

CONFIDENTIAL

Seen by Prime Minister

cc Ewold: 163:
Council Mtgs, Luxembourg



Prime Minister

PRIME MINISTER

Mr Atkins argues that you should offer Mr Haughey a bilateral in London when you see him in Luxembourg. He hopes that such a meeting would take place relatively early in May. Shall we try to identify dates to offer him?

MEETING WITH TAOISEACH DURING EUROPEAN COUNCIL - 27/28 APRIL

1. Mr Haughey does not intend, so we were told in Dublin, to raise Northern Ireland matters with you when he sees you in Luxembourg. However he is hoping on that occasion to be able to arrange a subsequent bilateral meeting with you, at which a wide range of matters including Northern Ireland can be discussed. It would not be surprising if, in even the briefest of conversations about a bilateral meeting, he put his point of view about Northern Ireland to you.
2. When this matter was raised at the beginning of April, your inclination was to defer any action on a bilateral meeting until you could form your own view of Mr Haughey in the light of an encounter at Luxembourg. My recommendation, for the reasons given below, is that - subject to events at Luxembourg, of course - there is advantage in your taking the initiative and offering dates to Mr Haughey for a meeting in London.
3. First, Mr Haughey has not so far had any meeting with you, and it is sensible that he should do so before long, as Prime Minister of a neighbouring country with whom we have close (albeit idiosyncratic) ties, both bilaterally and through the EEC.
4. Secondly, it is in our interest to demonstrate that, at the highest level, we take seriously the Irish interest in Northern Ireland. It is legitimate, not least because we need each others help in dealing with terrorism, and inevitable; and to recognise it is not the same as to concede the Republic a negotiating role in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom. We cannot go along with some of the political ideas canvassed by the Government of the Republic recently. But, we should damage our own objectives if the Irish feel that they are being cold-shouldered.
5. Thirdly, we could profit from their help - if they can be persuaded to offer it - in encouraging the minority leaders in the North (with whom Mr Haughey's Fianna Fail party has close ties) to stay in the dialogue with HMG on political advance in Northern Ireland, and to look realistically at what we propose, rather than take refuge in romantic hopes that the government of the Republic can secure them

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a much better deal.

6. For his part Mr Haughey, having made public promises that he will pursue the question of Northern Ireland with other European political leaders, needs a meeting with you: he has been criticised at home for going to Paris before London. What use he will wish to make of a meeting, in terms of substance as distinct from presentation, is not clear (but you will, I expect, have noted two recent intelligence reports that throw some light on his approach).

7. Mr Haughey said to me when we met in Dublin that he would be imaginative and radical, even revolutionary about constructive proposals for dealing with Northern Ireland in a broad context; that while he welcomed our present initiative for what it was, it was not enough; and that the problem could not be solved in an exclusively Northern Ireland context - to attempt to do so would play into the hands of the terrorists. The wider context in which the problem needed to be tackled had three elements: relations between the two communities in the North, between North and South, and between Britain and Ireland. These wider aspects should be discussed in 'parallel talks' between the British and Irish governments. The Irish had in mind (and he may repeat this to you) the widest possible scope for such discussions: economic co-operation; defence and security co-operation (there was a hint of an Irish readiness to join NATO); common citizenship; and a possible Anglo-Irish council. As stated, ^{No} these are no more than pretty meaningless (and one must, realistically, say improbable) generalities: and the issues arising from them will need detailed and rigorous consideration. None of them bears on the central issue that a majority in the North are unpersuaded that the Republic has anything to offer them.

8. Mr Haughey will want to make it known immediately that a bilateral meeting, if you agree, has been arranged. I would go along with that, although we must expect some reaction from the Unionists, just as they have been protesting about my meeting with him and Mr Lenihan. But there are sound reasons for such meetings, and I have not hesitated to say so.

9. As regards timing, Mr Haughey urged that you should meet before we publish further proposals for political advance in Northern Ireland. I reserved our position on that, although it would, on balance, suit us - at best he might then be persuaded to help with the SDLP reception of our proposals. This consideration would point to a meeting as early in May as you and he are able to arrange it.

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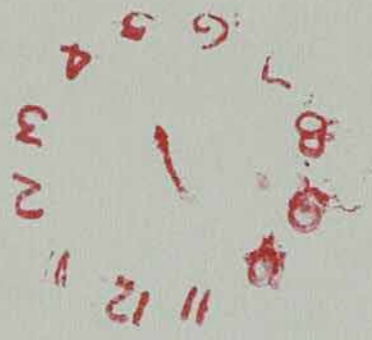
10. I am sending a copy of this minute to the Foreign, Home and Defence Secretaries and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

HA.

HA

24 April 1980

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24 APR 1980



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PM/80/33

THE PRIME MINISTER

Meeting with the Taoiseach during
the European Council, 27/28 April

NBPN
12 hrs - 29/4

in Luxembourg

1. I have seen Humphrey Atkins' minute of 24 April suggesting that when you see Mr Haughey in Luxembourg you might take the initiative in suggesting dates for a subsequent meeting in London.
2. I think that this is right. And indeed it would be a normal courtesy with any Community Prime Minister. We have no interest in giving offence to the Taoiseach, who has been a good deal more sensible over political issues and more helpful over security cooperation than we might have expected. It seems to me that since a meeting is inevitable at some stage, there is much to be said for having it sooner rather than later. No doubt there will be some plain speaking, but my impression is that Mr Haughey has just as much interest as we in keeping Anglo-Irish relations on an even keel; and he may be rather more concerned with achieving an appearance of trust and confidence than with pressing for radical changes in British policy.
3. I am sending copies of this minute to the Home Secretary, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and to Sir Robert Armstrong.

C

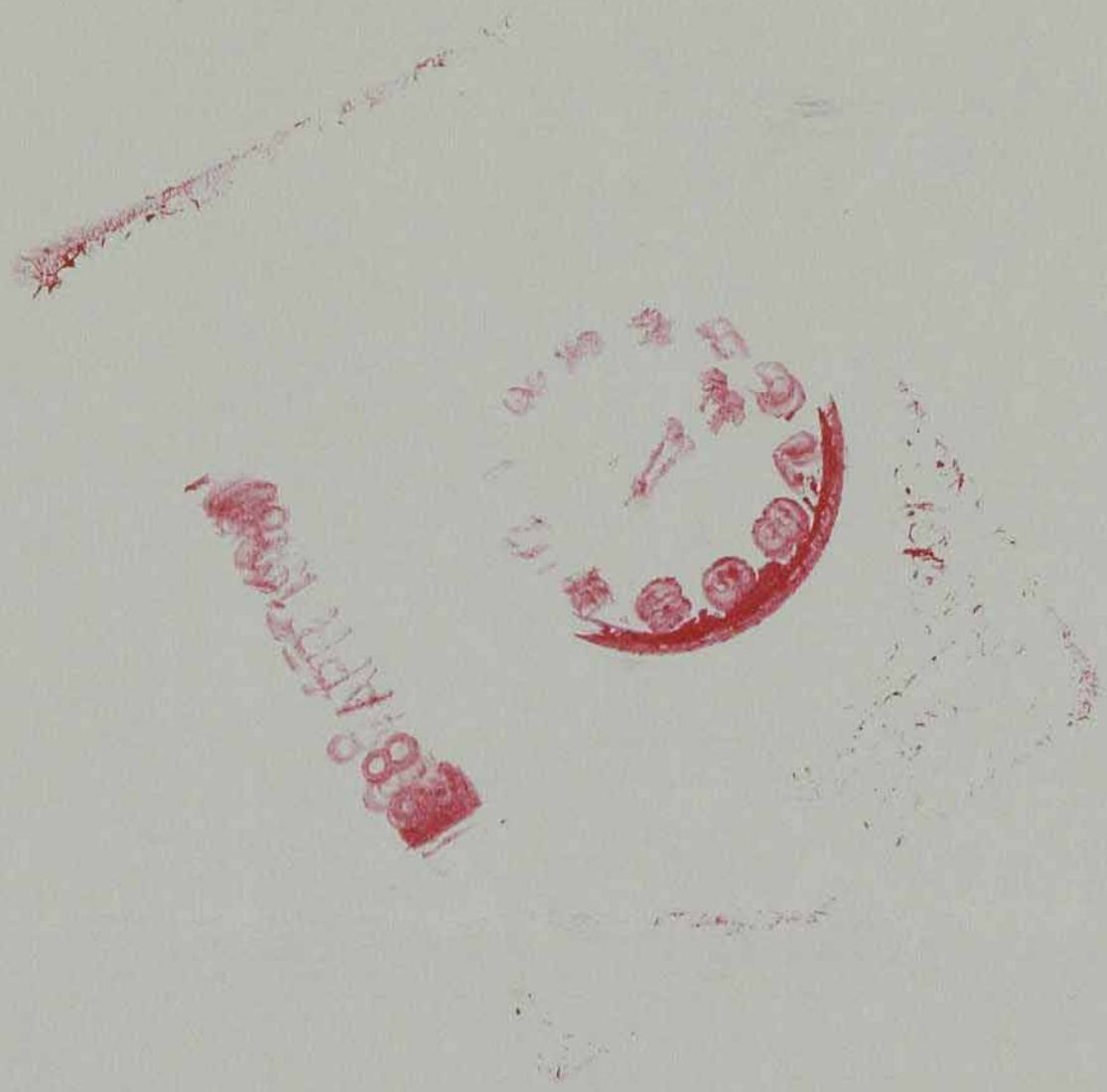
(CARRINGTON)

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

28 April 1980

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NORTHERN IRELAND: ADVANCE COPIES

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CABINET OFFICE - SIR R ARMSTRONG

HD/IPD

MR R WADE-GERY

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DIO

NEWS DEPT

NO 10 DOWNING STREET

.....
S. A. Adland
.....

RESIDENT CLERK

IMMEDIATE

GRPS120

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DESKBY

ADVANCE COPY

FM DUBLIN 23:1710Z APRIL 1980.

TO IMMEDIATE DESKBY 23:1800Z FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 142 OF 23 APRIL 1980.

AND REPEATED PRIORITY FOR INFO TO NIO (B)

YOUR TELEGRAM NUMBER 64 AND TELECON WITH NEWINGTON, R.I.D., TODAY:
MEETING BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER AND TAOISEACH.

1. I SPOKE AS INSTRUCTED TO NALLY, THIS AFTERNOON, WHO SAID HE
WOULD CONVEY WHAT I HAD TOLD HIM TO MR HAUGHEY.

2. IN CONVERSATION, NALLY STRESSED THAT THE TAOISEACH DID NOT
(REPEAT NOT) EXPECT TO DISCUSS NORTHERN IRELAND AT THE LUXEMBOURG
MEETING. NALLY ASKED IF MRS THATCHER, IN LUXEMBOURG WOULD
PROPOSE DATES FOR A FURTHER MEETING AND I REPLIED THAT I DID NOT
KNOW. NALLY THEN EMPHASIZED THAT MR HAUGHEY WOULD WISH TO BE
ABLE TO SAY, AFTER THE LUXEMBOURG MEETING, THAT A FURTHER
MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE.

3. HE ALSO SAID THAT MR HAUGHEY WOULD LIKE THE MEETING IN
LUXEMBOURG TO HAPPEN EARLIER RATHER THAN LATER. THE TAOISEACH HAD
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4. MR HAUGHEY AND PARTY WILL STAY AT THE HOLIDAY INN. THEY WILL BE THERE FROM 1800 - 2000 HOURS ON 26 APRIL AND THEREAFTER, THAT EVENING SEMICOLON AT THE IRISH AMBASSADOR'S HOUSE.

5. NALLY WILL PROBABLY TELEPHONE MICHAEL ALEXANDER, TOMORROW (24 APRIL) TO ARRANGE A CONTACT IN LUXEMBOURG.

NNNN

HAYDONN

SENT/43:00 AT 23:1750Z CB/00,

Subject filed as Euro Pt:
Euro Council Mtgs: Pt 3

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HS

21 April 1980

European Council: Bilateral meetings

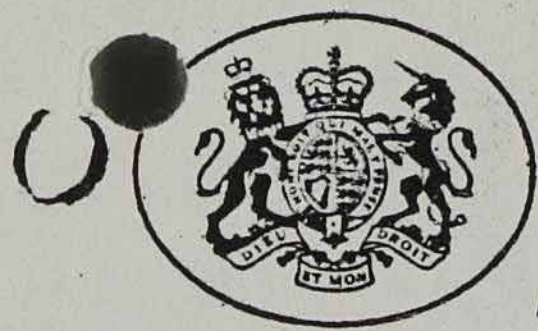
As I have told you on the telephone, the Prime Minister would prefer not to meet Messrs. Haughey and Van Agt before the European Council opens on Sunday afternoon. She wishes to be able to concentrate on the problems on the Council agenda. However there would be no objection to trying to arrange a bilateral with Mr. Haughey later in the meeting.

MICHAEL ALEXANDER

Paul Lever, Esq.,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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Subject filed on Euro Pol
Euro Councils
PE3



Prime Minister

Foreign and Commonwealth Office

London SW1A 2AH

Shall I arrange meetings
with Messrs Haughey or van Agt
as proposed?

18 April 1980

Paul 18/4

Dear Michael,

European Council: Bilateral Meetings Between the
Prime Minister and other Heads of Government

The Prime Minister has already agreed to have a general talk with the Taoiseach in the margins of the European Council and it is for us to suggest a time and place. Since they have not yet met there might be advantage, if the Prime Minister's timetable allows, for the meeting to take place before the Council opens (at 3.00pm on 27 April).

No

It might also be useful for the Prime Minister to have a word with the Dutch Prime Minister before the Council opens, given that it has so far proved impossible to find a convenient date for the Prime Minister to visit The Hague.

Why?

The Prime Minister will be staying at the Holiday Inn. The most convenient course might be for Mr Haughey and Mr Van Agt to be invited to call on her there at, say, 2.00 pm and 2.30 pm respectively.

Perhaps you could let me know whether the Prime Minister's travel plans might be so adjusted as to allow for these appointments and, if so, whether we may go ahead and make arrangements accordingly.

No - The point about choosing the European Council is that we will have met him in company with several other heads of state
Yours etc

Paul

(P Lever)
Private Secretary

M O'D B Alexander Esq
10 Downing Street
LONDON