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ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT: CHEQUERS: 18/19 NOVEMBER 1984  
RECORD OF A MEETING IN THE LONG GALLERY AT 9.30 am, 19 NOVEMBER

Present:

UK Side

The Secretary of State for  
Foreign & Commonwealth Affairs  
The Secretary of State for  
Northern Ireland  
Mr Robert Andrew  
Sir Ewart Bell  
HM Ambassador Dublin  
Mr Robin Butler  
Mr David Goodall  
Mr Gerald Clark

Irish Side

The Tánaiste (Mr Spring)  
Minister for Foreign Affairs  
(Mr Barry)  
Mr Andrew Ward  
Irish Ambassador in London  
Mr Michael Lillis

1. Sir Geoffrey Howe opened the meeting by suggesting that they cover European Community matters and bilateral questions which may not have come into the main discussion. Mr Barry spoke of the slow progress that the enlargement negotiations were making. It had been intended to complete them by the end of September. The Ten had not yet even reached a common position for Spain except for one small package on olive oil and related products, which both Spain and Portugal had turned down. The more difficult questions of wine and fisheries remained. He was worried about the consequences of delay: documentation would take about 12 months, and approval by each of the Parliaments of the Ten a further 12 months. He was pessimistic about completing the negotiations by the end of the year. Sir Geoffrey Howe said that he was baffled how to push matters forward. The British were not holding this negotiation up, the only point of difficulty for us was the question of high industrial tariffs. He had a growing sense of the importance of the timetable. In some ways the EC behaved as if it were already enlarged but all the important issues remained unresolved. Mr Barry said that the fishing countries within the Ten were all more or less in line, and he hoped there might be the possibility of a small trade-off there. He had tried the previous week to get fish and agriculture into

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one package as he was always being asked to make more packages, but the Italians had blocked it as they wanted wine included as well. He thought the next week's Community discussions would be very important. The Spanish would be very tough on fish: they had 1100 fishing boats of which they claimed only 315 were in Community water, but he believed that if conditions were made easier for them the others would come rushing back from distant fishing grounds. The Spanish proposed solution was for the Community to increase the size of allowable catches and to give all the increase to Spain. They appear to have no understanding of conservation matters. The Portuguese were a little easier to deal with. Mr Barry thought the Community could give something on sardines if the Italians obtained a concession on wine. He thought the British could help by giving way on a matter of importance to us. Sir Geoffrey Howe said that high industrial tariffs and fish were the only subjects in the enlargement negotiations of real importance to us. Mr Barry said he thought the Germans and Danes were more or less in line with the British. He regretted that the agricultural Ministers had failed to agree on wine. That would be coming back to the Foreign Ministers Council on 20 November along with ACP and Political Cooperation.

2. Sir Geoffrey Howe said that he had asked Mr Rifkind and Mr Raison to cover enlargement and ACP respectively. Mr Barry said the Germans needed to resolve their position on ACP. There was some confusion about what Mr Genscher had meant. He appeared to be saying that the FRG wanted to stick to the \$7 billion <sup>limit</sup> but were willing to agree to others paying up to 7.3 billion if they wished. Genscher had yet to agree his position with Ruhfus. Mr Barry continued that the differences involved only very small sums: for example the United Kingdom would only be asked to pay \$7 million <sup>more</sup> (under the 7.3 billion formula) and that not until 1991. It would be a pity to embitter discussion for the sake of such small sums.

3. Sir Geoffrey Howe said that under the Political Cooperation item he thought there would be discussion of the Middle East, and preparations for the European Council. Mr Barry asked whether an American initiative on the Middle East was likely before the

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formal re-inauguration of President Reagan in January.

Sir Geoffrey Howe thought that the US would move slowly, and for that reason he favoured the Community moving cautiously step by step as well. He believed that a big initiative by the Community would make it more difficult to bring the United States along.

Mr Barry agreed: any Community move should help the situation and not be action for action's sake.

4. Mr Barry mentioned the South Lebanon where Irish contingents were involved in UNIFIL. He was surprised that the Gemayel Government had lasted so long as it had. Sir Geoffrey Howe said Gemayel faced real problems which explained why the Lebanese talks with Israel were moving so slowly. Syria was in practice exercising authoritative surveillance over Lebanese affairs.

5. Sir Geoffrey Howe expressed admiration and gratitude for the efforts which Mr Barry and the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs had put into the Presidency. It was a terrible burden. He added that relations with the European Parliament were very important: the Parliament must not be given room to make any further changes in the Budget. Mr Barry said that he expected a rough ride the following week. Sir Geoffrey Howe said that the key was that the Germans were now willing to advance implementation of the own resources decision into 1985. He thought there was an important link between "own resources" and enlargement.

6. Mr Barry said that the Dooge Committee would be meeting on 20 November. It would have an interim report ready for the European Council in Dublin, and would produce a final report probably in March 1985. Sir Geoffrey Howe said that it was important that they should not pretend to reach conclusions they had not. He hoped that Senator Dooge would remain in the Chair even after the Presidency changed. Mr Barry confirmed that the other members were agreeable to that.

7. Both agreed that enlargement of the Community will be one of the main topics at the Dublin Summit. Mr Barry said it would be intolerable if the Heads of Government have to deal with the

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detail of the negotiations. It was a characteristic and growing fault of the Community that no-one took decisions at the proper level. He wondered how to reverse this tendency. He had tried repeatedly at Foreign Affairs Councils without much success. Sir Geoffrey Howe said that he was anxious headway should be made on Political Cooperation too. He believed that small practical measures were better than declarations of principle which served merely to distract the public. A useful idea was to improve the continuity between Presidencies. Mr Barry said the Irish believed that economic and social unity must precede political unity. The low polls in the 1983 European Parliament elections indicated public apathy. A higher poll had been obtained in 1979 because it had reflected direct domestic political interest.

8. Finally both agreed that M. Jacques Delors' presence at the European Council dinner was a good idea. It was difficult to give him a formal part in the talks as that would upset the present President of the Commission.

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