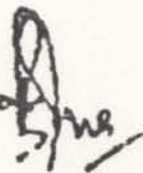


MEMORANDUM

cc Mr Wilson  
Mr Cowan  
Mr Jackson M  
Mr Davenport M  
Mr Houghton  
Mr Dodds  
Mr Sanderson

## MEETING BETWEEN MR O'KENNEDY AND SECRETARY OF STATE

1. Paragraph 4 of Mr Marshall's minute of 15 January commissioning briefs for the above meeting referred to the need for "crib cards".
2. The last time these were provided was at a meeting in Dublin on 5th May but as far as I am aware they were not, on that occasion, written by the authors of the briefs.
3. Although the need for a crib card in specific cases and its contents, must of course be a matter for the discretion of the author of each brief I attach copies of those used on 5 May as examples so that authors of briefs can achieve some consistency for this occasion including the use of A5 size paper please!



R G JONES

17 January 1979

POLITICS

MAIN POINTS

1. Following Copenhagen, there is no point in going over the fundamental and long-term issues. The two Governments have "agreed to differ" on these, and on the need for EMU to make a declaration of, eg interest in Irish unity.
2. What we want - and we can be in agreement with you on this - is the establishment of a devolved government in Northern Ireland on a basis which both parts of the community can support and sustain. This means a partnership government with safeguards for the minority.
3. The Taoiseach in the Dail on 11 April supported my "framework" or "five-point plan". We should now work together to bring about talks with leaders of the political parties from both parts of the community on this "framework".

4. If the SDLP are looking to a change of government in the UK, they should realise it is in their interest to have the "partnership" proposals in the framework at the centre of the stage.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY POINTS

- a. We have no deal with the Unionists, and have shown our good faith in counter-punching them. They now realise they will not get a return to majority rule. This is a tremendous advance, for majority rule is, after all, the democratic norm.
- b. Similarly, we have worked hard to keep the Tories to a bipartisan approach - eg Doncaster speech: cf also Neave's recent Guardian article. (Note: Airey Neave has only said power-sharing is "not practical politics").
- c. Direct rule will continue as necessary; but it is not "creeping integration". The NI Civil



( Service is maintained as a separate organisation;  
and the corpus of NI legislation is preserved  
intact.

d. We have not neglected the SDLP's interests.  
It was Government support which got proportional  
representation (PR/STV) in Northern Ireland for  
the European elections, which can only help the  
SDLP to win a seat. We have just announced a  
new housing development at Poleglass to ease the  
position of catholics in West Belfast; and there  
are other incentive schemes of special value to  
the minority.

e. We recognise that the Irish have an interest  
in hearing from us about the situation in the  
North, and giving us their views. Valuable to  
have regular Ministerial meetings on this basis,  
without fuss or advance negotiation on the  
balance of the agenda. But the constitutional  
responsibility is solely ours and must be seen  
to be solely ours.

, [if long-term issues are raised] we stand firm on the need for consent within Northern Ireland. Therefore wrong to assure guarantees (and imply no consent) or to seek a declaration/ promise from ENG.

✓  
✓  
✓  
SECURITY

MAIN POINTS

1. Policy is to bring violence to an end by treating terrorists as criminals, and dealing with them by due process of law, regardless of any claims of political motivation.
2. We seek to win support of the community for this policy, and for the Police who are in the lead in executing it. This support is growing, as support for PIRA among the minority is decreasing.
3. No question of an amnesty; or of political status for prisoners.
4. Recognise border is a significant factor or ingredient in terrorism. Not reducible to simple percentages. A complex matter.

PIRA common enemy. Practical co-operation of police is important, is good, but should be developed further through the JCC.

6. As politicians we can recognise that neither side is perfect, but that to defeat the terrorists we must set the right climate, take the right resource decisions etc. For this purpose we need to share with them at the political and administrative level an assessment of the changing nature and scale of the threat - in private. The assessment turns on regular information plus regular meetings. Officials should carry forward their recent exchanges.

7. Glad to hear that CC and Gardai Commission will meet soon.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY POINTS

We have suggested at official level to the Irish that it would not be helpful to raise the



ation of the current difficulties in the  
locks, since any subsequent briefing which  
suggests the Irish Government has pressed us on  
this can only give comfort to PIRA. However, it  
could still arise. Our line must be flat: there  
will be no return to political status; the men  
concerned are convicted criminals; and breaches  
of prison discipline can only be met with the  
usual punishment - eg loss of remission.

b. On extradition, the Irish are extremely  
sensitive at what they see as pressure on them.  
There is a danger that, if pushed too hard, they  
will sign the European Convention on the  
Suppression of Terrorism, but with so many  
reservations (permitted under the Convention) as  
to render it useless. Alternatively they may  
support the Belgian initiative in the EEC under  
which they would undertake to "extradite or try" -  
and would never extradite. Either way, they  
might repeal the extra-territorial legislation



lowering terrorist offences, in which case we should be worse off than now<sup>7</sup>. Our line, therefore, should be: the two governments know each other's positions and the matter is best left there. We shall not be slow to invoke the extra-territorial legislation when occasion offers.

c. We cannot go back to the 2% form of return. It was inadequate and misleading. Our January return (based on a wider definition) is the starting point and can be supplemented by any other information the Irish suggest and by regular and general discussions, in order to reach a common appreciation. Glad also to have any Irish information. [We must not drop systematic returns - whether the old-style '2%' return or the January return - or the Irish will use the 2% figure again and claim it is the only information we have regularly given them.]