (July 1975)
Sir Joseph Stone brough the Lord Mayor Elect (Fox) to see the PM. PM (November 1974)
PM's Personal Correspondence with Charteris. PM (Personal) (September 1975)
The conferring of an Honorary Degree by Open University at Manchester. PM (January 1974)
The PM requested and received from Royal Library Historical Papers a) Tolpuddle Martyrs b) H/C PM (Personal) (April 75)
A Cashier at International Credit Bank Geneva (London Branch) told the Evening Standard PM intended to withdraw his account just before the Bank closed. PM (October 1974)

Invitation from the PM of Australia, Fraser, to PM to visit Australia after his retirement. PM (Personal) (March 1976)

C23		
PM's speech at	Lord Butler's Installation as Chancellor of Essex University	20. 5.67
	Annual Conference NUPE	22. 5.67
	ETU Conference Margate	24. 5.67
	Pilgrim's lunch, Savoy	25. 5.67
	Debate on Middle East crisis.	31. 5.67
	Welcoming ceremony, Ottawa	1. 6.67
	Press Conference, Ottawa	2. 6.67
	Press Conference, Washington	2. 6.67
	Opening of Workington Pulp and Board Mill	9. 6.67
	H/C Centenary Canadian Parliament	2. 5.67
	U.M.I.S.T. Computing Centre	5. 5.67
	Statement on Radcliffe Report H/C	13. 6.67
	Second National Productivity Conference	14. 6.67
	Opening of Davesbury Nuclear Physics Lab	16. 6.67
	Yorkshire Miners Demonstration, Wakefield	17. 6.67
	Interview. Granada TV	20. 6.67
	Consultative Committee National Federation of Building Trades Employers	21. 6.67
	H/C Speech during Debate on Radcliffe Report	22. 6.67
	Stevenage Day Celebrations	1. 7.67
	National Gas Turbine Establishment, Pyestock	7. 7.67
	Llangollen Eisteddfod	8. 7.67
	University of Bradford (congregation)	14. 7.67
	10th Anniversary Dinner of Civic Trust	18. 7.67
C9		
PM's speech at	Q4, Clydebank	21. 7.67
	Unveilling of Plaque to Walter Bagehot	26. 7.67
	Defence debate	27. 7.67
	Opening of MacMillan Bloedel Meyer Timber Terminal, Newport	8. 9.67
	New Office Buildings Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers at Liverpool	22. 9.67
	Liverpool University (Jubilee celebrations of the John Rankin Chair of Geography)	22. 9.67
	Panorama	25. 9.67
	Party Conference, Scarborough	4.10.67
	TV Tribute to Lord Attlee	8.10.67
	New Engineering & Research Centre, Fords at Dunston, Essex	12.10.67
	Press Conference, Visit to Northern Region	13.10.67
	Motor Industry Annual Banquet	17.10.67
	Luncheon Hedges & Butlers Cellars	18.10.67
	Press Conference St. Enoch Hotel, Glasgow	19.10.67
	Opening of Leo Schultz School in Hull	20.10.67
	Tribute to Lord Attlee in H/C	23.10.67
	Dinner for Dr. Kissinger	23.10.67
	Party Rally Cambridge	28.10.67
	Debate on the Address	31.10.67
	Opening of Edlington Comprehensive School	10.11.67
	Opening of Stocksbridge College	10.11.67
	Lord Mayor's banquet (Briefing) and (speech)	13.11.67

C24	PM's speech at	Dinner for the Belgian PM	14.11.67
		Port Industries Conference, Liverpool	17.11.67
		Broadcast on Devaluation	19.11.67
		BNEC Dinner	21.11.67
		H/C Devaluation of £ and Econ. situation	21/22.11.67
		This Week Interview	23.11.67
		Press Gallery Luncheon H/C	29.11.67
		New Research Laboratories, Kirby	1.12.67
		Visit to Liverpool	8.12.67
		H/C follow-up to Devaluation	18.12.67
		Back Britain Campaign, Burnley	8. 1.68
		Statement: Post Devolution Expenditure Cuts	16. 1.68
		Parliamentary Party Meeting	17. 1.68
		Debate on Post-Devolution Expenditure Cuts	18. 1.68
		White House Dinner	8. 2.68
		Face the Nation Broadcast, Washington	11. 2.68
		50th Anniversary Women's Franchise	14. 2.68
		Freedom of Borough of Huddersfield	1. 3.68
		Parliamentary Party	6. 3.68
		BIM Dinner	13. 3.68
		Scottish Party Conference, Ayr	23. 3.68
		Gala Meeting Status of Women Committee	27. 3.68
		Rhodesia Debate	21. 3.68
		Electrical Engineers Exhibition	27. 3.68
C25	PM's speech at	Dinner in aid of UN	3. 4.68
		Conlairs Industrial Estate, Glasgow	19. 4.68
		150,000th Council House in Glasgow	19. 4.68
		Scottish TUC Aberdeen	19. 4.68
		CENTO Meeting	23. 4.68
		Civic Function, Liverpool	26. 4.68
		May Day Rally, Birmingham	5. 5.68
		National Union of Agricultural Workers, Aberystwyth	5. 5.68
		Visit to Bristol and Avonmouth	10. 5.68
		Trade Union Group of Labour MPs	13. 5.68
		Parliamentary Labour Party	15. 5.68
		Gandhi Statue at Tavistock Square	17. 5.68
		Centenary Year Royal Commonwealth Society	23. 5.68
		Assembly of Free Church of Scotland	25. 5.68
		TUC Centenary Day, Belle Vue, Manchester	1. 6.68
		Conference Banquet, Head Teachers Assn. Plymouth	3. 6.68
		TV Tribute to Senator Kennedy	6. 6.68
		Annual Picnic of Northumberland Miners	8. 6.68
A8	PM's speech at	Design for Export Exhibition	10. 6.68
		Reception for the Young Volunteer Force Foundation	17. 6.68
		Norwich Chamber of Commerce	21. 6.68
		H/C Fulton Committee Report	26. 6.68
		Interview with Tony Charlton, General Television, Melbourne	1. 7.68
		Signature of Non-Proliferation Treaty	1. 7.68
		Pavilion, Newtown, Montgomery	6. 7.68
		Bradford University speech	13. 7.68
		Reception for Royal National Institute of the Blind	17. 7.68
		Dinner Party President Kaunda of Zambia	16. 7.68
		Durham Miners Rally	20. 7.68

(Contd.)	Parliamentary Labour Party	25. 7.68
	ITV lunch at Leeds for Opening of Yorkshire TV.	29. 7.68
	Opening of Soviet Exhibition, Earls Ct.	6. 8.68
	H/C Czechoslovakia	26. 8.68
	Interview Scottish Television	25. 9.68
	Dinner for Swedish PM	27. 9.68
	Party Conference, Blackpool	1.10.68
RFC 2 PM's speeches at	Interview on 'This Week'	3.10.68
	Blackpool (end of Conference)	4.10.68
	TV Interview Prior to Gibralter Rhodesia talks	8.10.68
	Statement on Rhodesia talks on HMS Fearless	15.10.68
	Debate on Rhodesia	15.10.68
	Encyclopaedia Britannica Reception	15.10.68
	Statement H/C Ministerial Changes (Social Services, overseas affairs etc)	16.10.68
	Annual dinner Institute of Mechanical Engineering	17.10.68
	Opening of National Giro, Bootle	18.10.68
	Debate on the Address	28.10.68
	PM's speech debate on the Address	30.10.68
	Guildhall Banquet	11.11.68
	H/C Civil Service Manpower	26. 2.69
	BNEC Dinner	19.11.68
	Debate on Fulton Report	21.11.68
	Press Association Centenary Banquet	26.11.68
	Bradford University	7.12.68
	Civic Centre, Dunstable	13.12.68
	Glasgow, Centenery of SCWS	14.12.68
A6 PM's speeches at	1969 CPMM	7-15. 1.69
	Interview on Panorama	20. 1.69
	Sunday Express Dinner	23. 1.69
	Questions and Answers at Press Gallery Luncheon	27. 1.69
	Second Reading Parliament Bill	3. 2.69
	CSD Reception	6. 2.69
	David Bruce/Pilgrims Dinner	18. 2.69
	Arrival of President Nixon at London Airport	24. 2.69
	Departure of President Nixon from London Airport	26. 2.69
	Broadcast Interview with Leslie Smith	9. 3.69
	Jewish Vanguard Dinner	10. 3.69
	Dinner Prescot Labour Party	14. 3.69
	Penzance	22. 3.69
	Interview before Departure for Lagos	27. 3.69
	H/C Nigeria and Ethiopia	2. 4.69
	During visit to Nigeria and Ethiopia	-
	Dinner for President Diori	2. 4.69
	Kirkby Urban District Council Dinner	11. 4.69
	Memorial service Ex-President Eisenhower	14. 4.69
	Parliamentary Labour Party	17. 4.69
	Government Training Centre, Runcorn	18. 4.69
	Ellesmere Port	18. 4.69
	Kirkby	19. 4.69

C17 PM's speeches at	London Chamber of Commerce Banquet at Mansion House	21. 4.69
	London - May Day	4. 5.69
	20th Anniversary Council of Europe	5. 5.69
	Newspaper Society Dinner	6. 5.69
	Union of Post Office Workers Rally	11. 5.69
	Professional Toastmasters lunch	19. 5.69
	Kenneth Harris interviews	20. 5.69
	McKenzie Interview, Britain Today	20. 5.69
	Daily Mirror Dinner, Factory Workers in Manchester	31. 5.69
	Dorchester Dinner, Lord Thompson	5. 6.69
	Dorchester Dinner, Lord Black	11. 6.69
	27th Annual Rally Yorkshire Labour Women, Barnsley	7. 6.69
	Shipbuilding Industry	6. 6.69
	Socialist International Congress, Eastbourne	16. 6.69
	Trade Union Group of Labour MPs	17. 6.69
	Parliamentary Labour Party Meeting	18. 6.69
	Broadcast, Industrial Relations	19. 6.69
	Wales: Aberfan/Bevan Blaque/Bedwelty	20. 6.69
	Beavan Interview Sunday Mirror	22. 6.69
	Dinner, Society of Labour Lawyers	27. 6.69
	Debate, Industrial Relations	3. 7.69
A17 speeches at	Visit to Sweden	4-8. 7.69
	50th Anniversary of Whitleyism	9. 7.69
	Bradford Degree Congregations	12. 7.69
	Durham Miners Gala	19. 7.69
	First Congregation of Open University	23. 7.69
	Frost Interview	25. 7.69
	Britain into Europe Banquet	29. 7.69
	President Nixon at Mildenhall	3. 8.69
	'24 Hours' Interview, N. Ireland	19. 8.69
	Interview N. Ireland ITN 'News at Ten'	19. 8.69
	101st TUC Portsmouth	1. 9.69
	Congress Material	1. 9.69
	International Statistical Institute Conference	4-10. 9.69
	Fabian/Oxfam Concert	14. 9.69
	Annual Conference Municipal Corporation Scarborough	17. 9.69
	Party Conference (speech and drafts)	30. 9.69
A15	Winding-up speech Party Conference	3.10.69
	Lobby Statement, Changes in Govt. organisation	5.10.69
	Statement to Lobby, Ministerial changes	12.10.69
	H/C Statement, Machinery of Govt. and Govt. responsibility	13.10.69
	Astronauts Dinner	14.10.69
	Gandhi Centenery Tribute	21.10.69
	Dinner of the British Committee International Chamber of Commerce	22.10.69
	Parliamentary Party	29.10.69
	Interview on Woman's Hour	4.11.69
	Address to Scottish Labour MPs	12.11.69
	Lord Mayor's Banquet	10.11.69
	Financial Times Dinner	11.11.69
	BNEC Annual Dinner	18.11.69

A15 (contd.)	Huyton Teachers Association	21.11.69
	London Labour Mayors Annual Dinner	22.11.69
	Daily Express Sportsman of Year lunch	25.11.69
	Romanian PM's visit	24-27.11.69
	50th Anniversary of ECGD	27.11.69
	CBI-NFU Dinner Hyde Park Hotel	3.12.69
	Foreign Affairs Debate	8-9.12.69
RFC3 PM's speeches at	Reception for Children's Theatre	11.12.69
	Party Meeting	16.12.69
	Colne Valley H.S. Lirthwaite	7. 1.70
	Welsh Party Rally, Swansea	10. 1.70
	Panorama (Nigeria/Wages)	12. 1.70
	Conference of European Journalists	13. 1.70
	Dinner Prescot Urban District Council	16. 1.70
	Dinner organised by Co-op Union	17.12.69
	Statement, Uplands Airport, Ottowa	25. 1.70
	Press Conference, National Press Building Ottowa	26. 1.70
	Foundation on Automation and employment (New York)	26. 1.70
	Opening Ceremony in Washington	27. 1.70
	State Dinner, Washington	27. 1.70
	Kalb. CBS Washington	28. 1.70
	Press Conference British Embassy Rotunda Washington	28. 1.70
	National Council of Women GB	2. 2.70
	Trans-Africa Hovercraft Expedition Reception Banqueting House	4. 2.70
	Party Reception, Co-op House, Nottingham	6. 2.70
	Leyland National Factory, Lillehall	20. 2.70
	Leyland National Co. Luncheon, Workington	20. 2.70
	London Labour Party	21. 2.70
	Interview, Howard 'World this Weekend'	22. 2.70
	Debate on Europe White Paper	25. 2.70

A9

PM's speech at	Dinner for Brandt - German Embassy	3. 3.70
	Ratification Ceremony - Non-Proliferation Treaty	5. 3.70
	Informal Reception for Party Workers - Digbeth, Birmingham	6. 3.70
	Opening of New Birmingham Housing Trust Scheme	6. 3.70
	Dinner Dance of Society of Yorkshiremen in London	10. 3.70
	Guardian Young Businessman of the Year Luncheon at Mansion House	12. 3.70
	Lunch in Roman Catholic Hall, Merthyr Tydfil	13. 3.70
	Freedom of Borough of Merthyr Tydfil	13. 3.70
	St. Patrick's Day Banquet, Liverpool	17. 3.70
	Lancashire Constabulary H.Q. and Police Training School, ~~Huyton~~ Hutton	20. 3.70
	Interview on 'This Week'	16. 4.70
	Opening Ceremony Stoke-on-Trent Sixth Form College	10. 4.70
	UN Association at York	18. 4.70
	Opening of St. Cuthberts Village Housing Development, Gateshead	17. 4.70

RFC 4

PM's speech at	Scottish TUC Conference Oban	22. 4.70
	Memorial Service for Michael Halls	29. 4.70
	Interview on BBC 'Sportsnight with Coleman'	30. 4.70
	Centenary of Education Act 1870 - Westminster Exhibition	1. 5.70
	L.W. -TV 'The Prime Minister at Chequers'	1. 5.70
	Mayday Rally, Colston Hall, Bristol	3. 5.70
	Cambodia (Indo-China Debate H/C)	5. 5.70
	Labour Students Rally, Albert Hall, Manchester	8. 5.70
	National Conference of Labour Women, Hastings	13. 5.70
	Dinner. Variety Club of Great Britain	14. 5.70
	Election Broadcast TV	18. 5.70
	Election Broadcast BBC TV	18. 5.70
	BBC TV Election Forum	28. 5.70
	Eltham Green C.S. London SE9	30. 5.70
	Party Rally, Top Rank Suite, Birmingham	3. 6.70
	American Chamber of Commerce - Plymouth	5. 6.70
	Film Industry Organisation Banquet	8. 6.70
	NALGO Annual Conference Blackpool	10. 6.70
	Frost Interview 'That Nation Decides'	19. 6.70
	Dimbleby Interview 'Election 70'	19. 6.70
	General Election speeches	June 1970
	Bradford University Degree Congregation	11. 7.70
	Tribute to Lord Boyd Orr	Sept 1970

A16	Third Carbons	April 1975
	Third Carbons	June 1975
	Third Carbons	October 1975
	Third Carbons	January 1975
	Third Carbons	July 1975
	Third Carbons	August 1975
	Third Carbons	September 1975

A14	Third Carbons	January 1976
	Third Carbons	April 1976
	Third Carbons	March 1976
	Third Carbons	February 1975
	Third Carbons	December 1975
C40	Third Carbons	February 1976
	Third Carbons	November 1975
	Third Carbons	December 1974
	Third Carbons	November 1974
	Third Carbons	October 1974
	Third Carbons	September 1974
	Third Carbons	August 1974
	Third Carbons	June 1974
A19	Third Carbons	July 1974
	Third Carbons	May 1974
	Third Carbons	March 1974
	Third Carbons	April 1974

C39 PM's Ops Telegrams 1976 (T1/76 - T37/76)
PM's Personal Minutes 1975-6
P/Secretary letters (July 67 - May 70)

Mr Wilson's Red Box

Box entitled "University of Bradford - Chancellor"

Bundle of Souvenirs (Washington, Nigeria etc)

c. H. Wilson, No 10

CABINET OFFICE
A
6 MAR 1981
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

Ref. A04390

6th March, 1981

Thank you for your letter of 26th February; I am sorry not to have replied before.

Most of the papers in the collection of papers referred to in Ken Stowe's letters are personal papers of various kinds and copies of speeches, but they include third carbons, some of which are classified up to SECRET. Before sending the papers over to you, therefore, I have to ask you whether you have secure containers in which to keep those papers that are classified.

As soon as that question is sorted out, we will make arrangements with Miss Utting to send the papers over to your office at the Norman Shaw South Building.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

The Rt. Hon. Sir Harold Wilson, KG, OBE, FRS, MP

CABINET OFFICE

With the compliments of

Sir Robert Armstrong KCB, CVO

Secretary of the Cabinet

A further exchange of letters between Sir Harold & Sir Robert

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS
Telephone: 01-233 8319

F. From: The Rt. Hon. Sir Harold Wilson, K.G., O.B.E., M.P.

c. M. Whitmore, No 10

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

(219 5604)

CABINET
A 727
27FEB 1981
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

26th February 1981.

My dear Robert,

(A04331)

Thank you for your letter of 25th February.

I think the right thing now, if you agree, would be that the collection of papers referred to in Ken Stowe's letter of 8th October, 1976, which you say is confirmed by a recent check, should now be sent to my office at the Norman Shaw South building.

Perhaps one of your secretaries would telephone Miss Utting, to arrange a time when she will be in the office to receive them.

Yours.
Harold

Sir Robert Armstrong, KCB, CVO

CABINET OFFICE

With the compliments of
Sir Robert Armstrong KCB, CVO
Secretary of the Cabinet

C. A. Whitmore, Esq

70 Whitehall, London SW1A 2AS
Telephone: 01-233 8319

CABINET
A .....
25 FEB 1981
Ref: A04331
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

C. M. Whitmore, No 10.

25th February 1981

JW 25/2

I am sorry not to have replied before to your letter of 27th January about papers, but I needed to make some enquiries.

No. 10 have neither record nor recollection of papers being sent from there to Transport House. There is a letter which Ken Stowe sent to you on 8th October 1976 - copy attached, but the letter does not suggest that these papers were being sent anywhere, and as far as I know these papers are still among those which are being held here. The list of those papers has recently been checked and all the boxes are accounted for.

Nor does No. 10 have any recollection of the "8 or 10 bulky folders" referred to in your third paragraph; I would presume, from where they were kept, that those files would have been of a personal and political character. They do not seem to be in No. 10 now, and I am afraid I do not know where they went.

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

The Rt Hon Sir Harold Wilson, OBE, FRS, MP

25 FEB 1981

D

JS

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

SIR HAROLD WILSON'S PAPERS

You handed me a little time ago the attached letter from Sir Harold Wilson about his No. 10 papers.

I think we both agreed at the time that the letter was a little mystifying, and I am afraid that the enquiries I have made since have not thrown much more light on the subject.

We have no record of papers being sent from here to Transport House. The nearest we have come to identifying them is in the attached letter of 8 October 1976. But if Sir Harold is right and his papers were sent to Transport House I do not really see what we here can do to help him get his hands on them.

Nor does anyone here have any recollection of the eight or ten bulky folders he mentions in paragraph 3 of his letter. I understand that the Waiting Room in those days was occupied by the present Lady Falkender, and this suggests that any files kept there were of a personal and political character.

You may already know that there are a lot of Sir Harold Wilson's papers dating from 1964 in the Cabinet Office dungeon. We have recently checked the list and all the boxes are accounted for. This suggests that he has not had many papers from No. 10 since his resignation.

CAW

20 February 1981

JS

MR. WHITMORE

I have been trying for some days to establish exactly what papers have been sent to Sir Harold Wilson since leaving No. 10 in 1976.

There is no record whatsoever of the papers referred to in the second paragraph of his letter of 27 January having been sent to Transport House. The nearest I have come to identifying them is in the letter of 8 October 1976 at Flag A on the attached file.

The bundles of files he refers to in the penultimate paragraph mean nothing to anyone I have spoken to in No. 10. Jane Parsons tells me that the waiting room referred to was occupied in those days by Marcia Williams and it strikes me that it would have been highly unlikely that the papers stored there for any length of time would have been anything other than personal/political ones, given that all officials files from the Wilson/Callaghan administrations were green in colour.

I have attached at Flag B a list of Sir Harold's personal papers that are stored in the Cabinet Office dungeon. The list has been checked and all the boxes are accounted for which clearly shows that he has received precious little from No. 10 since his departure.

A Davies-Jones.

ALAN DAVIES-JONES

16 February 1981

file KCb

cc Sir Robert Armstrong

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

28 January 1981

MR. CALLAGHAN'S PAPERS

When we met on 14 January, I undertook to have a word with Robert Armstrong about making Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers available to Mr. Callaghan.

I have now done this, and Robert has confirmed that Mr. Callaghan can have access to the Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers which he wrote or saw while he was in office. The usual arrangement is for the Cabinet Office to make available the bound volumes containing the relevant papers and minutes. Because the volumes are likely to contain highly classified papers, we shall have to ask Mr. Callaghan, as we did in Sir Harold Wilson's case, to come and read them in the office.

Robert has asked me to say that access is granted only to former Ministers in person. It is not given to their collaborators and research assistants, and Robert does not think that he could open Cabinet and Cabinet Committee files to Mr. Callaghan's research assistant. Nor does he feel that he could let you see them on your own. If, on the other hand, you accompanied Mr. Callaghan when he came to read the papers, Robert thinks he could go along with that.

A room would of course be made available for Mr. Callaghan in the Cabinet Office when he wanted to come and read either Cabinet or Cabinet Committee papers or No. 10 papers. Robert is also prepared to provide a room in the Cabinet Office for the research assistant who will be looking at the No. 10 papers: this is a helpful offer which will allow the research assistant to work in more congenial circumstances than he would be able to do in the more cramped conditions of No. 10.

C. A. WHITMORE

Dr. Bernard Donoughue.

From: Rt Hon Sir Harold Wilson KG OBE MP

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

CABINET OFFICE
A 9735
29 JAN 1981
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No.

27th January 1981

My dear Robert,

Very many thanks for your letter of 9th January and I am sorry I have not replied to you until now.

When we met, I mentioned the question of some papers. On leaving No.10 in 1976, for some reason No.10 sent all my papers to Transport House instead of to me and I have had some difficulty in extracting them. I cannot see what possible claim Transport House could have on them.

I do recall that there were some eight or ten bulky folders, I think in green files, which were kept for a long time in the waiting room next to the Cabinet Room.

I should be most grateful if you could have inquiries made to see what has happened to them, though, of course, any use of them or quotations from them, I would agree would be limited by the normal rules so far as official documents are concerned.

Yours.
Harold

Sir Robert Armstrong, KCB, CVO.

Ref: A04067

MR. WHITMORE

Mr. Callaghan's Papers

Your minute of 20th January. Mr. Callaghan can of course have access to Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers which he wrote or saw while he was in Office. The usual arrangement is that we make available the Bound Volumes containing the relevant papers and minutes. Because the volumes are likely to contain highly classified papers, I am afraid that we have to require Mr. Callaghan to come and read them in the office. We have had to insist on this in the case of his predecessor also, and I do not think that we ought to make an exception in his case.

2. This facility is available only to former Ministers in person. It is not available to their collaborators and research assistants. I do not know who is helping Mr. Callaghan prepare his memoirs, but I do not think that I could open the Cabinet and Cabinet Committee files to a research assistant. Nor do I think I could open them to Dr. Donoughue on his own. If, on the other hand, Dr. Donoughue turned up with Mr. Callaghan when he came to read the papers, I should not wish to object.

3. I think that these must be the general rules, so far as Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers and minutes are concerned. If, at some stage, there is a particular document to which Mr. Callaghan wants to refer and it does not carry one of the highest classifications, I should be ready to stretch a point and lend a copy which he could take to his room in the House of Commons and return. But perhaps we could hold this point in reserve.

4. We would of course make a room available for Mr. Callaghan here, when he wanted to come and read either Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers or No.10 papers; and, if a research assistant was to be allowed to have access to No.10 papers, I should be prepared to provide a room here for that purpose.

5. I should be very happy to have a word about all this.

RA

Robert Armstrong

23rd January 1981

2477

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Principal Private Secretary

BF.

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG

Mr. Callaghan's Papers

I mentioned to you last week that Bernard Donoughue came in on 14 January to discuss which of Mr. Callaghan's papers could be made available and how and when. Mr. Callaghan is clearly preparing to write his memoirs. Mr. Donoughue hopes to get him down to work on this task as quickly as possible - a research assistant is already looking at Mr. Callaghan's papers from his period as Chancellor of the Exchequer - but he was not at all confident that he would succeed.

I attach a copy of the note of the meeting with Mr. Donoughue which Mr. Davies-Jones (the head of Confidential Filing here) has made. It relates to a note which Mr. Stowe did just before the Election about Mr. Callaghan's access to his papers and which was given to Mr. Donoughue at that time.

Subject to your views, I think that your main interest in all this will be Mr. Callaghan's access to Cabinet and Cabinet Committee papers. I assume that these documents will be made available to him under arrangements made by the Cabinet Office. We shall have to decide whether Mr. Callaghan himself will have to refresh his memory or whether we can allow Mr. Donoughue to do this on his behalf. If we have to insist that only Mr. Callaghan can see the papers, we shall need to consider whether he has to visit the Cabinet Office to read them or whether arrangements could be made for him to see them in his room in the House of Commons (I know he would very much prefer the latter).

When I was talking to Mr. Donoughue about access to papers under your control, I touched on the possibility that he or his research assistant might also look at the No. 10 papers on your premises. I suggested this simply because working conditions in No. 10 for any researchers are likely to be a good deal less congenial than those you can offer. But I have in no way committed you on this and if, for whatever reason, you do not like the idea, we can easily drop it.

If it would be helpful for me to come round and have a word when you are ready, I am of course at your disposal.

20 January 1981

67.

Mr. Whitmore

If you would like to contact
David Nooney about the researcher
Nigel Bowles his number at the Treasury
is 233 8385

14.1.81

Jane Drew

Note.

Spoken to Mr Nooney in the Treasury. The Treasury had taken much the same line as No 10 proposed i.e that Nooney should have access to Callaghan personal papers only. Any other material of policy or classified nature would be seen personally by Callaghan. Bowles himself was perfectly happy with these arrangements but Donoghue was apparently not. Treasury thought, that based on their contact with

Bowles there was no reason why he should not have access to the Callaghan papers that we hold.

Alan Daniel Jones

8/4/87

Note of a meeting held at 10 Downing Street at 1200 hours on Wednesday, 14 January 1981 to discuss which papers from Mr. Callaghan's administration can be made available to him.

Present: Bernard Donoughue
Clive Whitmore
June Drever
Alan Davies Jones

The discussion followed the format of a paper (paragraphs 1 - 5) which had been prepared by K.R. Stowe dated 2.4.79 and the conclusions are recorded in the same order.

Paragraph 1

Sub para (1) Mr. Donoughue had already received all the papers referred to. Any related papers which might now be asked for will be copied and made available. Top secret papers whether originated by Mr. Callaghan or not will not be released and will have to be read at No. 10.

Sub para (2) The master set of Telegrams held in Confidential Filing will be made available. C.F. will look at a sample of these telegrams to see if it is feasible to link them with the relevant incoming telegrams. If so, a set of incoming telegrams will be made available.

Sub para (3) None in existence.

Sub para (4) Mr. Donoughue had already received a full set of papers.

Sub para (5) A complete set will be made available.

Sub para (6) A set will be made available. Related papers will be made available from our files as and when necessary.

Sub para (7) A master set will be made available.

/ Sub para (8)

Sub para (8) Correspondence of this nature is held by Garden Rooms and C.F. All Garden Room papers can be quickly released. No official C.F. files can be released from No. 10 and will therefore have to be read here with relevant papers being copied to Mr. Donoughue. The Lib/Lab pact papers mentioned are to be made available as soon as possible.

Paragraph 2 Catered for in sub paragraph (1).

Paragraph 3 As for sub para (8). When subjects of interest are made known the relevant files will be made available for scrutiny and copies of needed documents copied and supplied.

Paragraph 4 The discussion revolved around the availability and access to Cabinet, Cabinet Committee papers and the minutes thereof. Mr. Whitmore undertook to speak to Sir Robert Armstrong about this procedure and report back to Mr. Donoughue in due course.

Paragraph 5 The nature of these documents would only allow them to be read by Mr. Callaghan himself. Mr. Donoughue was assured that they would be made available to Mr. Callaghan personally by Mr. Whitmore.

Mr. Donoughue went on to say that a Research Assistant by the name of Nigel Bowles would be undertaking most of the research work whose ability and integrity he regarded highly. Currently at Nuffield College he had already done some research work for Mr. Donoughue at the Treasury. Mr. Whitmore explained that he would have to speak to David Nooney and Mary Coley with whom Bowles had been working at the Treasury before allowing access to No.10. Mr. Whitmore also suggested that, due to lack of accommodation at No. 10, it might be a good idea if the files that need to be looked at were read in the Cabinet Office. He said that he would speak to Sir Robert Armstrong about this and coordinate any necessary action for access to papers and report back to Mr. Donoughue.

/ Mr. Callaghan

Mr. Callaghan was out of the country at present and it was agreed that Mr. Davies Jones should contact Ruth Sharpe to arrange the delivery of those papers which are readily available. If, however, she did not have access to Mr. Callaghan's safe their delivery should be postponed until his return at the end of February or early March with Mr. Donoughue being informed of the delivery date.

PRIME MINISTER'S PAPERS

[illegible]0.10 Papers

1. An outgoing Prime Minister is able to take with him, if he wishes, the following papers concerned with his Administration:

1) Copies of outgoing personal minutes (i.e. minutes signed by the Prime Minister himself), excluding those marked Top Secret.

2) Copies of all personal telegrams sent and received from overseas, again excluding Top Secret.

3) Copies of any letters sent to The Queen by the Prime Minister.

4) Copies of all other letters signed by the Prime Minister.

5) Personal correspondence relating to Ministerial appointments, e.g. resignation letters, etc.

6) Speeches and related speech material.

7) A copy of the typed daily dairy for the whole of his administration.

8) Files held in the Private Office (as distinct from the Political Office) which are personal rather than official: these would include files relating, e.g. to the conferring of a City Freedom, First Day Covers. They would also include files relating to personal activities of a political nature (as distinct from official subject files) - thus the file regarding all that passed between the Prime Minister and Mr. Steel in connection with the Lib/Lab Pact could be included among the Prime Minister's personal papers, whereas the file relating to the Cabinet's consideration of civil aircraft policy would not.

2. The file copies of Prime Minister's minutes and telegrams (para 1(1)) are on registered files in No.10 and are State papers and, as such, will be transferred to the Public Record Office when the files are due for opening.

3. Official files relating to subjects, which are not included in the personal papers described above, remain in No.10 for the immediate future and a former Prime Minister has access to these files to refresh his memory; copies can, of course, be provided of papers relating to any particular meeting or correspondence, subject to security classification.

4. Access to official files which remain in official charge is normally on the basis that the Prime Minister would come to the Cabinet Office or No.10 to look at papers. Alternatively, copies of particular documents can be given to the Prime Minister, as in paragraph 3 above.

5. Copies cannot be provided of highly classified material from official files, but a former Prime Minister could, of course, have access to them in secure accommodation and he would also have access to those minutes and telegrams classified Top Secret which are excluded from the personal papers listed at 1. and 2. above.

6. The official papers described above which the Prime Minister could take with him on leaving office would probably fill a four-drawer security filing Cabinet measuring 4ft x 1½ft x 2ft. Since some of the papers will be classified SECRET, the storing will need to be secure.

Political Office Papers

7. All Political Office files will leave with the Prime Minister. /Mrs Sharpe to advise please on the nature and size of the Political Office records and whether they should be segregated in any way./

Treasury papers (1964-67)

8. The Treasury Record Office have flimsy copies on Private Office and Treasury files of letters sent by the Prime Minister as Chancellor of the Exchequer giving references to relevant files. They also have 100ft run of press cuttings kept at Mr. Callaghan's request which will be kept by the Treasury until required. The Prime Minister will have access to the flimsy copies on the Private Office Treasury files, to refresh his memory on exactly the same basis as Cabinet Office and No.10 files.

He can have copies if he wishes to.

Home Office (1967-70)

9. The Home Office do not keep a separate set of Private Office papers as such - they are all on registered files which are available for consultation, on the same basis as No. 10 and the Treasury. The Home Office will accept a suitable vetted research assistant for this purpose.

Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1974-76)

10. There are 14 boxes (nearly 5 ft.) at Cornwall House containing copies of minutes, telegrams and minutes of meetings - exchanges with other Foreign Ministers, etc. These are available, as with other records, for the Prime Minister to refresh his memory and copies can be provided. The Foreign Office do not give access to research assistants unless accompanied by the Minister.

General

The papers described above which can be taken away when the Prime Minister leaves office become his personal property and constitute part of his estate. The official files which remain in the Departments and No. 10 in respect of his tenure of office become State records and, as such, can never form part of a Prime Minister's estate. Copies of documents on those files which a former Prime Minister asks for are normally sent on a "see and return" basis and likewise do not form part of a Prime Minister's personal estate.

The disposal of a former Prime Minister's papers is for him to decide and different Prime Ministers have made different arrangements. The personal papers will, of course, be directly related to the Prime Minister's memoirs, which also form part of his estate. The disposal of papers and memoirs in relation to tax is a complicated matter on which expert advice is needed.

14 January 1981

Top Copy Returned to C.O.

MODBA wrote "I agree." 25/3.

Ex-PM

PERSONAL

Ref. A01796

MR. ALEXANDER

I mentioned last week that Mr. Edward Heath had written to Sir Robert Armstrong asking to see the papers and telegrams relating to meetings he had in 1973 with the then French Foreign Minister, M. Michel Jobert. He is particularly interested to see documents which deal with the controversies over "The Year of Europe" and the different approaches which Dr. Kissinger made to both us and the French.

2. I have received from your Registry the three attached files on these events. Two relate to visits by M. Jobert and one to the broader question of United States-EEC relations. The latter contains a long printed account prepared by the FCO on "The Year of Europe" which Mr. Heath might find it interesting to see. The file on M. Jobert's visits in July and August 1973 contains records of his discussions with Mr. Heath as well as telegrams (nos. 1815 and 1816 from Washington and no. 791 from Paris) which bear upon the differences between Dr. Kissinger and M. Jobert on what had been agreed between them. These points were subsequently discussed in the meeting which Mr. Heath had with M. Jobert on 2nd July.

Foreign Pol. Jan'70 E/W Rels. Pt 8.

France Dec'72 (Visit of Jobert) Pts 1 & 2.

3. These seem to be the papers which Mr. Heath would like to see before he goes to New York to see Dr. Kissinger next month. I shall be grateful if you will let me know whether you are content that we should get in touch with him and suggest that he comes to look at them in the Cabinet Office. It may of course be that having looked at these files he will suggest others which he wishes to see.

D. J. WRIGHT

(D.J. Wright)

25th March, 1980

MFJ

Govt Mach.

C.F.

MR WRIGHT

The Prime Minister has considered the suggestion in Sir Robert Armstrong's minute to Mr. Pattison (AO1270) about her letter to Alf Morris M.P. on the conventions governing access by former Ministers to their papers. She has concluded that it would be wiser not to include a reference to Mr. Callaghan's views in her letter, and I attach a copy of the final version which has now been signed.

N. J. SANDERS

30 January 1980

RS

CSD 455

CSD

CO

10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

30 January 1980

Dear Mr Morris,

Thank you for your letter of 6 January.

The convention to which you refer, which has been accepted and operated unchanged for many years by successive Administrations, permits former Ministers to have reasonable access to the papers of the period when they were in office. The purpose of the convention is to allow former Ministers to refresh their memories of papers they dealt with and the principle has been maintained that such access must be limited to former Ministers personally. They may not, for example, substitute a research assistant. The convention does not envisage that former Ministers will take away copies of official papers from the Department, and it certainly does not extend to the publication of papers. I am in no doubt that the reasons for this convention remain valid and we shall continue to follow it.

As far as publication is concerned, the general rule must be that documents of a former Administration which have not been released or published during the period of that Administration should not be released or published by a subsquent government, even at the request of a member of the former Administration.

/I believe

I believe that rule to be right and I do not propose to make an exception in the case of papers you are referring to.

I am, of course, ready to agree that you should be given full access to the papers which you saw in office, but I am afraid I cannot agree that you should be entitled to photocopy them, or that they should be published.

Yours sincerely

Margaret Thatcher

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Morris, M.P.

Ref. A01270

MR. PATTISON

I'm Sanders

This formulation seems to get the JC point right. Cabinet Office would like a copy of the reply

MAP 30/1.

I am generally speaking content with the revised draft of the letter for the Prime Minister to send to Mr. Alfred Morris, MP, about the release of documents, subject to one minor correction in the first sentence of the third paragraph ("should" for "shall").

2. The earlier draft contained, in the last sentence of the third paragraph, a reference to Mr. Callaghan's views. That was based on the fifth paragraph of Mr. Hattersley's letter of 19th December to the Secretary of State for the Environment, in which he said: "In general Mr. Callaghan would not be inclined to authorise the publication of such documents", though Mr. Callaghan was prepared to make an exception in that particular case. Given that the Prime Minister's letter will no doubt be published, it is suggested to me that it would not be fair to Mr. Callaghan to refer to him, if the reference is based on a secondhand observation from a different context. This is very much a matter of political judgment; but I would take it that Mr. Callaghan authorised Mr. Hattersley to say what he did, and that there might be something to be said for making sure that Mr. Alfred Morris knows that Mr. Callaghan has expressed a view which is known to the Government. If the Prime Minister accepted that view, the last sentence of the third paragraph of the draft could be amended to read: "I believe that rule to be right - as I understand Jim Callaghan does - and I do not propose to make an exception in the case of the papers you are referring to".

RA

(Robert Armstrong)

30th January, 1980

CIVIL SERVICE DEPARTMENT
WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2AZ
Telephone 01 273 5400

Sir Ian Bancroft G.C.B.
Head of the Home Civil Service

N Sanders Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

29 January 1980

Dear Nick,

ACCESS BY FORMER MINISTERS TO OFFICIAL PAPERS

I gather that after a meeting this afternoon at the Cabinet Office, you agreed some slight changes to the draft letter to Mr Alfred Morris attached to Toby Churchill's letter of 28 January.

For convenience, I attach a revised draft.

I am copying this letter to Peter Harrop in the Cabinet Office.

Yours sincerely,

David

DAVID LAUGHRIN
Private Secretary

DRAFT LETTER FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO SEND TO:

The Rt Hon Alfred Morris MA MP
House of Commons
LONDON SW1

GR
type for PM's
~~cc Ibow~~

Thank you for your letter of 6 January.

The convention to which you refer, which has been accepted and operated unchanged ~~and acceptably~~ for many years by successive Administrations, permits former Ministers to have reasonable access to the papers of the period when they were in office. The purpose of the convention is to allow former Ministers to refresh their memories of papers they dealt with and the principle has been maintained that such access must be limited to former Ministers personally. ~~t~~They may not, for example, substitute ~~their~~ a research assistant. The convention does not envisage that former Ministers will take away copies of offical papers from the Department, and it certainly does not extend to the publication of papers.

I am in no doubt that the reasons for this convention remain valid and ~~that we shall~~ we should continue to follow it. As far as publication is concerned, new para The general rule must be that documents of a former Administration which have not been released or published during the period of that Administration should not be released or published by a subsequent government, even at the request of a member of the former Administration. I believe that rule to be right and I do not propose to make an exception in the case of papers you are referring to.

I am, of course, ready to ~~authorise~~ agree that you ~~are~~ should be given full access to the papers which you saw in office, but I am afraid I cannot agree that you should be entitled to photocopy them, or that they should be published.

CIVIL SERVICE DEPARTMENT
WHITEHALL LONDON SW1A 2AZ
Telephone 01 273 5400

Sir Ian Bancroft G.C.B.
Head of the Home Civil Service

GR
new draft to follow
MS

N Sanders Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON SW1

28 January 1980

Dear Nick,

ACCESS BY FORMER MINISTERS TO OFFICIAL PAPERS

Thank you for your letter of 9 January about Mr Alfred Morris MP's letter of 6 January, in which he requests permission to take copies, for subsequent publication, of official papers which he saw when in office. You agreed to extend the deadline for our guidance in view of our concern to take into account discussion in Cabinet last Thursday about the general principles governing publication of a former Administration's papers.

First, Mr Morris's request goes beyond the convention he refers to. The convention is that former Ministers are allowed reasonable access to the papers of the period when they were in office. The convention dates from at least 1929 and has been operated unchanged by successive Administrations. Some of the principles that have been maintained are:

a. this right of access is limited to former Ministers personally, to avoid breaching the confidential nature of the discussions between Ministers and the advice offered to Ministers by officials, and to avoid clear breach of the 30-year rule on access to official papers;

b. access is in the Cabinet Office for Cabinet papers and in the department concerned for other official papers - note taking has not been ruled out but copying documents verbatim is another matter.

The question of taking away photocopies (for further study, not for publication) has been considered by the present Attorney General. Mrs Barbara Castle's lawyers sought permission to take away copies of papers she saw when Secretary of State, in the context of a possible libel action against her. The Attorney General took the line of his predecessor that such an extension of the present convention should not be allowed (letter of 2 July 1979, copy attached).

...

If Mr Morris wishes to pursue the question of publication, it would be open to him to request the present Administration to publish the documents. He cannot require publication. However I see that Cabinet has discussed the question of releasing the documents of a former Administration and that it was generally agreed that even where the former Administration requested publication, this should as a rule be resisted. (For convenience of reference, a copy is attached of the exchange of correspondence over such a request from the Shadow spokesman for the Environment). Also, we understand that DHSS officials would advise against publication of the papers referred to by Mr Morris for policy considerations as well in the light of the Cabinet discussion.

We shall be reviewing present guidance on the conventions about Ministerial access to official papers, in consultation with the Cabinet Office, in order to advise the Prime Minister whether any further guidance is needed (CC(80)2nd Conclusions, Item 5, point 4). Meanwhile I attach a draft reply, which has been agreed with the Cabinet Office, for the Prime Minister to send to Mr Alf Morris MP.

I am copying my letter to the recipients of yours.

Yours ever

Toby Churchill

TOBY CHURCHILL
Assistant Private Secretary

PA34/183/02

01-405 7641 Ext.

Communications on this subject should be addressed to
THE LEGAL SECRETARY
ATTORNEY GENERAL'S CHAMBERS

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S CHAMBERS,
LAW OFFICERS' DEPARTMENT,
ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE,
LONDON, W.C.2.

Our Ref: 400/78/399

2 July 1979

2nd. PERM SEC.	
ACTION	Mr Davie
FOR INF	Mr Laughrin Mr Mosley Mr Sloman ~~Mr Jones~~ Mr Mackay SEH/SFB

H Knorpel Esq
Departmental of Health and Social Security
Solicitor's Office
Alexander Fleming House,
Elephant and Castle
London S.E.1

Dear Knorpel,

MRS CASTLE AND MR STRAW - ACCESS TO DOCUMENTS FOR POSSIBLE LIBEL ACTION

The Attorney General has now seen the papers in this case. He, as was the previous Attorney General, is of the view that the proposals represent a major extension of the concession whereby a former Minister is allowed to refresh his memory of papers with which he dealt when in office and take notes if so wishes. While the matter is one ultimately for the Prime Minister who can give such direction as she thinks fit, he is personally apposed to any extension of the existing concession. Accordingly the Attorney General is of the view that you should not accede to the requests made by Messrs Lovell, White and King.

I am copying this letter to the recipients of yours.

Yours ever

J.R. Crawford

J.R. Crawford

24/7

Secy of State
To see

cc PS/ Mr Stanley
PS/ Sir J. Gretton
PS/ Sir J Vandale
→ Mr K T Bonnell
Mr Rumble
Urgent advice please.
DVB

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SWIA OAA

19 December 1979 19/12

Dear Secretary of State,

You will recall the statement you made to the House of Commons on 27 November concerning answers given to Jack Straw on the subject of council house sales. As a result of an item in The Guardian newspaper which claimed to be based on a Department of the Environment document Mr Straw had discovered an error in the answer given by the Minister of Housing and Construction.

During the questions which followed your statement you told Jack Straw that the document on which The Guardian article was based had been prepared for the previous Government, implying it was therefore not within your power to publish it. I told you that I was authorised by the Leader of the Opposition to make clear that he would not stand in the way of that document's general circulation. Later, during the exchanges Mr Callaghan himself confirmed his willingness to publish.

Since that day Reg Freeson has visited your Department and has confirmed that the figures which appeared in The Guardian are consistent with those in a document which was prepared and circulated during the time when he was Minister of Housing and Construction. That document demonstrates the very substantial cost to the community involved in the enforced sale of council houses.

I have spoken to the Cabinet Office and discussed with them the procedure involved in the publication of a previous Administration's papers. I was advised that whilst you are unable to publish papers prepared for the Administration which left office on May 3rd without the express permission of that Administration, it is not within the power of the previous Prime Minister to publish a paper on his own initiative. In short, if this document is to be published its publication must be instigated by you and approved by Mr Callaghan.

I write therefore to say how important we believe the publication of these documents to be in the light of the controversy which is bound to surround your Housing Bill. The controversy can only be heightened by partial accounts of the paper which appear in The Guardian. In general, Mr. Callaghan would not be inclined to authorise the publication of such documents, but in view of what has already been published , in the circumstances, he is prepared to authorise

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

the publication of this paper. I look forward to hearing from you that you are making it available not later than the day that you publish the Housing Bill.

In view of the public interest in this matter I am releasing this letter to the newspapers.

Yours sincerely

Roy Hattersley

Roy Hattersley MP

The Rt Hon Michael Heseltine MP
Secretary of State for the Environment

2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:

Your ref:

19 December 1979

COPY PS/Mr Sharp
PS/Sir J. Garlick
PS/Sir G Wardrop
Mr Barnett
Mr Lumble

Dear Roy

I refer to your letter of today's date.

As you note, while a particular Administration is in office it is responsible for deciding what official information should be published. I must assume, for whatever reason, that the previous Administration decided not to publish the document to which you refer in your letter although of course the issues were of equal public importance at that time featuring as they did in the forefront of the election campaign. I think it would be wrong for me to authorise now the publication of selected documents. The results could be misleading, especially if taken out of context.

I note from your letter that in general Mr Callaghan would not be inclined to authorise publication of such documents. In this particular case I see no reason for departing from the general principle, in that, as I have told the House of Commons, I shall myself be publishing a full appraisal of the financial effects of council house sales, which I intend to make available to Members before Second Reading.

As you released your letter, I am doing likewise.

Yours ever

Michael Heseltine

MICHAEL HESELTINE

112

The Rt Hon Roy Hattersley MP

DRAFT LETTER FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO SEND TO:

The Rt Hon Alfred Morris MA MP
House of Commons
London SW1

Thank you for your letter of 6 January.

The convention to which you refer, which has been operated unchanged and ~~acceptably~~ has been accepted for many years by successive Administrations, permits former Ministers to have reasonable access to the papers of the period when they were in office. The purpose of the convention is to allow former Ministers to refresh their memories of papers they dealt with, and the principle has been maintained that such access must be limited to former Ministers personally. (They may not, for example, substitute ~~their~~ a research assistant). The convention does not provide for former Ministers to take away [verbatim] copies of official papers from the Department, whether these copies are made by hand or not, nor does it extend to the publication of papers.

I am in no doubt that the reasons for this convention remain valid and that we ~~shall~~ should continue to follow it. The rule is that documents of a former Administration which have not been released or published during the period of that Administration should not be released or

published by a subsequent government, even at the request of a member of the former Administration. I believe that rule to be right, as I know does Jim Callaghan, and I do not propose to make an exception in the case of the papers you are referring to. NP. I am, of course, ready to authorise that you are given full access to the papers which you saw in office, but I am afraid I cannot agree that you should be entitled to copy them, or to publish them.

in full or in part?

The Prime Minister: As I told the hon. Member for Derby, North (Mr. Whitehead) on 16 January, I have already invited President Carter to visit this country and he has accepted. No dates have yet been fixed.

VATICAN

Q28. **Mr. Gwilym Roberts** asked the Prime Minister if she has any plans to visit the Vatican.

The Prime Minister: I have at present no plans to do so.

CRONBERRY

Q29. **Mr. Foulkes** asked the Prime Minister if she will pay an official visit to Cronberry.

The Prime Minister: I have at present no plans to do so.

MINISTERS (OVERSEAS VISITS)

Dr. Summerskill asked the Prime Minister what advice or instruction she has given to Cabinet Ministers and to other Ministers concerning whether or not they can, when travelling overseas on ministerical duties, be accompanied by their wives at public expense.

The Prime Minister: The expenses of a Minister's spouse when accompanying the Minister on the latter's official duties may on special occasions be paid from public funds, provided it is clearly in the public interest that he or she should accompany the Minister.

CABINET PAPERS

Mr. George Cunningham asked the Prime Minister if she will publish in the *Official Report* the text of the current guidance on the availability to Ministers of one Administration of the papers of a previous Administration.

The Prime Minister: The guidance to officials on the availability to Ministers of one Administration of the papers of a previous Administration is as follows:

"*Access by Ministers to Documents of a Former Administration*

It is an established rule that after a General Election a new Administration does not have access to the papers of a previous Administration of a different political complexion. This rule applies especially to Cabinet papers.

The general principle is clear. An incoming Minister should not have access to any minutes or documents written by a predecessor of a different Party other than those which were published or put in the public domain by that predecessor; nor should he be told —whether directly or by access to departmental papers which would tell him—exactly what his predecessor had said. Moreover, it may be equally important to withhold papers which show the advice given by officials to the previous Minister even though there may be no indication on them of his views.

On the other hand, the national interest requires that there should be some continuity of policy. The arguments for continuity are stronger in certain fields than in others. Foreign policy is generally recognised as providing the classic example of a field in which continuity is important; but there are other fields in which some at least of the work of departments ought to continue on broadly the same lines as before. Under modern conditions it is not practicable for departments to make a completely fresh start with all their work.

There is no neat formula which can be used to reconcile the general principle with the practical considerations which sometimes point in the opposite direction. Departments use their discretion in making the best reconciliation possible in each individual case. It is one thing to give an incoming Minister a general account of the basis of departmental policy in a particular field under the preceding Administration and another to allow him to examine the particular personal views of his predecessor on certain points. On personal matters such as these, especially when the political content is high, a department is expected to be very discreet about what outgoing Ministers have said or thought. On the other hand there may be no objection to showing an incoming Minister, e.g. a report which his predecessor saw but on which action remains to be taken, or documents which were made widely available outside Government. It may be possible to draw a distinction between documents recording the way in which decisions were reached and documents announcing these decisions. The guiding line must be to avoid embarrassment to previous Ministers.

Nor can there be any standard action in those cases where departments feel that incoming Ministers have a need to know. Some papers, e.g. reports, may, if appropriate, be suitable for showing to new Ministers as they stand. In other cases, e.g. where the outgoing Minister was personally involved or expressed views on paper, the requirement can be met by preparing a summary of what was at issue and the action taken without showing incoming Ministers the actual documents which came before the previous Administration. In any instance (whether an individual case or not) where it is decided that papers of the previous Administration ought to be disclosed to a new Government, difficulty may be avoided if, as a matter of courtesy, the

national response should come from voluntary organisations concerned with children; and grants totalling £138,000, together with rent-free office accommodation, have been provided to enable the United Kingdom Association for the International Year of the Child to co-ordinate a national programme. The many hundreds of events organised up and down the country have, I believe, been outstandingly successful in focusing public attention upon the needs and rights of children, and I welcome the opportunity of paying tribute to the achievements of the United Kingdom Association and all the organisations concerned. I understand the association is preparing a final report on the Year, which we will study with interest when it is available.

EAST ABERDEENSHIRE

Q15. **Mr. McQuarrie** asked the Prime Minister what plans she has to visit East Aberdeenshire.

The Prime Minister: I have at present no plans to do so.

SOUTH AFRICA

Q16. **Mr. Hooley** asked the Prime Minister if she now envisages closer, political and military co-operation between the United Kingdom and South Africa.

The Prime Minister: Economic co-operation between the United Kingdom and South Africa continues as a satisfactory level and political relations are normal. We intend to use them to encourage greater change in the Republic. There is no military collaboration between the British and South African Governments.

EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY (DEPARTMENTAL CO-ORDINATION)

Q18. **Mr. Spearing** asked the Prime Minister if she is satisfied with the co-ordination between Government Departments in respect of the European Economic Community.

The Prime Minister: Yes.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Q19. **Mr. William Hamilton** asked the Prime Minister what organisations have made representations to her in the last two months on the need to introduce legislation on the freedom of access to information.

The Prime Minister: None.

ISRAEL (PRIME MINISTER)

Q22. **Mr. Latham** asked the Prime Minister when she expects to meet the Prime Minister of Israel.

The Prime Minister: I have no plans at present to meet the Prime Minister of Israel.

FAMILY ASSISTANCE

Q24. **Miss Richardson** asked the Prime Minister what policies she intends to pursue to assist the family during the present period of economic difficulty.

The Prime Minister: Our policies are designed to improve the economy generally by increasing freedom and opportunity, and the whole community will benefit from them. Our policy of reducing as far as possible the level of personal taxation directly assists the great majority of families; those in particular need will continue to be given support through social security and other social service measures.

EPILEPSY

Q25. **Mr. Spriggs** asked the Prime Minister if she will take steps to institute an international year of the epileptic.

The Prime Minister: I would expect people disabled as a result of epilepsy to play a full part in the International Year for Disabled persons, particularly by encouraging a better public understanding of the problems of epilepsy.

PRESIDENT CARTER

Q27. **Mr. Stoddart** asked the Prime Minister if she will invite President Carter to London in 1980.

former Minister is consulted before this is done.

It is questionable whether in this context a distinction can be drawn between departmental papers about policy matters and those about individual cases. Individual case work often has a substantial political (if not policy) content, and the possibility of embarrassment could be just as real if a Minister were able to learn about the personal views of his predecessor on the handling of an individual case as it would be in matters of another kind. And, in any event, it is not easy in practice to draw a hard and fast line between case work, and policy. Although, therefore, it is a fair generalisation that papers on case work are less likely to cause difficulty than papers on policy, departments should nevertheless bear in mind the main objective—to protect Ministers from the political embarrassment that would arise if their successors saw documents that it was not appropriate for them to see."

Mr. George Cunningham asked the Prime Minister who authorised the guidance on availability of papers of one Administration to Ministers of a later Administration set out in the enclosure to her letter to the hon. Member for Islington, South and Finsbury dated 21 December 1979; and what consultation has taken place between Government and Opposition parties on that guidance.

The Prime Minister: This guidance, and the conventions which it embodies, have been accepted by successive Administrations of both parties for many years. The guidance has not been the subject of specific consultation between the parties. The basic rule was endorsed by the last Government in its reply of March 1978 to the eleventh report of the Select Committee on Expenditure (Cmnd. 7117.).

TRADE

Pilotage Commission

Mr. McQuarrie asked the Secretary of State for Trade why there was no member of the Scottish Guild of Pilots appointed to the Pilotage Commission despite the fact that the 1977 report of the Advisory Committee on Pilotage recommended that appointees to this commission should have had wide experience of pilotage in its fullest physical sense and not merely as an administrator of a pilotage authority.

Mr. John Home Robertson asked the Secretary of State for Trade if he will appoint a Scottish pilot to the Pilotage Commission; and if he will make a statement on the composition of the commission.

Mr. Tebbit: Members of the Pilotage Commission are not appointed as delegates of a particular interest or part of the United Kingdom. The appointments made were, however, carefully considered with a view to ensuring that the membership was balanced geographically and reflected a wide experience of pilotage, but it is not possible to appoint a pilot from each pilotage district. It is not intended to appoint any further members at the present time, but the composition of the commission will be kept under review.

Civil Aviation Authority

Mr. John Mackay asked the Secretary of State for Trade if he is satisfied with the speed at which the Eurocontrol costs of the Civil Aviation Authority are being balanced by charges for this service.

Mr. Tebbit: No. At present the nominal rate of cost recovery is 90 per cent., but since charges are based upon actual costs in a past year, the revenue is seldom adequate to cover that percentage of the current costs. Furthermore, the Eurocontrol charge is in United States dollars, the value of which relative to the pound has declined since 1977. I hope that the rate of recovery in 1981-82 will be 100 per cent.; and that soon afterwards Governments will agree that the charges will be based upon budgeted costs for the year, instead of costs in a past year.

Units of Measurement (Directive 5247/79)

Mr. John Fraser asked the Secretary of State for Trade if he will make a statement about the circumstances in which an unsigned memorandum on the units of measurement directive 5247/79 was placed by his officials in the Vote Office at 8pm on 19 December 1979; and why it was not signed.

Mrs. Sally Oppenheim: The memorandum was a simple factual note explaining a small change that had occurred in the text of this draft directive as a consequence of the Government's successful negotiations in respect of an existing EEC directive on the same subject.

Directive 76/770/EEC, which was debated and approved by the House on 7 July 1976, required that a number of imperial units should cease to be authorised after 31 December 1979. In our view this was an unacceptable arrangement in the case of three units—the yard, square yard and therm—so I sought and obtained EEC agreement for these to continue in use in the United Kingdom. Since draft directive 5247/79 contains a tabulated list of the common imperial units whose future does not have to be reviewed before the end of 1989, that list had consequently to be extended to include the three additional units.

These were relatively minor amendments to a rather lengthy document, which were to be explained in debate by the Government spokesman. But on further consideration of the form of the motion it was thought that it would be helpful to the House if a short memorandum, describing these beneficial amendments were placed in the Vote Office at the earliest possible hour. In view of the particular circumstances, it was considered at official level that there was no procedural requirement for the memorandum to be signed.

It is often a matter of fine judgment whether an explanatory memorandum should be provided to the House for a debate on EEC legislation where minor technical amendments—such as in this case those relating to scientific definitions of the candela and the sievert—have been made since the Select Committee's recommendation. Where such memoranda relating to more substantial amendments are provided, I have given instructions that in future they are to be signed by a Minister.

Quangos

Mr. Philip Holland asked the Secretary of State for Trade if he will list in the *Official Report* the names of bodies to which he appoints members, other than civil servants, that have been established since May 1979, giving the names of those appointed to each and the estimated annual cost in each case.

Mrs. Sally Oppenheim: Since May 1979 my right hon. Friend has established the following bodies:

1. The Pilotage Commission.

(*a*) Members: Dr. Denis Rebbeck, CBE (Chairman), Mr. G. W. Brimyard, Mr. G. S. C. Clarabut, DSO, DSC, Mr. K. Cooper, Mr. J. P. Davison, Capt. A. F. Dickson, Mr. B. I. Evans, Mr. H. Frith, Capt. P. F. Mason and Mr. N. C. Walker.

(*b*) Annual cost: The commission will not be financed from public funds, but will receive from public funds a small launching loan of no more than £50,000.

2. National Metrological Co-ordinating Unit.

(*a*) Members: Councillors A. Hope, J. Jennings, M. E. Kerry, P. Cather, Mrs. Y. B. Jackson and County Councillors P. C. Price, B. H. Duggan and G. C. Waterer.

(*b*) Annual cost: The estimated cost of the unit for the financial years 1979-80 and 1980-81 are £34,000 and £200,000 respectively. Thereafter the unit is to be funded out of the rate suport grant.

Gatwick Airport

Mr. Heselhurst asked the Secretary of State for Trade (1) what is his estimate of the amount of population that would be displaced by the construction of a second runway at Gatwick airport and of the amount of land that would have to be acquired for airport development;

(2) what are the number and types of building and infrastructure which would be displaced by the construction of a second runway at Gatwick airport; and if he will estimate the cost of reproviding the roads and infrastructure displaced;

(3) What is his estimate of the level of population which would be affected by certain noise levels, namely within 55 NNI, 50 NNI, 45 NNI, 40 NNI and 35 NNI, following the provision of a second runway at Gatwick airport;

(4) what is his estimate of the numbers of sensitive land uses which would be expected to exist in 1991 within certain noise levels, namely 55 NNI, 50 NNI, 45 NNI, 40 NNI and 35 NNI, in the event of Gatwick airport then having two runways.

Mr. Tebbit: Estimates could be made with any confidence only if detailed plans were available for providing a second runway at Gatwick. The British Airports Authority has no such plans, and my right hon. Friend made clear in his statement on 17 December that the possibility of constructing a second runway at Gatwick will not be pursued.

Poland (Barley Sales)

Mr. Bruce-Gardyne asked the Secretary of State for Trade if he will issue a directive to the Export Credits Guarantee

Sec

DS

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 January 1980

Overdue

I attach a copy of a letter the Prime Minister has received from Alf Morris, M.P., about access to his official papers. I should be grateful to have guidance on what the Prime Minister might say in reply. May we please have something from you by Friday, 18 January?

I am copying this letter and its enclosure for information to Don Brereton (Department of Health and Social Security) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

N. J. SANDERS

Chase on Thursday

pl

MS

David Laughrin, Esq.,
Civil Service Department.

Ringing back.
BK.
24/1.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

9 January 1980

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to thank you for your letter of 6 January about access to your official papers. I will of course place your letter before the Prime Minister at once and you will be sent a reply as soon as possible.

N. J. SANDERS

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Morris, M.P.

2

10 DOWNING STREET

PRIME MINISTER

This letter from Alf Morris asks about the rules governing access to his official papers. We will let you have a draft reply.

MS

9 January 1980

FROM: THE RT HON ALFRED MORRIS MA MP

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON S.W.1.

6 January 1980

Dear Prime Minister,

As the Minister with special responsibility for the disabled in the Labour Government, I was working with my officials on a proposal for a fourth and comprehensive new benefit for disabled people including the blind. My successor was clearly made aware of this work on his appointment, since he referred to it last July when addressing a meeting of the All-Party Disablement Group in the House. In doing so he made it clear to the Group that work on the proposal had ceased.

The Disablement Income Group, having become aware of the present Minister's statement, are anxious that I should now consult my official papers for the purpose of publishing the work that was done on the proposed new benefit before the change of Government. As you may know, DIG are most anxious that there should be a Green Paper on a disablement costs allowance, and they feel strongly that it would be helpful to them if the papers I and my officials were working on could be published.

As I understand the procedure, former Ministers can consult their own official papers but may not remove documents or have them copied or summarised by a secretary or a research assistant. All notes, I believe, have to be in the hand of the ex-Minister himself, and it is for this reason that I am writing to you rather than to a Minister at the DHSS.

The papers I shall need to copy are of considerable length and to take them down by hand would be extremely time-consuming in a period when, in addition to my parliamentary and constituency work, I am chairing a world committee which is drawing up a 'Charter for the 1980s' for disabled people world-wide.

It would be much appreciated, therefore, if you could agree to my having permission to photostat the papers I need for DIG. There is, I hope you will agree, a special case for such permission in the light both of the present Minister's knowledge of the papers and of the effect of having to copy such lengthy documents on my own present work in the service of disabled people.

Yours sincerely,

Alfred Morris.

The Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP,
10 Downing Street,
LONDON SW1.

Govt Machinery

The Permanent Secretary
Sir John Garlick KCB

Department of the Environment
2 Marsham Street London SWIP 3EB
01-212 8051

(0/-)

PA MJS

D Laughrin Esq
Private Secretary to
Sir Ian Bancroft GCB
Head of the Home Civil Service
Civil Service Department
Whitehall
LONDON
SW1

27 December 1979

Dear David

PUBLICATION OF PAPERS OF A PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION

For the record you and the others involved may like to see the letter that Mr Hattersley wrote to Mr Heseltine on 19 December following up his approach to Peter Le Cheminant.

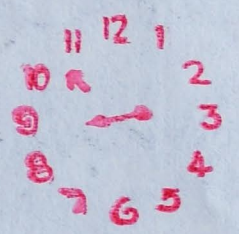
I attach a copy of the letter and Mr Heseltine's reply; I think that the interest in this particular paper may now abate and you will see that Mr Callaghan is not minded to seek publication of documents generally.

Copies to Martin Vile, Peter Le Cheminant, Tim Lankester and Harold Pearson.

Yours sincerely
Paul.

C P Evans
Private Secretary

28 DEC 1979



2 MARSHAM STREET
LONDON SW1P 3EB

My ref:
~~Your ref:~~

19 December 1979

PS/Pr Sec
CJB PS/Sir J. Garlick
PS/Sec of State
PS Barnett
PS Lamb

Dear Roy

I refer to your letter of today's date.

As you note, while a particular Administration is in office it is responsible for deciding what official information should be published. I must assume, for whatever reason, that the previous Administration decided not to publish the document to which you refer in your letter although of course the issues were of equal public importance at that time featuring as they did in the forefront of the election campaign. I think it would be wrong for me to authorise now the publication of selected documents. The results could be misleading, especially if taken out of context.

I note from your letter that in general Mr Callaghan would not be inclined to authorise publication of such documents. In this particular case I see no reason for departing from the general principle, in that, as I have told the House of Commons, I shall myself be publishing a full appraisal of the financial effects of council house sales, which I intend to make available to Members before Second Reading.

As you released your letter, I am doing likewise.

Yours

MICHAEL HESELTINE

The Rt Hon Roy Hattersley MP.

Sec of State To see

cc PS/ R. Straw
PS/ Sir J. Hunt
PS/ Sir J Hunt
→ P.S. to T Bowes
P Rumbold

Urgent advice please.
BVB

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

19 December 1979 19/12

Dear Secretary of State,

You will recall the statement you made to the House of Commons on 27 November concerning answers given to Jack Straw on the subject of council house sales. As a result of an item in The Guardian newspaper which claimed to be based on a Department of the Environment document Mr Straw had discovered an error in the answer given by the Minister of Housing and Construction.

During the questions which followed your statement you told Jack Straw that the document on which The Guardian article was based had been prepared for the previous Government, implying it was therefore not within your power to publish it. I told you that I was authorised by the Leader of the Opposition to make clear that he would not stand in the way of that document's general circulation. Later, during the exchanges Mr Callaghan himself confirmed his willingness to publish.

Since that day Reg Freeson has visited your Department and has confirmed that the figures which appeared in The Guardian are consistent with those in a document which was prepared and circulated during the time when he was Minister of Housing and Construction. That document demonstrates the very substantial cost to the community involved in the enforced sale of council houses.

I have spoken to the Cabinet Office and discussed with them the procedure involved in the publication of a previous Administration's papers. I was advised that whilst you are unable to publish papers prepared for the Administration which left office on May 3rd without the express permission of that Administration, it is not within the power of the previous Prime Minister to publish a paper on his own initiative. In short, if this document is to be published its publication must be instigated by you and approved by Mr Callaghan.

I write therefore to say how important we believe the publication of these documents to be in the light of the controversy which is bound to surround your Housing Bill. The controversy can only be heightened by partial accounts of the paper which appear in The Guardian. In general, Mr. Callaghan would not be inclined to authorise the publication of such documents, but in view of what has already been published , in the circumstances, he is prepared to authorise

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

the publication of this paper. I look forward to hearing from you that you are making it available not later than the day that you publish the Housing Bill.

In view of the public interest in this matter I am releasing this letter to the newspapers.

Yours sincerely

Roy Hattersley

Roy Hattersley MP

The Rt Hon Michael Heseltine MP
Secretary of State for the Environment

CONFIDENTIAL

CABINET OFFICE
70 WHITEHALL
LONDON SW1A 2AS

18 December 1979

01- 233 8339

P.0174

David Laughrin Esq
PS/Sir Ian Bancroft
Civil Service Department.

Dear David,

This is to confirm our telephone conversation earlier today when I told you that Mr Roy Hattersley, MP had telephone me this morning "in the absence of Sir Robert Armstrong". He referred to a document which had been leaked to the Guardian some two weeks ago and to subsequent exchanges in the House with the Secretary of State for the Environment. He said that Mr Callaghan now wanted the document in question to be made public and had asked him to pursue the matter. It would be most helpful to the Opposition if the document could be "sent across to them before the Recess."

2. I simply took note; said that I would need to take advice; and promised to get back in touch with him. Subsequently I discussed the matter with Sir John Garlick. We agreed that, while Mr Hattersley ought to pursue his request for publication with Mr Heseltine in the first instance, it would be important to avoid potential misunderstandings. Accordingly I should reply to Mr Hattersley on the lines that "the doctrine was that while members of a previous Administration were, as a matter of convention, allowed to refresh their memories of papers they saw when in office and had an effective veto on their publication by a subsequent Administration, they could not require such documents to be published. If nevertheless Mr Hattersley wanted to pursue the matter further he should do so with Mr Heseltine."

3. I am copying this letter to Sir John Garlick and Tim Lankester in No 10 (who are separately in correspondence with Mr George Cunningham, MP about the general rules governing the documents of a previous Administration).

I ought obviously to reply quickly to Mr Hattersley and subject to your view and those of copy addressees I would propose to pass a message to him on the above lines later today.

P Le CHEMINANT

CONFIDENTIAL

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

Following his telephone call this morning (as recorded in my letter of today's date to David Laughrin) I spoke to Mr Hattersley again shortly after 5 o'clock (I had tried to get him earlier in the afternoon but he was not available). I read out the agreed formulation. He said "that means Mr Callaghan can't just send somebody across to fetch the document?" I confirmed that this was the case. He then said "I will inform Mr Callaghan and he must decide what he wants to do next."

P Le CHEMINANT

18 December 1979

cc: Sir Ian Bancroft
Sir John Garlick
Mr Lankester ✓
Mr Vile

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of the SS20s, which would
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WRITTEN ANSWERS

The Secretary of State for the Environment (Mr. Michael Heseltine): With permission, Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a statement arising from the point of order raised yesterday by the hon. Member for Blackburn (Mr. Shaw) and the information given to the House by my hon. Friend the Minister for Housing and Construction.

My hon. Friend told the House that two answers provided to the hon. Gentleman on 26 July, which appeared in the *Official Report*, were not those he had originally approved. At the time he was speaking, my hon. Friend had not had a chance to establish how this had occurred.

The facts are as follows. In the last two days before the recess the parliamentary section of my Department, which also serves the Department of Transport, processed 140 answers to parliamentary questions. Amongst these were 11 from the hon. Member for Blackburn. For two of these the answer was the same and in the normal way they were grouped. I should explain to the House that in order to ensure that grouped questions are kept together in all stages of departmental processing the folders are physically tied together. After my hon. Friend had approved the answers to the hon. Member for Blackburn, instead of the two folders for the two questions rightly grouped together being so linked, two other questions, for which he had approved different and individual answers, were also accidentally tied to these folders and were therefore wrongly grouped with them.

As a result of this error the four questions incorrectly received the same single answer as shown in the *Official Report* for 26 July.

This was undoubtedly a clerical error by my Department and I apologise for it. It was not until yesterday, when the hon. Member for Blackburn informed my hon. Friend that he proposed to raise a point of order that the error was detected. My hon. Friend thought it right immediately to apologise to the House even though in the time available he had not been able to establish how the mistake occurred.

There is, of course, no question of any blame attaching to the Officers of this House.

I have asked why the orginal error was not revealed by the normal process of checking against *Hansard* the answer approved by Ministers. I am told that *Hansard* was delayed at the time. *Hansard* was not available in my Department until early in August and I believe that the reason why the error was not discovered then was that the House had then risen, we were in the leave period and, in all probability, the group of four questions were tied together and checked only to ensure that the top copy conformed with the *Hansard* record.

The process of checking is exactly that carried out under the previous Government and there have been no changes in the resources devoted to this important process. However, to ensure that the mistake does not occur again I have given instructions that where a group of questions is checked, each question will be checked individually. I have further asked that all groups of questions answered since May are rechecked.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, copies of the answers that my hon. Friend had intended to give will be circulated in the *Official Report* later today.

Mr. Hattersley *rose*——

Mr. Speaker: Order. It was the hon. Member for Blackburn (Mr. Straw) who raised the matter yesterday.

Mr. Straw: While accepting that reply, may I ask the Secretary of State four groups of questions? First, why was the mistake not discovered before? On 21 August I wrote a long letter to the Secretary of State, together with a memorandum, at paragraph 27 of which I specifically drew attention to the inadequacy of the replies given by his hon. Friend. Did the right hon. Gentleman fail to read the letter? Did his officials fail to take account of the points that I made in that memorandum?

Secondly, is the Secretary of State aware that his statement today clears up the mystery surrounding only one—not two—of the questions to which I referred in the House yesterday on a point of order. I asked 11 questions. Yesterday I referred to two of them. However, I

[Mr. Straw.]
understand that the inaccurate answers to which his hon. Friend referred answered one of the questions that I raised yesterday, and another one. There is still outstanding the answer to the question related to

"the estimated number of local authority tenants who have been tenants of any authority for a period of one year, two years, three years and for each year up to 20 years and for those who have been tenants for more than 20 years."

My point yesterday, which still stands, was that the document leaked in *The Guardian*, which was available in the Department before July, must have contained information that the Minister denied existed. [*Interruption.*]

Mr. Speaker: Order. The House must give the hon. Member a chance. The hon. Member's questions must obviously relate to the statement that was made today about the mistake in answering.

Mr. Straw: Is the Minister aware that he answered only one of my points and not the other, and that in respect of the other questions to which I referred, information was available in the Department that I was not given?

Thirdly, is the Minister aware that there was another inaccurate answer that I was given that day? I asked

"what calculations his Department has made as to the financial consequences of the sale of council houses; and if he will make these available in the Library."

The Minister for Housing and Construction replied:

"I must ask the hon. Member to await information in the next public expenditure White Paper."—[*Official Report*, 26 July 1979; Vol. 971, cc. 465-66.]

That White Paper was published earlier this month, and contains not one word, not one line, relating to the financial consequences of the sale of council houses.

Fourthly, to clear up the mystery altogether, will the right hon. Gentleman now agree to place in the Library of the House the full document that was leaked and published yesterday in *The Guardian*? Does he agree that only when that happens will hon. Members be able to judge for themselves whether, in respect of each of the 11 answers that I was given in July by his hon. Friend, he was forthcoming and accurate when he denied that information was available in his Department?

Mr. Heseltine: I have made inquiries about the document that apparently was leaked to *The Guardian* and upon which so many of the hon. Gentlemen's questions are based. My difficulty is this: it was a document that was made available, I understand, among the papers of the previous Government and was therefore not available to Ministers in my Department.

However, in answer to the substantive part of the hon. Gentlemen's continued interest in the question of the financing of council house sales, I have given an undertaking that I will produce a range of assessments upon which the House can make its own judgment in expectation of the parliamentary processes associated with the housing Bill which will be introduced later, before Christmas.

Mr. Hattersley: I am sure that the House is grateful to the Secretary of State for having come to us so quickly with the second statement. Of course I am sure that the House accepts his version of events. However, he will equally understand that, at least in the metaphorical sense, some of the things that he says are incredible. I press him particularly on the question asked by my hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn (Mr. Straw) that he did not answer. As the erroneous answer was given in July, and as a letter complaining about that answer was received in his Department in late August, why did the receipt of that letter—which referred specifically to the answer that we now know to be wrong—trigger off the checking that should have been done before?

Secondly, I refer to the question of my hon. Friend the Member for Blackburn about the substance of the matter—that is, the figures. If the Secretary of State wishes to publish the paper to which he referred, I have the authority of the previous Prime Minister for saying that we will not provide any let or hinderance why that should not be done. Therefore, I hope that the Secretary of State will respond to that gesture of good will at once by telling us here and now that he is prepared to publish that paper and put it in the Library of the House.

During the debate on mortgage interest rates yesterday the right hon. Gentleman

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debate on mortgage interest
the right hon. Gentleman

told me that all these figures are available and were available to the previous Administration and to him. If the right hon. Gentleman is genuinely in the mood of penitence, I suggest that he makes amends and shows good faith by producing the figures at once and putting them in the Library tomorrow.

Mr. Heseltine: I have tried to explain to the House—let me go through the argument again—the answer to the first point put by the right hon. Member for Birmingham, Sparkbrook (Mr. Hattersley), whose kind and courteous words I appreciate. The letters from the hon. Member for Blackburn, which pursued his own interests in the subject at length and in detail, was answered in terms of the generality of the interest that he has shown. It has always been my intention to make available the full detail of this complex subject in time for the House to consider the issues involved. However, we did not check and recheck the specific questions of the four grouped answers. I have apologised to the House for that. I am sorry that it did not happen, and I apologise again to the hon. Member for Blackburn.

Returning to the interesting offer of the right hon. Member for Sparkbrook that we should be free to publish the document that was apparently available to the previous Administration, do I take it that he is making it possible for us to publish the round of advice on the subject of rents that was available to the Opposition at that time? If Opposition Members want to refresh their memories about the document they are free to come to my Department to do so. Indeed, I believe that I am right in saying that one of the former Ministers in the previous Administration has already asked to visit my Department and, of course, in the normal way, we have agreed he should have access to the documents on which he was working. To that extent the Opposition are free to see the documents that are there.

The last question that the right hon. Gentleman put to me was broadly along the lines that if all these figures are available to the Department why are they not produced individually as specific questions are tabled? The answer is that I believe that it is right for the House, when looking at this matter, to have a total assessment of the figures and a range of options that the House will be able to consider. I must tell the House that the figures that we produce in this context will be a great deal more forthcoming and revealing than any figures produced by the Opposition when they considered the whole question of public sector rents.

Mr. Adley: Is my right hon. Friend aware that what he has told the House today sounds more like an innocent mistake than a national scandal? Could he give some indication of what extra cost is involved in the new checking process that he told us about?

Mr. Heseltine: I very much hope that the description of my hon. Friend the Member for Christchurch and Lymington (Mr. Adley) will be felt to be reasonable in the circumstances. However, it is a mistake, and for that I am obviously responsible to the House. I believe that the additional checking that we shall introduce will be carried out within the existing establishment.

Mr. James Callaghan: I am very interested to hear that this document was prepared during the time of my own Administration. As it apparently shows that the case that we made when in opposition is accurate—namely, that huge losses are incurred when council houses are sold—I am not at all sure whether it is proper to give the right hon. Gentleman permission to publish it. But certainly I think that we should examine this document, extract the basic facts and let us see who is correct.

Mr. Heseltine: The right hon. Gentleman will understand that on this matter the conclusion that one draws depends entirely upon the facts that are fed into the calculation. Opposition Members should see the calculations before they reach early judgments on the conclusions

Several Hon. Members *rose*——

Mr. Speaker: Order. I remind the House that we are asking questions on a statement that explains an error that was made clear due to the point of order yesterday. We are not going into the whole housing question now. Questions must be related to the statement.

Mr. Allan Roberts: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: They are all points of order.

Mr. Faulds: Does the right hon. Gentleman really think it fair in the first instance to blame the string and then, in the second instance, not to blame the facts but the computer for what he puts into it?

Mr. Heseltine: I thought that I was blaming no one except myself.

Several hon. Members *rose*——

Mr. Speaker: Order. I owe the hon. Member for Bootle (Mr. Roberts) an apology. They are not all points of order —at least, not yet.

Mr. Roberts: I would like your guidance, Mr. Speaker, on whether the question that I want to ask is in order or whether I need to raise it on a point of order. I have received an answer from the Department of the Environment—from Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg, the Under-Secretary of State——

Mr. Speaker: Order. I remind the House that we never refer to each other by name. We are all, officially, honourable men.

Mr. Roberts: The Under-Secretary of State for the Environment gave me an answer to a question which I know to be totally inaccurate. In fact, it is misleading me and the House. I want——

Mr. Speaker: Order. I can help the hon. Gentleman. He is by no means the first to feel that an answer that he has received has misled him, but that is not a point of order for me. The contents of Ministers' statements are their own responsibility. All I have to do is to ensure that there is fair play. A misunderstanding was revealed yesterday, and it has been explained today.

Mr. Kaufman: Is the Secretary of State aware that I received a letter from his Department yesterday evening, which reads as follows:

"Dear Mr. Kaufman, An error has occurred in the written reply to your Question about the Home Ownership Group (Report) given by Mr. Heseltine on Thursday 15 November 1979. The answer should read 'non-civil servants' and not 'none-civil servants'. I apologise for this error and have informed the Official Reporter. Yours sincerely, Miss M. A. Chambers, Parliamentary Branch."

Anyone comparing that correction with the answer given by the right hon. Gentleman will see that the answer is seriously misleading because it implies, in the context in which it is given, that an inquiry that the right hon. Gentleman has set up costs no money at all, whereas the answer, as corrected, shows that that is not so. Therefore the answer is inaccurate and seriously misleading. If what——

Mr. Speaker: Order. It may well be misleading, but that is not a point of order for me. Disagreements between both sides are settled on the Floor of the House. All I want is for the right hon. Gentleman to give me a point of order upon which I can give a ruling.

Mr. Kaufman: With respect, Mr. Speaker, I am not raising a point of order; I am asking the Secretary of State a question in connection with this letter, which has come from his office, about a misleading answer.

Mr. Speaker: Order. That letter is not related to the statement that has been made today. I am sorry, but I am not prepared to allow the right hon. Gentleman to continue on that matter. He must table a question if he wants an answer to it. He must not pursue wider issues than those to which the statement referred.

Mr. Kaufman: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I certainly would not wish to question your ruling, but the fact is that the Secretary of State's statement dealt with the checking processes of his Department. I was about to ask him about the processes of checking in his Department consequent upon his statement and revealed by the letter that he has sent me. I submit that that would be a perfectly pertinent question.

Mr. Speaker: The last part is definitely in order, because it relates to what the Minister said about the checking in his Department. I remind the House that I have a long list of right hon. and hon. Members who hope to catch my eye during the debate on transport.

Mr. Kaufman: May I put a question to the Secretary of State? Why did he not realise this error in the process of checking? Secondly, in consequence of the checking process, why did it take 10 days from the date of the answer to discover the error and put it right? Thirdly, why

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did the Secretary of State, having discovered the error in the course of the checking process, not himself write to correct it, rather than leave it to a junior official in his Department?

Mr. Heseltine: Under the previous Government, between November 1978 and March 1979 four such errors occurred in the administration of the Department of the Environment. It did not seem appropriate to me to raise what by any standards would be trivial changes, arising from what were clearly spelling mistakes. I am most grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for revealing that the checking system in my Department works.

Several Hon. Members *rose*——

Mr. Speaker: Order. I propose to call two more hon. Members on this statement.

Mr. Stallard: Is the Secretary of State aware that following yesterday's exchanges many Back-Benchers have become very concerned about the seriousness of the situation and the fact that there may well have been a policy decision on his part or that of his Ministers to alter these questions? That has serious and sinister undertones for the workings of the House. Will he accept that his statement today, part of which appears to be no more than a wriggle out of a situation, does nothing to assuage those fears? In fact it only points to sheer incompetence on the part of his Department. Is he aware that if that is so, I certainly would not want to buy a secondhand house from him?

Mr. Heseltine: The hon. Member will understand that it was my hon. Friend's intention to give a much fuller answer to the two questions that were grouped together. That was the intention behind the approval that he gave. The moment that my hon. Friend discovered, albeit late, that there had been a failure to communicate his intended answers, he came to the House at the earliest possible moment to apologise and to explain what had happened.

Mr. Douglas-Mann: Will the Secretary of State bring the factual information on the sale of council houses to the House at the earliest possible opportunity, so that we may have adequate time to consider it before the debate on the housing bill? Also, will he check the other parliamentary answers that have been given by his Department on the questions about available information, and particularly the reply that the Minister gave me on 14 November as to the lack of information on particular points? That information seems very unlikely to be unavailable, in the light of *The Guardian* article.

Mr. Heseltine: I have explained where *The Guardian* article originated. Of course I accept the hon. Member's suggestion, which coincides with my assurances to the House. I intend to provide a range of information upon which the House can reach judgment about the economics of council house sales.

Mr. English: On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. The Secretary of State said that an apology had been given. Yesterday his junior Minister quite gratuitously brought the officers of *Hansard* into this rather silly and rather sordid story. In fact, they had produced *Hansard* but the Government had not managed to print it. May we now have an apology for bringing them into this matter?

Mr. Speaker: Order. That was made clear in the statement, and that was why I did not myself give a ruling that no one in this House was concerned with the mistake in any way.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Mr Patrick Cormack (Con - South West Staffordshire):

67 To ask the Secretary of State for the Environment, if, pursuant to his statement to the House, Official Report, 27 November, columns 1107-16, he will now make a further statement about the investigations into answers to grouped written Parliamentary questions given by his department since he assumed office.

MR MICHAEL HESELTINE

All groups of written questions that I and my Department's Ministers have answered since 15 May have been rechecked. With the exception of the questions from the hon member for Blackburn which were the subject of my statement, there have been 69 occasions when a single answer has been given to a group of two or more written questions. All have been answered correctly.

Tuesday 18 December 1979
Department of the Environment

1693/79/80

MAP Ex Prime Minister

From the Rt Hon Sir Harold Wilson, KG OBE FRS MP

CABINET OFFICE
A 6242
14 NOV 1979
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SWIA OAA

c Mr Pattison

12th November, 1979

My dear John,

Thank you for the letter you sent to me on the 30th October.

I am afraid I am dictating this letter after you have left but I hope that you may well see it nevertheless.

I am grateful to you for sending the document over. Obviously I have the earlier one to which you refer, though I am not able at the moment to locate it.

May I send my warm good wishes to you and my thanks for what you said at the end of your letter.

Yours.

Harold

Sir John Hunt, GCB.

233 8319

GCB

30th October, 1979

Ref. A0524

Thank you for your letter of 22nd October asking for "the notes I dictated about 'In Place of Strife' ".

I am almost sure that this refers to the record which you dictated personally of the meeting you held at Chequers on Sunday, 1st June 1969: and the postscript which recorded your subsequent conversation with Barbara Castle. I enclose these herewith.

No. 10 also hold a copy of a record which you dictated of a talk which you had with Vic Feather on 25th April 1969, but I do not think that this is what you have in mind and in any case the No. 10 records show that the original of that record is already in your possession.

With all good wishes and - since this is my penultimate day here - thanks for your many kindnesses in the past.

JOHN HUNT

The Rt. Hon. Sir Harold Wilson, KG, OBE, FRS, MP

CABINET OFFICE
Ref: A0681...
15 NOV 1979
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

15th November 1979

As suggested by its author, I send you with this a copy of a letter from Harold Wilson in reply to yours of 30th October, a copy of which I also enclose.

I hope Israel was warm, climatically, and interesting. No doubt our little announcement today penetrated even there. I am sure that tomorrow's Times will carry the full text of the Prime Minister's Written Answer, but if you would like the text, do let me know.

Talking about The Times, no doubt you had made arrangements to obtain copies of the first issue after its reincarnation. In case not, one piece of rather sad news which I pass on in case it does not reach you from other quarters is the sudden death (apparently from pneumonia) earlier this week of Jacques de Beaumarchais. I therefore also enclose a cutting of his obituary notice in today's Times.

M. J. VILE

(M. J. Vile)

Sir John Hunt, GCB

File

MAP.

C (with photocopies below)
Mr Pattison - No 10

233 8319

GCB

30th October, 1979

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JOHN HUNT

The Rt. Hon. Sir Harold Wilson, KG, OBE, FRS, MP

10 DOWNING STREET

covering SECRET

From the Private Secretary

MR VILE

You passed me a copy of Sir Harold Wilson's letter to Sir John Hunt of 22 October, about his notes on "In Place of Strife".

There are no such notes in the collected material which we are holding on Sir Harold's behalf. There are, however, on our files three notes on relevant meetings which he dictated personally. I am confident that these are the papers which he has in mind. I enclose the originals of two notes relating to a meeting at Chequers, and a copy of a note covering a meeting with Mr. Victor Feather. According to our records the original of that letter is already in Sir Harold's possession.

MAP?

26 October 1979

covering SECRET

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SECRET

NOTE OF DISCUSSION AT DINNER, CHEQUERS, SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1969

Present:

PRIME MINISTER
First Secretary of State
Mr. John Newton
Mr. Victor Feather
Mr. Jack Jones
Mr. Hugh Scanlon

We foregathered for drinks in the Great Hall before dinner and were joined by Mrs. Wilson, though she was not with us for dinner. Conversation was general and no attempt was made to get to the main area of discussion.

The same was true of the first few minutes in the Dining Room. As soon as the main course was served I steered the conversation on to the question of the I.R. Bill.

The First Secretary and I had discussed tactics before dinner and she had suggested that we should begin by reminding them of the warning with which I had concluded the No. 10 meeting on Wednesday, May 21. We agreed that we should press them very hard on Paragraph 42, on the lines of the brief and that thereafter we should attempt to get their reactions to something on the lines of Option 3 as outlined to the Management Committee. I began with a reference to the political warning but there was little response on this. Their general view seemed to be that there was nothing in this, that the political dangers of proceeding were far greater and Jones and Scanlon, who did most of the talking, seemed determined to try and warn us off our proposed course of action.

The atmosphere was genial and reasonably friendly throughout, but the talking did get pretty tough at one or two points

Copy out:- Industrial Relations
Donovan PT 5.

during dinner and more particularly after dinner in the Long Gallery.

On paragraph 42 Scanlon and Jones made it quite clear that they could not agree to a greater transfer of sovereignty than was in the document.

Scanlon made it pretty clear - and later confirmed in answer to a straight challenge from the First Secretary - that he was personally opposed even to the transfer of sovereignty which had been agreed.

Referring to the meeting fixed for Tuesday, June 3, of the A.E.F. National Committee he said he would be in great difficulty and referred to his "dilemma". The dilemma was this, that he personally - and his National Committee - had gone on record as being in total opposition to any transfer of power in the matter of disputes affecting his members, either to the Government or to the T.U.C. He now had to contradict his earlier stance, and the only credible explanation he could give, which was the true one, was that he accepted the lesser evil of strengthening the powers of the T.U.C. in order to avoid the greater evil of legislation. He thought he would be able to carry the National Committee but it would clearly be on the understanding that A.E.F. support to the T.U.C. was conditional on there being no Government legislation which included penal clauses. When the First Secretary said, but was he not in fact opposed to all legislation, he confirmed that he was. At this point he appeared to be attempting to give instructions to Vic Feather in relation to his speech at the Croydon Congress saying that in his winding-up speech at any rate he should make clear

that support for the T.U.C. was based on the clear understanding that the proposals about penal clauses would be dropped.

At this point - and it was later raised by Jones - the two of them referred to the Motion Jones had moved, seconded by Scanlon, that it should be a formal General Council decision that "Programme for Action" would be withdrawn, and that the General Council would refuse to go forward to the September Congress for the additional powers set out therein, if the Government went ahead with penal clause legislation. There was some slight argument about the status of this Motion, but Feather confirmed, and the others accepted, that Feather had succeeded in avoiding it being put to the meeting for decision, though it was clearly minuted as the General Council's view in the course of recording the discussion.

On Paragraph 42 there was some discussion about inter-union disputes. Jones and Scanlon made it clear that they had agreed to this very weighty transfer of sovereignty and that they would fully accept a T.U.C. award as binding upon them. But they could not do this in the matter of a T.U.C. determination in respect of an unconstitutional dispute.

The First Secretary tried to elucidate exactly what the T.U.C. had in mind as to the procedure in a Girling or Vauxhall (Ellesmere Port) situation. In particular she said it had not been made clear - nor had she been answered on this point on the May 21 meeting - how far the T.U.C. proposed to go in a conciliation or even arbitration capacity. She

thought that many employers would refuse to accept T.U.C. conciliation since they would not be independent as between the employer on the one hand and the T.U.C. Affiliate on the other. Scanlon, Jones and Feather all said that it was essential they could conciliate because this was in most cases the only way to get the men back to work.

The First Secretary and I tried to argue the distinction between conciliation to settle the dispute itself on the one hand, and intervention to get the man back to work while constitutional procedures, if such existed, were invoked.

I asked Feather if it was true that he was really talking of two things, the one being intervention to get the men back to work, the other being the settlement of the dispute.

/They finally agreed

They finally agreed as a matter of logic that a T.U.C. offer of conciliation might be, like a D.E.P. offer of a Court of Inquiry, one means of getting the men back to work but they still insisted that in most cases, particularly if great bitterness had developed, the men would not go back to work without some decision about the merits of the dispute itself.

Scanlon said that he thought the Government's approach to this unofficial strike problem was quite wrong. It should not be unofficial strikes to which attention was directed, but all strikes. He indicated pretty clearly that if the Government continued with this distinction certain unions, clearly his own, would tend to make more unofficial strikes official at an early stage. The First Secretary strongly defended the distinction on the ground that an official strike involved the union itself at top-level, its prestige, its need to consider its image in the face of public opinion, its funds - and also of course provided an easier means of Departmental or Ministerial intervention.

Scanlon said, and Jones agreed that the latest proposals of the Engineering Employers' Federation would also be likely to lead to a higher proportion of official strikes. They were proposing, in order not to go through the time-wasting York machinery that most local issues should end at factory level, or in appropriate cases at local committee level, without appealing to a higher level. Scanlon was sure that this would involve the union more in

the disputes, and that a higher proportion of them would be made official. Scanlon also, complaining that very many strikes - clearly the big majority in his view - were due to action by management, whether in terms of a dismissal or a change in working practices. He stressed that the T.U.C. on intervening might demand the status quo. The First Secretary pointed out that the status quo would be in the legislation, though she did not rule out inappropriate circumstances making an order unilateral against an employer if she felt after consultation with the T.U.C. that this was right in order to get a settlement or at any rate a return to work. Scanlon said that in his discussions with the E.E.F. he had been trying to get the status quo written into the agreement, but admitted he had failed and was most unlikely to succeed.

He and Jones kept coming back to the point that everything the T.U.C. was trying to do would be nullified if the Government went ahead. We went over the familiar ground of whether my method is more effective than yours, though nothing new was said on this.

Scanlon, who had driven down from his meeting in the Midlands (organised by Engineering Voice) was full of dire warnings about what would happen in the factories if the Government went ahead with the intended legislation. He implied that the kind of activists he had been talking to would see to it that a rash of strikes on May Day lines would be organised all over the country, and the Government would be powerless to deal with them. Working to rule; go slow; one day strikes etc. were all referred to. (He also seemed to think that the kind of activists he had

been talking to represented the real voice of the Labour and Trade Union Movement - and was sharply corrected by me).

He also warned that the Trade Union Movement would see to it that the fines were paid by sympathisers of the men concerned, clearly hinting ~~at demonstration that~~ a whip round, though I suspect - and this was confirmed by something I heard the next day as having come allegedly from T.U.C. sources - that he also had in mind that some of the more militant unions such as his own would set up special funds of union money for paying fines imposed on unofficial strikers.

The whole atmosphere was one of clear determination by Jones and Scanlon to make the legislation unworkable.

After dinner the discussion continued some three hours and became very much harder hitting, but also highly repetitive. No new arguments were produced but the old arguments tended to be clothed in different phraseology.

Scanlon confirmed, on being challenged by the First Secretary, that he was in effect manoevring in order to defeat the legislation, that his motive in supporting the T.U.C. had nothing to do with seeking to deal with the problem of strikes, and that it was legislation he was against not strikes. He cheerfully admitted this, and so did Jones, Because, he said, the question of legislation raised a fundamental principle about unions, and about the whole system of collective bargaining. Once this principle was admitted, there was no limit to the extent to which it could be pushed.

There was clearly some fear that an incoming Tory Government would seek to go very much further but the two Union leaders were totally confident on their ability to make Tory-type legislation unworkable and drew pictures of British industry stopped by a series of shorter or longer strikes in a large number of industries. They thought nothing of the argument that failure to deal with this problem would make such a Government and such legislation more likely.

They kept coming back to the point that if the Government went ahead with legislation the T.U.C. plan was dead. And ~~this~~ it would be true, Scanlon pointedly added, - though no reference had been made at this stage to Option 3 - that his attitude would be the same even if the penal clauses were put into cold storage within the Bill, to be activated by an order. The First Secretary and I for some time tried to dangle the possibility of Option 3, but it was firmly resisted by them. Again they referred to the Jones/Scanlon motion at the General Council, and interpreted that as inhibiting "cold storage" legislation just as much as legislation which was immediately active.

They appealed to the Government to drop their plans, and obviously feeling they had to offer some face-saving to the Government, said the Government could of course claim - as it would - that the T.U.C. had only been stirred into action by the threat of legislation. The threat had achieved its purpose: there was no need for the legislation which could not achieve anything.

Both the First Secretary and I replied to this argument on familiar lines; that the unions would lose all their credibility, and so would the Government. That, since they had admitted, that their willingness to transfer a degree of sovereignity to the T.U.C. was only for the purpose of getting rid of legislation, not getting rid of strikes, ~~that~~ there would be a gradual erosion of this transfer: that individual unions, particularly those, ~~if~~ faced with a difficult strike situation, would be more likely to wash their hands of it, while the T.U.C. for its part would become less willing even to use the vague powers hinted at in para. 42.

Feather said that the TU.C. never envisaged that they would go to the limit in every case, any more than the Government would. I said that I felt that with the heat off - which they conceded had produced some results - this phrase "decided each case on its merits" would mean that more and more cases were let go, both by the union concerned and by the T.U.C; and that this would not perhaps even be a conscious decision, though we had every right to be suspicious in view of the motives of transferring sovereignity, but ~~that~~ the hopes raised by para. 42 would give way to weakness and atrophy. Feather did not attempt to argue seriously against this, but simply asserted that it would not happen, and a great deal of case-law would be built up and that a momentum would develop.

Returning to the argument about a dual system - T.U.C. plus legislation, the latter perhaps requiring activation by an Appointed-Day Procedure, Jones particularly, but

supported by Scanlon said that if this had ever been a possible starter it had been ruled out by the dual system which had applied in the case of Prices and Incomes Policy, namely the T.U.C. vetting machinery and Government legislation. Referring to George Brown's descent on the Brighton Conference, they implied that there had been a real breach of faith in that he had gone there with the terms of no legislation if the T.U.C. had acted. Jones was unrepentant about T.U. and G.W. opposition to the T.U.C. pay-vetting machinery as well as to the Government legislation.

Further attempts were made to discover how far we might agree to disagree, that after their protests they should accept the legislation and should judge it - as Woodcock had done in his famous phrase about the Prices and Incomes Act - not by what it said but by how it was used. All three made it very clear that the Woodcock era was over.

I returned to the theme of my concluding remarks at the 21st May Meeting about my political judgment of the outcome of what they were proposing, and elaborated a little further with particular reference to a lame duck Government seen at home and abroad to have lost control and to be unable to govern. I said that in particular that if the T.U.C. hoped to crack their whip over T.U. Group members to vote against the Government it would clearly mean that the T.U.C., a state within a state, was putting itself above the Government in deciding what a Government could and could not do. They made no attempt to deny this because as they said a fundamental principle was at stake.

I pointed out that an even more fundamental principle was at stake, namely the right and possibility of a Labour Government to govern, and the very essence of democracy in this country. The First Secretary raised the whole question of social democracy all over the world, but from Scanlon's reaction it appeared that she was not referring to the Party he loved.

He asserted the right of the Trade Unions to take their fight to these lengths, and also referred to the dangers of another 1931. I reminded him sharply that in that context I was not a Ramsay MacDonald, but in the context of his previous ~~context~~ comment I wasn't a Dubcek. At this point they started to appeal again, almost in a wheedling tone. It would be quite possible for us to drop the penal clauses without loss of face, after all it was the threat of them which had brought the T.U.C. so far along the road, and we could claim that.

Jones, supported by the others, said that in view of our tribute to the T.U.C., why should we not drop all legislation for this Session, giving the T.U.C. a chance to show what they could do, and if necessary introduce the Bill next Session. I replied that their objection could be fully met by an Appointed-Day Procedure, which might provide at any rate time to see what the T.U.C. could do. But I pointed out that they were no doubt gambling on the fact that the Government, having been estopped from introducing legislation this year, would find it doubly difficult to introduce it when a General Election was much nearer. Furthermore, once

the T.U.C., or Unions concerned, had tasted blood and been successful in getting the Government to dance to their tune, the pressure next year from them might be all the greater.

Once again we come back to the point whether they were really concerned about strikes, or only about legislation, to the demon of a lame duck government, and the catastrophic effect it would have on overseas opinion. At this point - about 12.30 a.m. - Feather was suggesting to me that we couldn't take it any further. The First Secretary decided, after the long day she had had, it was time to retire. After she had left we made no further attempt to discuss the points at issue, but got into a general and quite friendly conversation.

Jones had not been shown his room (the Prison Room) so we all went up to instal him there and I left them thinking they would want to talk together. Before I did so Feather stuffed a piece of folded foolscap in my pocket on which he had written "I will see you downstairs in ten minutes". He came to my room and discussed the matter further. He was not unduly concerned but I think he felt that his suggestion of a dinner of this kind had at any rate achieved one of the effects he had intended, namely that the First Secretary and I were left in no doubt about the root and branch opposition of the leaders of the two biggest Unions, and the Unions most concerned with the industries subject to unofficial disputes. I repeated to him the position of the Government on this and indicated that we would very likely go ahead with Option 3. He seemed to suggest that if this was the decision, so be it, and to hint that we might then start to begin building the bridges over again by the Autumn.

During the meeting I had said that we should not take the final decision about the form of legislation until we had had time to consider the implications of Croydon (qualitative as well as the actual numbers voting) and to discuss these matters with the General Council. I suggested that we should meet the T.U.C. on the morning of Monday, June 9. In the presence of the others Feather accepted this right away and said he would send out messages. When he talked to me in his bedroom afterwards he said he was going to ensure that it was/F. & G.P. not the full Council. He felt we should have continuous consultation as we proposed.

Jones and Scanlon had to leave very early in the morning, separately. Scanlon left for me on the table a letter as follows:-

"Dear Prime Minister and First Secretary,

Sorry we could not find basis of agreement, but thanks for an enjoyable and interesting evening.

H. Scanlon."

POSTSCRIPT (not for circulation with main document except where instructed).

Before going to bed I sent a message to the First Secretary by one of the WRAFs, to be delivered with her morning tea, asking her to call in to see me to discuss the night's work.

This she did for some 20 minutes, and we later met in the garden with Mr. Heron and Mr. Douglas Smith.

I told the First Secretary that what had made the greatest impact on me was the clear intention of Jones and Scanlon not only, if they could, to prevent the legislation being introduced or getting through, but thereafter to destroy it in operation. The highlight of the evening had been the admission she had wrung from both of them that they had been manoeuvring not because of their opposition to strikes, but because of their opposition to legislation.

We agreed we must report to our Management Committee colleagues, but I still felt that we could go for Option 3, though I said I felt we should put the inter-Union dispute clauses on a delayed action (Appointed-Day) basis, together with the clauses referring to the conciliation pause. This on the ground that the T.U.C. looked like being a great deal more effective with inter-Union disputes than with unconstitutional strikes.

She then raised the question of Option 2. The First Secretary said that she was not sure whether her proposals had been fully understood by the Management Committee - the note of the meeting suggested they perhaps had not. A variant of it she had had in mind - I confirmed this had not registered with me - was that in the 1970 legislation

powers will be sought to make orders laying down model rules for Trade Unions. Failure to adopt them would lead to the Union losing its registration, and therefore the protection and privileges which it enjoyed under the law, today, and as amended by new Government measures.

At this point she went down to meet her officials, and when I joined her and them a few minutes later I said that I felt that we ought to give a lot more thought to this idea: that Jones and Scanlon had made it pretty clear that they would find means of wrecking the penal clauses, and that in any case they would not cooperate in a situation where the penal clauses co-existed with the T.U.C. proposals. I said I felt that if we were to adopt her idea of the model rules we could present this as a logical consequence to the consultation we had had with the T.U.C. It was essential that this power to lay down model rules should be taken in this year's legislation. We could say that after all these consultations we welcomed what the T.U.C. had done, but felt it lacked teeth and provided no guarantees that Unions would be dealt with who themselves failed to deal with their recalcitrant members. In default of the T.U.C. coming through with this we would provide the necessary sanctions to make Paragraph 42 effective. It would not involve fines on individual workers, nor all the consequential provisions about attachment etc. The First Secretary, while saying this would be extremely difficult for the P.L.P. - though not ~~necessarily~~ itaking fining penal clauses - it would have one advantage in that it would be in accordance with the Donovan majority recommendations in respect of the 1906 Act in so far as it related to unregistered Trade Unions.

While the Government had in their White Paper rejected this Donovan proposal, a case could be made out for accepting it in the light of our T.U.C. consultations.

This proposal was discussed further with Mr. Heron and Mr. Douglas Smith. We were in no doubt that it involved much more severe penalties, so far as unions were concerned, than the penal clauses to which they had taken objection. But it did appear relevant, and the First Secretary said it was more in accordance with C.B.I. proposals. One possible advantage might be the consequent agreement of the C.B.I. to join more actively with the T.U.C., e.g. in the creation of joint fire-fighting machinery.

After the First Secretary left Chequers I received a phone call from Lord Wigg, who referring to the spate of Press stories about a compromise being in the offing (which the First Secretary and I felt almost certainly emanated from Vic Feather) said that a Press friend of his had heard directly from Feather that he was hopeful of an agreement. But Feather or someone on his behalf had added that he understood that some unions at any rate, if legislation were introduced, would stop, or reduce, their contributions to the Labour Party, and allocate the money thus saved to a strike fund for paying any fines levied under the Government's legislation.

RECORD OF A MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND MR. VICTOR FEATHER AT NO 10 DOWNING STREET ON FRIDAY APRIL 25, 1969 (FROM 6PM TO 8PM)

Note dictated by the Prime Minister

The interview was very friendly throughout and everything on a personal basis. We started with a general chat about other things. I told him I hoped I could always discuss with him other national affairs in his capacity as General Secretary and I put him in the Northern Ireland picture. I also later put him in the picture so far as the future of the Sun was concerned, having told Cudlipp and earlier Goodman, that I must feel free to inform him on a personal basis, in view of the previous historical relationship between the TUC and the Herald.

We then got on to the industrial relations question. He began by asking whether I must go on with the penal clauses, but was obviously not pressing the point.

"Top" Copy on T.U.C. April 1969.

I asked him to fill me in about the Press briefing (which was his) following the F & G.P. when he had indicated the lines of TUC future policy. He confirmed that this had been forced on them by prospective Government action, and quoted "the devil was sick, the devil a saint would be ....." I told him that strangely enough I used that phrase to a colleague two days earlier in the TUC context. He confirmed it.

He mentioned some avenues of advance. He mentioned Danny McGarvey who he said was in the process of working out with the principal shipbuilding employees an all-embracing demarcation agreement, which if it had existed earlier would have prevented the Vickers dispute from arising. He mentioned his own action in chairing a meeting on the Watford printing dispute, and initiatives he was taking on demarcation in the constructional industry.

(On printing he said he had told Brigginshaw that he was "fishing" only to get Brigginshaw's members back to work, but was not prepared to secure a deal under which Brigginshaw would then claim a wage increase for his own members based on their pre-existing differential as compared with electricians. Brigginshaw accepted this and said that he would seek to assimilate this in the next round of printing negotiations).

I asked him whether the proposals made at the F & G.P. and disclosed to the Press were accepted at the General Council since there had been no further Press revelations. He confirmed that he had briefed the Press after the F & G.P., but had not done so after the General Council. The General Council had endorsed the line taken by the F & G.P. The intention was that he would circulate to the F & G.P. early in May, about the 7th, a definitive document and that there would be a special General Council on or about the 15th.

I said that at the full Council there would be some of the heavyweights (measured in terms of votes) who had not been in on the meetings with me or at the meetings with the F & G.P. He agreed and urged me to take trouble with Jack Jones and Scanlon, particularly asking them along for a drink or a meal. I undertook to do this when the time would not appear too obvious.

He said that the T.U.C. were proposing, under the pressure of the threat of Government legislation, to create panels of T.U. members, from whom a member would be drawn in each case independent of the unions involved in the dispute. They would handle inter-union disputes such as Barrow and as he put it at Girling, which he regarded as an inter-union problem. Their findings would be binding on the individual unions - he confirmed that at this stage the word "binding" did not carry any meaning beyond conciliation. He said they would provide also for a return to the status quo.

I asked him what would happen in a Girling-type case when strikers who were refusing to operate the correct procedure refused to go back to work. He said that this would be covered by the status quo. I asked him how this would be enforced. To this he agreed that he had no answer, but said that they would have to consider pressure by the unions concerned. I asked whether the unions would give the T.U.C. sufficient authority to enable the

/panel

panel, or where appropriate the General Council, to require the unions to take disciplinary action against the members. He agreed that there was no question of this at this stage but that it might develop.

He said they were out at all costs to avoid fines. I said that it seemed odd to the general public that the trade union movement did not object to fining its members right and left even on the basis of kangaroo courts, and yet there was all this fuss about fines arising from a procedure carefully set out by statute, but one which would only be invoked after every other means of ending the strike had failed. Yet he said that this was in the movement, within the family. I said that it was no less onerous or unjust but asked whether the unions concerned would be required to invoke such procedures on a refusal to return to the status quo. He said that might have to be considered but they were nowhere near that yet.

I asked him what was provided in his scheme for a return to the status quo on the part of the employers. Suppose there had been an arbitrary dismissal which under the white paper would be dealt with by compulsory reinstatement pending conciliation. Or suppose there had been a change in working practices without proper consultation, which again under the white paper would be dealt with by an order on the employer. He said they had had in mind to approach the C.B.I. and to try and work out a procedure under which they would put pressure on the employers to comply. It was clear that this too was part of the visionary future.

We had a brief discussion about the C.B.I., including the recent public speech of John Davies which seemed to

/me to go

me to go beyond what Davies was saying in consultations. He said Davies had a new scriptwriter.

He told me that he had spoken privately to Scanlon and others trying to get their support at the next General Council Meeting for a procedure at Croydon under which the unions would vote separately on three issues: first the general condemnation of the Government's legislation; second the approval of those parts of the proposed legislation which the trade union movement welcomed; and third, the T.U.C's positive recommendations for giving the General Council power on the lines indicated. He attached great importance to ensuring that there was not general condemnation of the entire white paper or the entire bill, but only the "penal clauses".

At this stage, after one more rhetorical enquiry about why we did not drop the legislation, he turned more personal. He said "of course you cannot drop the legislation, least of all the General Council expect you to. If you did this you would be finished." The problem would be how to deal with the situation after the legislation had gone through.

This I said was one good argument for getting the legislation on the statute book as early as possible.

At this stage we discussed the possibility of my addressing the Special Congress. He said that if I asked to do so the General Council would be in great difficulty and he felt that there was a danger of a rebuff, particularly since many of those who were tempted to support us there would feel that I would be inviting a rebuff from Congress itself in that my speech would be followed by a large majority against the Government. I said that I could certainly wear that and he would realise that this would not necessarily be unpopular in the country. This, he said, was exactly what they realised. I said that even a refusal to allow me to attend could be used against the TUC on the ground that TUC were unwilling to hear the truth. He said, with a broad grin, that since he was intending to put the truth anyway to the TUC in his opening speech they would have an answer. I agreed with this, but said the country might take a different view, particularly since truth was not only a many splendoured, but many sided thing.

I said, however, I recognised his difficulty, but he must not rule out that I might appear on television that night for 40 minutes speaking to an even larger audience.

He said a Prime Minister had many advantages not open to the TUC. I said I thought it possible that I would be addressing a large trade union gathering in Manchester the previous Saturday, which might itself in turn be televised. He said that he realised they were up against a professional operator in these matters, to which I pointed out that the Manchester engagement had been accepted when I thought that the TUC Conference would have already taken place.

He then came back on the general Government position. He said that we had no alternative to proceeding with legislation. If we did not do so I would cut my own throat. The Government would cut its throat. Everything we both understood by the movement would be destroyed. The question was what happened afterwards.

I said I agreed with this and it seemed to me after all he had said that I should address not the Croydon Congress but the September Congress, when I could begin the process of healing the breach on the basis of legislation already on the statute book. This he warmly welcomed, and made clear that whatever was said in hot blood in June, could not represent a permanent relationship between the two wings of the movement.

I said we would then have to consider how the two sets of powers - our statutory powers and the powers he had secured at Congress - should be applied. He said that if he were cynical it would be his purpose to ensure that in any given case we would go in first and fail in order to discredit the legislation.

I pointed out that I knew him not to be cynical but that if he were I could be cynical too, and that I felt the timing should be reversed. I said I could contemplate a stately quadrille between the Government and the TUC, or even a music hall act, with each of us mutually deferring to the other with an exchange of courtesies "after you Claude", and "after you Cecil".

I said that, seriously, there was an issue here in that the TUC would have taken powers very welcome to us which if fully invoked would give effect to the First Secretary's hope as expressed to the F & G.P.C., that our powers could over a period of time, atrophy. He said he thought legislation would not "atrophy" but would "be still-born".

I said that that was fair enough provided its existence was sufficient to stimulate the T.U.C. into equally effective action.

I said that perhaps we might be able to work at a conciliation once the two sets of powers had been obtained by the Government and the T.U.C., under which we might decide not to embark on the use of the powers in general until we had seen what the T.U.C. could do in one or two test cases, and that even after that if we had decided that the legislative powers must be used, again we should decide in any particular case that the T.U.C. should be invoked first.

He recognised that this might well be the pattern, and said that this could provide a basis for a long-term solution of the problem. I emphasised the phrase "long-term" since I had little hope that all he was seeking to bring about, however valuable in the long run, would meet the situation in the time scale required.

He repeated that he knew and felt that the General Council recognised that we had to go ahead with the legislation. After that we would have to find a means of living together. We both agreed that an appearance by me at the September Congress might provide the basis.

As he left the room he repeated his general view on what the Government had to do, what the T.U.C. must do, and of our joint resolve that thereafter we must seek to heal the split which for the next few months was inevitable.

April 25, 1969

From Rt.Hon.Sir Harold Wilson KG OBE FRS MP

HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON SW1A 0AA

22nd October 1979.

CABINET OFFICE
A S6S6
25 OCT 1979
FILING INSTRUCTIONS
FILE No. .....

My dear John

I am sorry to trouble you with a small burden in your last few days, and I am not sure whether this should not have been sent to the Principal Private Secretary rather than to you, but I should be grateful if at some point I could have from my collected material the notes I dictated about "In Place of Strife" - that is to say, my own dictated notes not the much greater volume of official documentation.

Yours.
Harold

Sir John Hunt, GCB.

CENCAB 004/26

cc: Ex-Prime-Minister
Access to Papers.
April 74

p3

THE FOLLOWING FLASH MESSAGE IS FOR NO 10 VIA CABINET DUTY OFFICER. IT IS THEN TO BE PASSED FLASH TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WHO IS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AT CULDROSE.

S E C R E T

EXCLUSIVE FOR SECRETARY OF STATE FROM COOPER

I RECOGNISE TOTALLY THE EXTREME DIFFICULTY OF THE DICISIONS MINISTERS HAVE TO TAKE AND THAT AT THE END OF THE DAY IT IS A MATTER OF POLITICAL JUDGEMENT

2. MY OWN VIEW IS THAT THE BEST COURSE - OUT OF OPTIONS WHICH ARE NONE OF THEM ATTRACTIVE - MUST BE BASED ON THE G.B. INTEREST AND INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS. HAVING THOUGHT ABOUT THE MATTER MORE MY OWN VIEWLIS:

A) WE SHOULD ANNOUNCE PUBLICLY THAT LAW AND ORDER MEASURES ARE BEING STEPPED UP: (AND INSURE THAT THEY ARE SEEN TO BE STEPPED UP):

B) SAY THAT WE ARE NOT GOING TO INTERFERE IN THE STRIKE OTHER THAN TO SAVE LIFE AND LIMB.

/3. THIS

3. THIS COURSE SEEMS TO ME DEFENSIBLE AND LIKELY TO BE ONE THAT WOULD COMMAND PUBLIC SUPPORT. TI WOULD ALSO PROTECT US TO SOME DEGREE IF THE EXECUTIVE RESIGNED - THOUGH THEY WOULD CHARGE US WITH NOT DOING ENOUGH.

4. THE OIL PLAN IS SO FRAUGHT (AND WILL BE WORSE AS THE ACTUAL PUMP MANNING DEPENDS ON THE N I C S WHO CANNOT BE TOLD IN ADVANCE) THAT THE OUTCOME IS MOST LIKELY TO BE A DEGREE OF CHAOS, LARGER SCALE AND UNSUCCESSFUL INTERVENTION AND PUBLIC HUMILIATION. THE FACT IS THAT AT THE END OF THE DAY WE DO NOT HAVE TRUMPS ENOUGH TO GO UP THE SCALE. WE CAN TRUMP ON THE LAW AND ORDER SIDE AND SHOULD SHOW OUR HAND AT ONCE. THE MINISTER OF STATE STILL FAVOURS THE OIL PLAN.
ENDS

SENT AT 261502Z JMB
OSL AT 261502Z GHM

may 1914

cc Ex-Prime Minister
Access to papers
April 1974

SECRET

WOA 2

Northern Ireland Office
Stormont Castle
Belfast BT4 3ST

I should like to discuss with S/S NI when he is under less pressure. Ltd

PRIME MINISTER

128W/74 (Pt 1)

Following your visit to Northern Ireland, you asked in your minute of 22 April for my comments on a number of security points which were put to you. I am glad that you feel that your visit was worthwhile. It made very considerable impact in Northern Ireland.

I share your concern about the number of guns and the amount of explosives available in Northern Ireland. Illegally held weapons are the biggest problem and the Army has throughout the emergency, and particularly in the last few weeks, had considerable success in recovering substantial quantities of weapons and ammunition. But anything we can do to reduce the number of guns in the hands of the public, even if held legally, is desirable. The Army, the RUC and officials here are examining urgently the whole question of firearms control, and I have asked them to take full account of your views including what we said in Opposition. They will look particularly at membership and statutory control of gun clubs and the possession of guns for reasons which are not essential either for personal protection or legitimate agricultural purposes. I have asked for a very early report and will keep you informed.

The control of explosives is a constant struggle against the ingenuity of the terrorists both in smuggling explosives into Northern Ireland and extracting explosive material from apparently harmless substances. Considerable effort is put into checks both on the border and at the ports but inevitably some explosives get through because of the impossibility of thoroughly checking, for example, large sea-borne containers without totally disrupting the Province's trade. To stop all smuggling across the border is beyond the capacity of the number of troops available for border security. Again the security forces have done very well in recovering large quantities of explosives and as a result of discussions with manufacturers, the contents of, for example, fertilisers are continuously modified to make the extraction of explosive materials from them more difficult.

One thing that particularly worries me is the traffic both in explosives and in detonators from the South. The Chief Constable of the RUC has

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already discussed this problem with the Commissioner of the Gardai and it is a matter I intend to pursue vigorously with Mr Cooney at the proposed security meeting with the South. In particular, it would be a considerable help if we could persuade the South to control the use of detonators more effectively.

You will have seen the Attorney-General's minute to me of 16 May dealing with mandatory sentences and with the Army's view that the level of sentences for a number of serious offences is inadequate. I have discussed the question with him and am in complete agreement with his conclusions which I find very persuasive.

You asked about the release of detainees who give an undertaking to leave Northern Ireland. We are considering how far we can make use of this although there are the difficulties to which you refer. There have already been a number of cases where men have been let out of detention on undertaking to go abroad and I think it is already very well known among detainees that Commissioners are likely to take a favourable view of releasing on this condition. Unfortunately very few appear to wish to leave Northern Ireland and some of those who do so return after a short period. The difficulty then is whether to return the man to detention or to condone the breach: neither advances the problem very far.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Defence Secretary, the Attorney-General and to Sir John Hunt.

MR

17 May 1974

access
April 1974

SECRET

PRIME MINISTER:

I think I must go anyway, even if there is a constitutional crisis. But I am getting well settled on Thursday now

1

Mr Reid informed B 9/4

I have had a long talk today with Mr Faulkner who has given me a good deal more information about his attitude to the Council of Ireland. You will remember that Mr Cosgrave referred in passing, at your meeting with him, to a letter which he had received from Mr Faulkner. This was in fact delivered to Mr Cosgrave by hand shortly before he left Dublin for your meeting and appears to spell out his ideas.

Mr Faulkner's attitude is that it is impossible for him to get any Unionist support for the full implementation of the arrangements for a Council of Ireland agreed at Sunningdale. He has proposed in his letter to Mr Cosgrave a watered down version by which there would be a Council of Ireland with an equal number of Ministers but that it would initially have no headquarters and no Secretariat; and that there would initially be no second tier (Consultative Assembly). When confidence had been built up it would be possible to seek a mandate (in some form to be determined) to expand the Council of Ireland to the full scope set out in the Sunningdale Communique. Until that stage executive action could be undertaken but only by direct contact between the Executive and the Government of the Republic outside the framework of the Council of Ireland. Mr Faulkner said that this would be not too far from what would have happened if he had agreed to ratify Sunningdale, but had important presentational advantages and it was the minimum that he had to have if he was to go ahead at all.

I have not seen his actual letter to Mr Cosgrave but I hope shortly, through official channels, to get a reliable account of exactly what he has proposed. But on the basis of Mr Faulkner's account to me, which presumably puts the best interpretation on it, it is not likely that the South could accept, bearing in mind their attitude at your meeting on Friday.

Mr Faulkner says that he has put these revised Council of Ireland proposals to the main SDLP members of his Executive. He appears hopeful that they may agree to them but this is unlikely. I have asked him to press ahead with the discussions with his SDLP colleagues and have said that, although I do not wish to interfere in the internal discussions of the Executive, it is essential that I am consulted whether they reach agreement or not.

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The danger is either that the Sunningdale agreement breaks down and so cannot be ratified or that Unionist support in the Assembly for the Executive disappears and power-sharing collapses. Either way the consequences are serious.

My main immediate concern is to avoid being faced with a crisis which hits us unexpectedly. Mr Faulkner has promised to keep in close touch with me, but as he is having talks with some members of his Executive there is the danger of a leak at any time.

All of this could affect your proposed visit to Northern Ireland next week. You might arrive in the middle of a constitutional crisis; you would obviously have to get involved but may prefer it to be at a time of your choosing.

If you would like to discuss this I am of course available. I am planning to return to Belfast on Thursday.

M R

Γ 8/4