

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



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ARIA

CODED MESSAGE

Sent on 28-7-77 Time 0900
 Received on _____
 Coded on Thor
 Decoded on _____
 Signed _____

C261
 URGENT
 SECRET
 TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON
 FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

REFERENCE: SWIFT'S C220

This is from earlier version of text

IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS, I CALLED ON DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY VINE TODAY AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT. I WAS ACCOMPANIED BY LILLIS AND VINE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE IRISH DESK OFFICER SCHALLER. IN MAKING OUR POINTS, I USED A SPEAKING NOTE, COPY OF WHICH I LEFT WITH VINE ON AN INFORMAL BASIS FOR HIS INFORMATION. I DID NOT REFER TO THE POINT MADE IN THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH OF THE MEMORANDUM FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH REGARDING A REFERENCE TO "UNCERTAINTY CAUSED BY A SMALL MINORITY" AS IN FACT THE PHRASE IN THE DRAFT STATEMENT TRANSMITTED IN OUR CONFIDENTIAL C253 WAS "UNREST CAUSED BY A SMALL MINORITY". OTHERWISE, I REORGANISED SOMEWHAT THE SEQUENCE OF POINTS CONVEYED IN SWIFT'S C220 IN THE FOLLOWING TEXT:

“ SPEAKING NOTE

~~THE EMBASSY RECEIVED FOR INFORMATION ON THURSDAY, JULY 21, COPY OF A DRAFT STATEMENT WHICH IS UNDER CONSIDERATION AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATOMM. THE DRAFDZUZZKWDYK~~
 SPEAKING NOTE

THE EMBASSY RECEIVED FOR INFORMATION ON THURSDAY, JULY 21, COPY OF A DRAFT STATEMENT WHICH IS UNDER CONSIDERATION AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. ~~THE DRAF~~
 EFFBP

THE DRAFT STATEMENT HAS BEEN CONSIDERED IN DUBLIN AND WE ARE INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS.

- 1) WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE PROPOSED DRAFT STATEMENT AND WE ATTACH PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THE PRINCIPLE ARTICULATED IN FOLLOWING QUOTATION: "IT IS ALSO TRUE, HOWEVER, THAT A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WOULD CONTRIBUTE IMMEASURABLY TO STABILITY IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND SO ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR INCREASED INVESTMENT. IN THE EVENT OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT, THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO SEE HOW ADDITIONAL JOB-CREATING INVESTMENT COULD BE ENCOURAGED, TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND." WE SUGGEST THE ADDITION OF THE WORDS "AND OF IRELAND GENERALLY" TO THE END OF THE SECOND SENTENCE IN THIS QUOTATION.

2) WE ARE CONCERNED THAT THERE HAVE BEEN REPORTS IN THE MEDIA IN IRELAND, BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES ABOUT THIS MATTER, EMANATING APPARENTLY FROM A REPORT IN THE LONDON SUNDAY TIMES OF JULY 24. THIS PUBLICITY HAS GIVEN RISE TO SOME UNFOUNDED SPECULATION AS TO WHAT MIGHT BE INVOLVED AND, MORE SERIOUSLY, HAS CREATED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR GROUPS SUCH AS THE IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS, A LOBBYING GROUP WHICH REPRESENTS THE PROVISIONAL IRA, TO CREDIT THEMSELVES WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR A POSSIBLE "INITIATIVE" BY PRESIDENT CARTER. A SPOKESMAN FOR THE IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS SO MISREPRESENTED THE SITUATION ON TELEVISION IN BOSTON DURING THE PAST WEEKEND AND WAS SIMILARLY QUOTED IN THE IRISH PRESS OF JULY 25. WE BELIEVE IT IS IMPORTANT THAT IT BE CLEAR IN IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH, THAT THE UNITED STATES IN ITS CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION DOES NOT CONSULT ILLEGAL ORGANISATIONS OR THEIR SUPPORTERS. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT ANY UNCERTAINTY UNDER THIS HEADING WOULD BE REMOVED BY THE REVISION OF THE THIRD SENTENCE IN THE SECOND PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT STATEMENT TO READ AS FOLLOWS: "THE UNITED STATES WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORTS PEACEFUL MEANS OF FINDING A JUST SOLUTION THAT INVOLVES THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS AND PROTECTS HUMAN RIGHTS."

3) THE TERM "SOUTHERN IRELAND", USED IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT, IS NOT COMMON IN IRELAND, NORTH OR SOUTH, AND, MOREOVER, WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO MOST IRISH PEOPLE. SIMILARLY THE PHRASE "IRISH AND SCOTS-IRISH HERITAGE" WOULD FOR IRISH PEOPLE OF ALL TRADITIONS CARRY THE IMPLICATION THAT THE PROTESTANT-UNIONIST TRADITION IN IRELAND IS NOT ITSELF IRISH AND THAT ONLY THE CATHOLIC-NATIONALIST HERITAGE COULD BE SO DESCRIBED: THIS WOULD ALSO BE UNACCEPTABLE TO MOST IRISH PEOPLE. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT A FORMULA ON THE FOLLOWING LINES MIGHT AVOID THE MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT CAN ARISE FROM DIFFERENT USAGES IN THIS SENSITIVE AREA: "AMONG THE GREATEST CONTRIBUTIONS HAVE BEEN THOSE OF THE IRISH AND BRITISH PEOPLE PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC ALIKE AND WE ARE CONSCIOUS AND PROUD OF THE HERITAGE WITH WHICH THEY HAVE ENRICHED OUR COUNTRY. WE HAVE LONG TIES OF FRIENDSHIP WITH BOTH PARTS OF IRELAND AND WITH GREAT BRITAIN."

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MARIA

4) WE SUPPORT THE PROPOSED APPEAL TO U.S. CITIZENS TO REFRAIN FROM SUPPORTING DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY THE USE OF VIOLENCE IN IRELAND. WE WOULD WELCOME THE INCLUSION BEFORE THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE THIRD PARAGRAPH OF THE DRAFT STATEMENT OF A SENTENCE ON THE FOLLOWING LINES: "IN PARTICULAR, I WOULD ASK ALL AMERICANS TO REFRAIN FROM SUPPORTING WITH FINANCIAL OR OTHER AID ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY IN THIS VIOLENCE."

5) THE STATEMENT THAT INVESTMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS "BEE MAINTAINED AT A SATISFACTORY LEVEL" DURING RECENT YEARS IS NOT ACCURATE IN OUR OPINION AND SUCH AN ASSERTION MIGHT, IN OUR VIEW, DETRACT FROM THE CREDIBILITY OF THE STATEMENT AS A WHOLE.

END OF TEXT''

VINE DID NOT COMMENT ONE WAY OF THE OTHER ON THE SUGGESTION THAT "AND OF IRELAND GENERALLY" BE ADDED TO THE STATEMENT ABOUT U.S. EFFORTS TO PROMOTE JOB-CREATING INVESTMENT.

YOU WILL NOTE THAT I ADDUCED THE FACT THAT FR. SEAN MCMANNUS HAD BEEN CLAIMING SOME CREDIT FOR A POSSIBLE INITIATIVE BY PRESIDENT CARTER IN REQUESTING THAT A REFERENCE BE MADE TO THE INVOLVEMENT IN A SETTLEMENT NOT ONLY OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND BUT ALSO OF THE TWO SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENTS IN DUBLIN AND LONDON. OUR CONCERN IN RELATION TO THE ACTIVITIES OF MCMANNUS HAD BEEN, AS YOU ARE AWARE, CONVEYED STRONGLY TO THE AMERICAN AUTHORITIES BEFORE AND DURING THE VISIT OF THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON AND AROUND ST. PATRICK'S DAY AND WE FOUND VINE PREDICTABLY SYMPATHETIC. HE DID REMARK, HOWEVER, THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS LOATH TO PRESCRIBE THE STRUCTURE OF A SOLUTION I.E. HOW MANY PARTIES SHOULD BE INVOLVED AND HE SUGGESTED THAT, INSTEAD OF STATING THAT A JUST SOLUTION WOULD BE ONE THAT "INVOLVES THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS", WE MIGHT CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING FORMULA: "A JUST SOLUTION THAT INVOLVES THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND, PROTECTS HUMAN RIGHTS AND IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH AND IRISH GOVERNMENTS". I RECOMMEND THAT WE SHOULD ACCEPT THIS FORMULA INSOFAR OUR INTEREST WOULD SEEM TO BE WELL PROTECTED THROUGH THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE SOLUTION SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO OUR GOVERNMENT.

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MARIA

WE FOUND THE AMERICANS SYMPATHETIC TO THE POINTS CONVEYED IN PARAGRAPH NO. 3 OF OUR SPEAKING NOTE.

IN RELATION TO OUR PARAGRAPH NO. 4, THEY WERE SYMPATHETIC TO THE IDEA INVOLVED IN THE SUGGESTED PETITION BUT FELT THAT THE AMENDMENT AS SUGGESTED MIGHT MAKE FOR SOMEWHAT INELEGANT PROSE BECAUSE OF AN ELEMENT OF REPETITION. WE SUGGESTED THAT AN OVERT REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF FINANCIAL AID AS WELL AS TO ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED IN SUPPORT OF VIOLENCE WOULD BE HELPFUL AND THEY UNDERTOOK TO LOOK AT THE DRAFT AGAIN TO INCORPORATE THESE TWO CONCEPTS.

VINE ACCEPTED THAT THE ASSERTION THAT INVESTMENT IN NORTHERN IRELAND HAS "BEEN MAINTAINED AT A SATISFACTORY LEVEL" LACKS CREDIBILITY. THE AMERICANS HAVE A CERTAIN DIFFICULTY, HOWEVER, IN ENTIRELY ELIMINATING THE IDEA THAT A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF INVESTMENT HAS OCCURRED AS THIS WOULD LEAVE THE IMPLICATION THAT NORTHERN IRELAND, UNTIL A SETTLEMENT WAS ACHIEVED, HAD NO ATTRACTION WHATEVER FOR U.S. INVESTMENT AND THIS WOULD OF COURSE RUN DIRECTLY COUNTER TO THE POLICY OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE IN CONTINUING TO TRY TO ATTRACT EITHER NEW U.S. INDUSTRIES OR EXPAND EXISTING U.S. PLANTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. WE UNDERSTAND THAT WHILE THEIR SUCCESS IN ATTRACTING NEW INDUSTRY HAS BEEN NEGLIGIBLE THEY HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESSES IN EXPANDING ESTABLISHED U.S. INDUSTRIES E.G. THE DU PONT PLANT IN DERRY. IT WAS SUGGESTED TO US THAT A REVISION ON THE LINES "INVESTMENT HAS CONTINUED" MIGHT GO SOME DISTANCE TO BRIDGE THE CREDIBILITY GAP. WE SAID WE STILL SAW DIFFICULTY BUT WE DID NOT REJECT THIS SUGGESTION OUT OF HAND.

VINE'S COMMENTS WERE OF COURSE HIS IMMEDIATE PERSONAL REACTION AND HE SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT BEFORE HE COULD LET US KNOW WHETHER OUR SUGGESTIONS WERE ACCEPTABLE OR OTHERWISE. IT WOULD IN THE MEANWHILE BE USEFUL TO HAVE YOUR OWN REACTIONS TO THE SUGGESTIONS MADE BY OUR AMERICAN COLLEAGUES IN RELATION TO PARAGRAPH NO. 2 AND NO. 5 OF OUR SPEAKING NOTE.

END
HIBERNIA WASHINGTON
JULY 27, 1977
18:10 HOURS