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FROM: D A L COOKE  
& A M DODDS  
23 APRIL 1992

cc: Mr. Loughran

- cc PS/Mr Mates (L&B) -B
- PS/Mr Atkins (L&B) -B&M
- PS/Mr Hanley (L&B) -B&M
- PS/Lord Arran (L&B) -B&M
- PS/PUS(L) -B
- PS/Mr Fell -B
- Mr Thomas -B
- Mr Ledlie -B
- Mr Alston -B
- Mr Steele -B
- Mr Shannon -B
- Mr Watkins -B
- Mr Bell -B
- Mr Wood(L+B) -B
- Mr D J R Hill -B
- Mr D A Hill -B
- Mr Maccabe -B
- Mr Maxwell -B
- Mr Petch -B
- Mr Leach -B
- Mr Kyle -B
- Mr Archer, RID -B
- Mr Hallett -B
- HMA Dublin -B
- Mr Sibson, Cabinet Office -  
(by hand)

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MUFAX ROOM  
STORMONT HOUSE ANNEX

PS/Secretary of State(L+B) -B

cc Mr Gibson  
Mr Gamble

INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE, IC(92)3, LONDON, 27 APRIL: STEERING BRIEF

Introduction

The next meeting of the Intergovernmental Conference is due to take place in London on Monday 27 April.

Scene-setting

2. The Irish Ministerial team were appointed on 11 February, and have so far attended only one meeting of the IGC. That Conference, which was held on 6 March, provided the opportunity for HMG to get across to the new Ministers a number of fundamental

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principles such as the interconnectedness of security, political and socio-economic policies for Northern Ireland, the importance of security co-operation, the need to maintain the confidence of all sections of the community and the value of close economic and social co-operation.

3. Irish Ministers may be tempted on this occasion to seek to turn the tables, and to use the Conference to advance their own view of Anglo-Irish relations, the Northern Ireland issue and the role of the IGC. The late attempts of the Irish side to impose a fairly heavy agenda on a meeting which has been re-arranged at short notice, and might otherwise be expected to serve as little more than the launchpad for the talks, suggests that they are anxious to demonstrate the intrinsic importance of the Conference and to get a fairly full shopping list of confidence issues at least mentioned in the communique.

4. A summary is attached of the views of the new Irish Ministerial team on Northern Ireland matters (Annex A). In their initial remarks on taking office the emphasis was on continuity in following the policies of their predecessors, although Mr Reynold's controversial suggestion that the Government of Ireland Act should be on the table in future talks was a new (and probably under prepared) tactic. Since then the abortion issue and Maastricht referendum have dominated the attention of Mr Reynolds, Mr Andrews and Mr Flynn. There have been encouraging signs (and tangible ones, in the case of an increasing number of Garda arms finds) that they are prepared to take security co-operation seriously and to take account of the concerns of the Unionist as well as the nationalist community. But there are also indications that Irish Ministers may now be regretting having taken a rather undemanding line at the last Conference and may be seeking to make up lost ground by being more bullish at this one. At the last IGC Mr Flynn came across (although he had a smaller role) as more confident and authoritative than Mr Andrews, and he

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is generally regarded as having the closer relationship with the Taoiseach.

5. Other developments with a bearing on Anglo-Irish relations since the last Conference have included:

- (i) the Conservative victory in the general election which has been warmly welcomed by the Irish Government, as has the defeat of Gerry Adams in West Belfast;
- (ii) the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis on 7 March, at which the Taoiseach, in an encouraging speech with much more conciliatory rhetoric than Mr Haughey would ever have delivered, stressed the need for North/South co-operation and expressed the hope that a European context would facilitate a solution;
- (iii) a meeting between Mr Andrews and Mr Bush which was embarrassingly reported for Mr Andrews, since it was suggested that he had encouraged the President to intervene in NI (the Irish deny that he did);
- (iv) some further incautious remarks by Mr Andrews in which he appeared, in an interview in the "Cork Examiner" on 16 March to have offered to share the Republic's allocation of EC cohesion funds with NI; and
- (v) Mr Andrews' well publicised trip to the border last week when he expressed concern about the way road closures inconvenienced local people.

#### The Irish Delegation

6. The new Irish Ministers were uncomfortable with the size of

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the Conference. They have agreed to slim down their delegation to the following:

Mr David Andrews, Co-Chairman and Minister for Foreign Affairs  
Mr Padraic Flynn, Minister for Justice  
Mr Noel Dorr, Permanent Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs  
Mr Joe Brosnan, Permanent Secretary, Department of Justice  
Mr Patrick Culligan, Commissioner of the Garda Siochana  
Mr Sean O hUiginn, Head of Anglo-Irish Division, DFA  
Mr Declan O'Donovan, Joint Secretary of the Anglo-Irish Secretariat  
Mr Tim Dalton, Assistant Secretary with responsibility for security attached to the Anglo-Irish Secretariat (note-taker for restricted session)  
Mr Sean Farrell, Counsellor, DFA, Deputy Head of Anglo-Irish Secretariat (note-taker for plenary session)

(NB. Irish side have yet to decide on whether Mr Joe Small, the Irish Ambassador to London, should attend).

The British Delegation

7. The Secretary of State was sympathetic to making a similar reduction on the British side and he has now agreed that our team should be as follows:

Secretary of State  
Mr Mates  
PUS  
Sir Hugh Annesley, Chief Constable, RUC  
Mr Fell  
Mr Ledlie (to counter-balance the Secretary of the Dept of Justice)  
Mr Thomas (or Mr Bell)  
HM Ambassador  
Mr Alston - Joint Secretary  
Mr Dodds - Deputy Head of the British side and note-taker for restricted session

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Mr Kyle - Principal attached to the Anglo-Irish Secretariat  
(note-taker for the plenary session)

Welcoming The Irish Delegation

8. The Irish delegation will stay overnight in London on Sunday and probably call at the Irish Embassy en route to OAB at approximately 0920 hours. The aim is to remain in contact through the police with the movement of the Irish motorcade as it approaches Horse Guards and the Golden Gate entrance. PS/SofS keeps watch for a fail safe in any case. Mr Dodds and Mr Kyle will be at the Golden Gate entrance to welcome the Irish delegation at 0930 hours. Meanwhile, the Secretary of State and Mr Mates will make their way to the top of the staircase, where they will meet the Irish party and escort Irish Ministers back to the Secretary of State's office, for a Ministerial photo-call. Irish officials are given the use of the Ministerial waiting room on the first floor, equidistant between the Secretary of State's office and PUS's office.

Handling

9. General signals which the Secretary of State might want to send to the Irish through his handling of the Conference might be that he wants to use the Conference constructively and in a balanced way, but that he is no pushover. He might make clear that he does not regard the Conference as no more than a channel for nationalist grievances but rather as an opportunity for the two Governments to work constructively together to defeat terrorism, to build the confidence of all sections of the community in the security forces, to facilitate political progress and to foster economic and social co-operation between the UK and the Republic. The tete a tete session provides an opportunity for setting the tone warmly but frankly.

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Tete-a-tete

10. The tete-a-tete should begin in the Secretary of State's room at around 0935 hours in the Secretary of State's room with no officials present. It is important for the Joint Chairmen to invite the Joint Secretaries to join the meeting where a need arises to record any specific outcomes to the matters under discussion. This is especially important for Political Development.

11. The Secretary of State might want to get across to Mr Andrews during the tete-a-tete his own view of the Anglo-Irish relationship. But his primary objective will be to secure agreement to starting political talks on a basis which is likely to be acceptable to all concerned. While this will fall to be addressed during the Plenary Session, there is every advantage in rehearsing the key points with Mr Andrews in tete a tete first. The Secretary of State has also indicated that he intends to raise the Adelaide Hospital at the Conference. Although the matter has been raised before it does not, strictly speaking, obviously fall within the ambit of the IGC and is therefore best raised privately in the tete-a-tete. Equally, the cases of Walsh, Armstrong and Holmes are not matters for the Conference (although the Irish do not accept this) but are likely to be raised by Mr Andrews during the tete-a-tete. Briefing on each of these issues is on the folder.

Restricted Security Session

12. At around 1000 hours the Chief Constable, the Garda Commissioner, Mr Ledlie, Mr Brosnan, Mr Dalton and Mr Dodds will be invited to join the Ministers in the Secretary of State's room for the restricted session. Normally, this is a fairly tightly run session, and the convention is for the host Joint Chairman to say a few opening words of welcome, before handing over to the

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Minister of State. At Mr Mates' briefing meeting this morning it was suggested that the Secretary of State might like himself to make some opening remarks about cross-border security co-operation before handing over to Mr Mates.

13. It is possible that Mr Andrews will speak first for the Irish side, though we are advised that on this occasion this role is likely to be taken by Mr Flynn, with Mr Andrews coming in later on the specific question of border roads. When the Ministers have spoken, it is normal practice to invite the senior RUC representative, in this case Sir Hugh Annesley, to give a professional assessment of recent security events from the Northern perspective. This would then be followed by a similar presentation from the Commissioner, Mr Culligan, who will give a complementary picture from the Garda point of view. Insofar as there is a formal agenda, it would be normal for Mr Mates to lead on particular items, which on this occasion may include cross-border roads, the security briefing for Mr Flynn and Op Loren. The Irish side - probably Mr Flynn - are likely to raise the leaked Scotland Yard document (Mr Mates' meeting agreed this morning that the response could be a low-key one which played down the significance of the view about a lack of anti-PIRA intelligence attributed to the Met) and recent finds in the Republic. As this is a light agenda, it should be over in 20 minutes to half an hour. It would be for Mr Mates to sum up and identify further action, as necessary.

Plenary Session

14. This will take place in the NIO(L) Conference Room on the first floor. In order to keep the meeting as small as possible, the note-takers will be Mr Farrell on the Irish side and Mr Kyle on ours. Neither Mr Dalton nor Mr Dodds will be present. The opening remarks and welcome would normally be made by the Secretary of State, who we imagine will wish to steer the meeting

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fairly swiftly to political matters. The police chiefs would stay until the Confidence Issues are finished and then withdraw.

15. As this is the Secretary of State's first Conference he may wish to begin the plenary by reaffirming some of the general principles on which Government policy in Northern Ireland is based. Some bull points are on the folder.

1. Political Development

16. Full briefing is on the folder.

2. Confidence Issues

17. The Secretary of State will want to make clear that HMG, like the Irish Government, attaches a great deal of importance to raising confidence in the security forces, but that the best way of achieving this is for the two Governments to work together rather than in opposition. This will involve, on the British side, ensuring that there is no reason for there to be any lack of confidence; and on the Irish side, an acknowledgement of the integrity and professionalism of the security forces. There is, after all, little point of our convincing the Irish Government that our house is in order if this message is not getting through to the nationalist community, to the people of the Republic or to other interested groups. A general speaking note is on the folder, followed by SPOB briefing on the specific issues which are likely to be raised.

3. Economic and Social Matters

18. Some bull points on economic and social policy are included on the folder, together with notes on the progress which has been made in the various areas addressed at recent Conferences. Should the Irish continue to show resistance the Secretary of State has

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already indicated that he will wish to press very hard for the long overdue announcement on the Belfast-Dublin rail link. The Secretary of State might propose that a suitable topic for the next Conference would be public purchasing, together with a fuller general review of economic and social matters.

Any other business

19. We are not aware of any other issues to be discussed at the Conference. But contingency briefing is provided on extradition in case this is raised.

Communique

20. The Joint Secretaries are usually in a position to circulate a draft communique at the end of the meeting. When a joint text has been agreed across the table, the British and Irish versions are typed in final form in time for the press conferences which will take place after lunch in the Conference Room.

Lunch

21. When Ministers finish the plenary session and after they clear the text of the communique, they make their way to the Music Room on the ground floor of Admiralty House for lunch at approximately 1230 hours. Officials will be given lunch in a private function room on the third floor. It is expected that lunch will be finished by 1350 hours.

Press Conference

22. The major constraint is an urgent commitment binding on both the Secretary of State and Mr Mates at the House of Commons at 1430 hours. Normally, the visiting delegation go to the Conference Room for a press conference first. However, the Irish

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side are aware of the commitment at the House of Commons and are perfectly happy for our Ministers to go first - say at 1400 hours. That means that the Secretary of State and Mr Mates could leave OAB for the House of Commons at approximately 1415 hours. Irish Ministers would then have their press conference and depart at approximately 1430 hours, with formal farewells being paid by PUS, on behalf of Ministers.

Briefing Meetings

23. The handling of the Conference will be discussed at the Secretary of State's briefing meeting at 9 am on Friday 24 April in the VCR.

(SIGNED)

D A L COOKE  
& A M DODDS  
23 APRIL 1992  
OAB EXT 6587

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