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10 DOWNING STREET

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*From the Private Secretary*

SIR ROBERT ARMSTRONG  
CABINET OFFICE

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Anglo/Irish relations

The Prime Minister has seen your minute of 14 July.

She agrees that British and Irish officials may meet as necessary between now and the Anglo/Irish Summit for the purposes described in paragraph 3 of your minute.

As regards the venue for the Summit, the Prime Minister would wish it to be either at 10 Downing Street or at Chequers - and you may offer the latter alternative if you think it would help. You could also say that the Prime Minister has to be in Bonn all day on 9 November for the Anglo/German Summit and that it would therefore help her if the Anglo/Irish Summit could be in the UK.

The Prime Minister further agrees that you and Mr. Nally should explain your thinking on the "Encounter" organisation with a view to an announcement of the establishment of Encounter being linked to Mr. Barry's talks in London with Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mr. Prior on 27 July.

I am copying this minute to Mr. Fall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office), Mr. Lyon (Northern Ireland Office) and Mr. Mottram (Ministry of Defence).

A. J. COLES

18 July 1983

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Ref. A083/2081

PRIME MINISTER

Prime MinisterSee 3 points for decision  
in margins below.See comments  
not.A.S.C. 15.  
7Anglo-Irish Relations

Mr Nally, Secretary of the Irish Government, and I met as planned in London on 11 July. Mr Nally was accompanied by a small team of senior officials including Mr Donlon, Permanent Secretary to the Irish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the outgoing Irish Ambassador, Dr Eamon Kennedy. I was accompanied by Mr Goodall, and by Mr Evers (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Mr Angel (Northern Ireland Office), and by our Ambassador in Dublin, Mr Alan Goodison. It was agreed that our meeting should constitute a meeting of the Steering Committee of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council (AIIC), set up at your meeting with the Taoiseach in November 1981.

AIIC

2. The Irish began by making it clear that they were not seeking to force the pace on the AIIC. Bearing in mind your reservations expressed in Mr Coles' minute of 11 July, I emphasised that the British Government would wish to proceed cautiously; and we agreed that any conclusions we might reach should be ad referendum to you and to the Secretaries of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and for Northern Ireland here and to the Taoiseach there.

3. It seemed that the best way to start would be to pick up at the point we had reached early in 1982. We therefore reviewed the check list of "possible action points raised in the Joint Studies" (copy attached) drawn up and agreed at the November 1981 Summit, omitting the section on security. After going through the list, we came to the conclusion that before the next Summit meeting between you and the Taoiseach, officials would need to examine the action check list in greater detail. It was proposed that this should be done through the Co-ordinating Committee machinery provided for in the intergovernmentally agreed Joint Memorandum of 20 January 1982 (copy attached). I agreed to recommend accordingly, but I made it clear that the Committee's remit should be strictly

defined and limited. After some discussion it was agreed that the remit might be on the following lines: to compile an agreed version of the action check list (since it turned out that there were some variations between the Irish and British versions); to establish the extent of existing official contacts on each of the points listed; to identify other areas in which economic or cultural contact is taking place or might be useful; to report accordingly to the two Heads of Government; and to prepare for the next Anglo-Irish Summit. The Co-ordinating Committee would report progress to the Steering Committee (in effect Mr Nally and me) in time for us to complete preparations for the Summit. It seemed to me that this would be a limited and practical exercise, which would not call constitutional issues in question, and which would be a normal and necessary part of the preparations for the Summit. I seek your agreement accordingly to officials meeting as necessary for these purposes between now and the Summit.

Prime  
Minister

Agree? 15.  
A.S.C. 7

*Yes not*

4. The Irish put down a marker that they would welcome bilateral discussion with us on European Community questions, including questions on the Political Co-operation agenda; and it was agreed that this should be pursued at a forthcoming meeting between the Irish Foreign Minister, Mr Barry, and the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mr Rifkind.

#### Summit

5. After briefly rehearsing the various considerations bearing on the date of the Summit - your programme of meetings and the Taoiseach's desire to have the Summit before the Forum reported - I conveyed your invitation to the Taoiseach to a meeting in London on 7 November. Mr Nally, on the Taoiseach's behalf, welcomed and accepted that date, but extended a counter invitation to have the meeting in Dublin rather than London. He pointed out that, since the last Summit (in November 1981) had been in London, it was now Dublin's turn; and that, for domestic political reasons, the Taoiseach hoped that it might be possible to maintain the alternation between the two capitals. I made it clear that my instructions were to invite the Taoiseach to London; but I undertook to put the

shall we say that as you have to be in Bonn all day on 9 November for the Anglo/German summit, it would be helpful, if the 7 November meeting could be in London.

Irish point to you. I should be grateful for instructions. I am sure that this will not be a sticking point, but it seemed to be something that mattered. I wonder whether, if you would prefer not to go to Dublin, it would help to suggest Chequers: or even the Isle of Man. London or Chequers

6. We said that you would be accompanied by the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. Mr Nally said that the Taoiseach would be accompanied by Mr Barry, and possibly by the Tanaiste.

#### Encounter

7. We discussed the proposal to set up an organisation. An important Irish concern is to establish a non-governmental forum which stands some chance of attracting participation by representatives of the nationalist trend in Irish opinion (including members of Fianna Fail) in a way which the British-Irish Association with its "Anglo-Irish" overtones has been unable to do. They do not rate the chance of success very high, but they think the attempt is worth making. They thought it would be for the two Chairmen, when appointed, to decide how to proceed - eg whether to aim for a conference on the Königswinter model, or start with a series of small, expert seminars; and they agreed that there was no prospect of the organisation mounting any form of conference before 1984. Some financial pump-priming would be needed from both Governments; and the Irish have Ir £30,000 in mind and in their budget for this purpose. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office have £20,000. It was agreed that the next step would be for Mr Nally and me to explain our thinking to Sir David Orr and Senator Whitaker, with a view to an announcement of the establishment of Encounter being linked to Mr Barry's forthcoming talks in London with Sir Geoffrey Howe and Mr Prior on 27 July. Both sides agreed that, as the decision to set up Encounter had been taken in November 1981, the establishment of the organisation was not of sufficient importance to justify delaying the announcement until the November Summit.

#### Forum

8. Over lunch there was some informal discussion of the prospects for the Forum for a New Ireland and the situation in the North. My impression was that there are divided counsels within the Irish

Prime Minister

Agree?

A.S.C.  
15/7

Government as to what they want the Forum to produce. Mr Nally laid great emphasis on its "educational" aspects, ie that it would help to bring home to nationalist and Republican opinion in the South the reality of the political and economic difficulties attaching to Irish unity. He was at pains to emphasise that it was not intended to constitute an alternative to the Assembly, or to recommend ways forward which would have the effect of invalidating the Assembly concept. The other members of the Irish team were less categorical about this, and stressed that it was too early to predict what the Forum's recommendations would be. They thought the likeliest outcome would be a series of options ranging from unification at one end of the spectrum to condominium at the other. Mr Nally commented somewhat cryptically that the two most difficult issues would be "the Crown and the Commonwealth": this observation appeared to cause the Irish Ambassador to decide to bring the discussion to an end, and we wondered whether Mr Nally was felt to have let slip a little more than he was meant to as to the direction of that thinking. On timing, they were not certain that the Forum would finish its work by the end of the year but did not think it would slip by more than a few weeks.

#### Situation in the North

9. The Irish were not inclined to take too tragic a view of the relative performance of the SDLP and Sinn Fein in the General Election; but they were genuinely apprehensive at what they see as the growing polarisation of opinion in the North, and the consequences for stability throughout the island of Ireland if this process is not reversed and Sinn Fein continues to attract political support. It once again emerged very clearly that it is this fear, rather than the desire for Irish unity as a short or medium-term objective, which is the determining factor in the FitzGerald Government's approach to the Northern Ireland question.

10. Viewed as a holding operation, this round of talks with Mr Nally was reasonably satisfactory. The Irish showed no sign of entertaining exaggerated expectations about the prospects for progress. They made it clear that their immediate objective was normalisation of relations with the United Kingdom, and recognised that the initiative for this had to come from them. Although they



might have welcomed a more ambitious programme of official meetings over the next few months, they accepted our more cautious approach and in particular were ready to agree to the restricted role envisaged for the Co-ordinating Committee at this stage.

11. If you agree I should like to tell Mr Nally that you are content for officials to meet on the basis described in paragraph 4 above; and for the establishment of the Encounter organisation to be announced in connection with Mr Barry's visit to London on 27 July. I should also be grateful to know what response you would like me to make to the Irish proposal that the November Summit should be held in Dublin.

12. I am sending copies of this minute to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and the Secretary of State for Defence.

*Peter Martin*

*approved by*

ROBERT ARMSTRONG

*and signed in his absence.*

14 July 1983

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## POSSIBLE ACTION POINTS RAISED IN THE JOINT STUDIES

(Those marked \* are referred to in the summary for publication)

### 1 Structures

- \* 1.1 Intergovernmental body to be created
- \* 1.2 Consideration to be given to ways of strengthening parliamentary links
- \* 1.3 Anglo/Irish Encounter organisation to be formed.
- \* 1.4 Consideration to be given to creation of Advisory Committee on economic, social and cultural matters.

### 2 Citizenship rights

- 2.1 Result of Irish decision to extend Irish franchise to resident UK citizens to be awaited.
- \* 2.2 Irish request for further consideration to be given to possible removal of differences in treatment of citizens of the Republic as between Great Britain and Northern Ireland

### 3 Security

- \* 3.1 Further cooperation in air/sea rescue to take place
- \* 3.2 Further cooperation on hydrographic surveys to take place
- 3.3 Increased cooperation on fishery protection to be undertaken
- 3.4 Further cooperation on aircraft movements to be undertaken
- 3.5 Arrangements for the transmission of information about certain fishing vessels and other sensitive matters to be pursued with continuing discretion.
- 3.6 Scope for cooperation on civil defence to be explored
- 3.7 Discussions to take place about United Nations peace-keeping forces.
- \* 3.8 Experts to consult about the administration and working of the criminal law (other than terrorism).
- 3.9 Scope for publicising Irish commitment to and cooperation in combatting terrorism to be kept under review.
- \* 3.10 Attention to be given to improved evidence gathering and the operation of reciprocal extra-territorial legislation by means of

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consultations between the two countries' police and law officers departments.

4 Economic Cooperation

- \* 4.1 Joint grouping of senior officials to oversee agreed measures for enhancing economic cooperation
- \* 4.2 Further bilateral exchanges to take place on energy matters
- \* 4.3 Further bilateral exchanges to take place on questions of marine pollution and counter measures.
- \* 4.4 Implications of and potential for collaboration on direct broadcasting by satellite (DBS) to be discussed
- \* 4.5 The possibility of closer cooperation in the fields of animal and plant health to be considered
- \* 4.6 Examination to be given to possibility of settling boundaries in Lough Foyle and Carlingford Lough, extending to the limit of the territorial sea, or finding other ways of removing inhibitions to economic development in those areas.
- 4.7 Further coordination to be undertaken in matters of transport and road safety.
- \* 4.8 Efforts to be made to stimulate cooperation in scientific and technological fields.
- 4.9 Irish Department of Agriculture and UK Agriculture Departments to consult periodically
- \* 4.10 Officials to examine ways of increasing coordination in economic development of border areas, and Ministers to be involved in monitoring progress of cross border study on the Erne Catchment area.
- \* 4.11 Officials to explore further scope for cooperation on industrial development
- \* 4.12 Continuing contact between Industrial Development Authority and Northern Ireland Department of Commerce in promoting small and craft industries in border area to be encouraged.
- \* 4.13 Discussions on joint trade promotion to be continued
- 4.14 SITPRO and IREPRO to introduce joint report on further scope for trade facilitation.



- \* 4.15 The bodies responsible for industrial training to compare notes
- \* 4.16 Cooperation between tourist promotion bodies to be encouraged
- 4.17 Officials to discuss scope for cooperation in public purchasing.

5 Measures to encourage mutual understanding

- \* 5.1 Encouragement to be given to further meetings between Ministers and agencies responsible for youth and sport including possibility of Irish-British exchange scheme for young people
- \* 5.2 The work of the voluntary agencies in community relations field to be welcomed
- \* 5.3 North/South cooperation between the two countries' UNESCO National Commissions on exchanges between schools and teacher training institutions to be encouraged
- \* 5.4 Existing exchanges between schools inspectors to be encouraged and possibility of similar exchanges for teachers to be explored
- 5.5 Churches' existing collaborative work in educational field to be encouraged
- \* 5.6 Examination to be made of scope for better matching resources and requirements for university places in Northern Ireland and the Republic
- \* 5.7 Encouragement to be given to the development of collaboration between (Irish) National Institute for Higher Education and (British) Open University
- \* 5.8 Agreement for exchanges of officials to be drawn up
- \* 5.9 Existing cooperation between the two countries' Arts Councils, and between other professional and academic bodies, to be encouraged.

Joint Memorandum on the Anglo-Irish  
Intergovernmental Council

1. The joint communiqué of 6th November, 1981 recorded that "recognising the unique character of the relationship between the two countries, the Prime Minister and the Taoiseach have decided to establish an Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council through which institutional expression can be given to that relationship between the two Governments. This will involve regular meetings between the two Governments at Ministerial and official levels to discuss matters of common concern".
2. It will be a basic purpose of the Council to contribute to the achievement of peace, reconciliation and stability and to the improvement of relations between the peoples of the two countries. Within the framework of the Council there will be the closest bilateral consultation at Ministerial or official level, as appropriate, on matters relating to these purposes and on matters of common interest or concern.
3. Meetings of the Council may take place at two levels: Ministerial and Official.
4. Meetings at Ministerial level may involve Heads of Government, accompanied by other Ministers or not so accompanied; or one or more other Ministers on either side.
5. Meetings at Ministerial level will constitute meetings of the Council, except where one side proposes that a given meeting should not be so regarded. It is accepted that

incidental meetings such as those between Ministers in the margins of meetings held in the European Community or other international organisations would not be Council meetings unless both sides agreed otherwise.

6. At Official level, the Council will comprise a Steering Committee and a Co-ordinating Committee. Meetings of these committees will constitute meetings of the Council; meetings of specialist working groups at official level would not normally do so but either side would be free to propose that a given meeting should be regarded as a Council meeting; and it would be so provided the other side agreed.

7. The Co-ordinating Committee will supervise and co-ordinate co-operation and stimulate and monitor new co-operation in all areas of common interest and concern, and, as necessary and appropriate, prepare meetings of Ministers. The membership of the Co-ordinating Committee may alter depending on the agenda for particular meetings and it may meet in an East-West, North-South or mixed configuration.

8. In accordance with the joint study proposal, each Government has designated an official to act as Secretary of the Council. These two officials will each be responsible for ensuring that there is an appropriate secretariat (of one or more persons) on each side for Council meetings. They will also be responsible for ensuring that in any case of doubt a joint decision is taken on whether a particular meeting is or is not a Council meeting.

9. The secretariats will be jointly responsible for preparing agreed records of Council meetings. These will be submitted to the two Secretaries of the Council, who will use them for preparing for each Head of Government meeting a report on the activities of the Council at other levels as envisaged in the Joint Study.

10. The agreed records of Council meetings need normally include only the following information: date and place of meeting; participants; subjects discussed; and decisions reached. From time to time, if necessary, the texts of documents exchanged and/or agreed can be annexed. The records within each series will be identified by their date. Thus AIIC (M) 21.12.82 and AIIC (O) 6.3.83 would be the agreed records of, respectively, a Ministerial meeting of the Council on 21st December, 1982 and an Official meeting on 6th March, 1983.

11. It is accepted that the contents of this Memorandum will be reviewed after an interval of not more than one year from the date below.

20 January, 1982.