

# NATIONAL ARCHIVES

## IRELAND



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TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON  
FOR ASST SEC NELIGAN FROM AMBASSADOR  
MMMJKOI

*Pl copy to*  
1) ASM  
2) PSS  
3) MA Neligan  
4) Mr Ho Murray (of record)  
5) Mr Swift (on return)  
6) Mr O'Brien  
7) Mr Sew

8/7 MR Barry VO

<b>CODED MESSAGE</b>
<b>IMMEDIATE/URGENT</b>
<b>CONFIDENTIAL</b>
DATE <u>22/8/79</u> 1830
INITIALS <u>S. Darley</u>

DEPUTY CONSUL GENERAL HAMILL AND I MET GOVERNOR CAREY AND DR CAHILL FOR ONE AND A HALF HOURS ON 21 AUGUST. THE GOVERNOR HAD BEEN PRESSING FOR EARLY AND POSITIVE RESPONSE TO HIS LETTER OF 6 AUGUST TO MINISTER AND WE SOUGHT MEETING IN EFFORT BOTH TO KEEP GOVERNOR HAPPY FOR ANOTHER WHILE WITHOUT FORMALLY RESPONDING TO LETTER AND ALSO TO TEASE OUT FURTHER THE GOVERNOR'S PROPOSALS FOR NEW YORK MEETING. IN THE EVENT THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS ARTICLE OF 20 AUGUST HAD KEPT THE GOVERNOR HAPPY AND HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR WHAT HE SAW AS PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT OF HIS INITIATIVE.

2. WE BEGAN BY THANKING GOVERNOR FOR HIS CONTINUING CONSTRUCTIVE INTEREST AND EXPLAINED THAT PURPOSE OF MEETING WAS (A) TO FILL HIM IN GENERALLY ON THE PRESENT STATE OF ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS (B) GIVE TENTATIVE VIEWS ON WHAT MIGHT USEFULLY BE DISCUSSED AT A NEW YORK MEETING AND (C) FIND OUT WHAT WAS ENVISAGED IN REGARD TO STRUCTURE AND FORMAT AT PROPOSED MEETING.

3. GOVERNOR GAVE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH ATKINS WHOM HE HAD FOUND OPEN AND SENSITIVE TO THE IRISH-AMERICAN CONNECTION. IN FACT ATKINS HAD ACCEPTED THE INVITATION TO THE NEW YORK MEETING WITHOUT RESERVATION BUT TOWARDS END OF MEETING HAD BEEN REMINDED BY SENIOR NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE OFFICIAL WHO WAS PRESENT THAT HE COULD NOT COMMIT HIMSELF TO SUCH A MEETING WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AND PRIME MINISTER. GOVERNOR EXPLAINED THAT MAIN MOTIVE FOR HIS INITIATIVE WAS UNWILLINGNESS TO LEAVE US SCENE COMPLETELY TO PROVOS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS. IRISH NATIONAL CAUCUS WERE LIKELY TO HOLD PEACE FORUM IN WASHINGTON THIS AUTUMN AND THE UNSCRUPULOUS BIAGGI WOULD CONTINUE TO GRAB HEADLINES. IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT SUPPORTERS OF MAIN IRISH POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD ALSO BE SEEN TO BE ACTIVE AND NOT CONFINE THEIR ACTIVITIES TO THE ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE EXERCISE OF ATTACKING SUPPORT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR VIOLENCE IN IRELAND. GOVERNOR SPOKE BITTERLY ABOUT BIAGGI AND SAID HE HAD NO DEAL WITH HIM AND ONCE MORE TRIED TO CONVINCE ME THAT HE HAD NEVER BOWED THE KNEE UNDER PRESSURE FROM BIAGGI.

4. GOVERNOR SAID HE HAD NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE LIMITED NATURE OF HIS INITIATIVE. IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE ONLY ONE IN A SERIES OF MEETINGS MOST OF WHICH WOULD TAKE PLACE IN IRELAND OR BRITAIN WITHOUT ANY US INVOLVEMENT. HE HAD NO AMBITIONS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF IRELAND BUT HE THOUGHT SOME US ACTIVITY WOULD HELP TO EDUCATE ELEMENTS IN THE IRISH-AMERICAN COMMUNITY WHO WERE OUT OF TOUCH WITH CURRENT IRISH REALITIES. IT WOULD ALSO ONCE MORE REMIND THE BRITISH OF THE US INTEREST. HE WAS CONSCIOUS OF POSSIBILITY THAT BRITISH BY PLACING EMPHASIS ON SECURING MATTERS MIGHT CREATE PRESENTATIONAL PROBLEMS BOTH FOR US AND INDEED FOR HIMSELF. HOWEVER WE SHOULD NOT, HE SAID, UNDER-ESTIMATE BOTH OUR OWN EXPERTISE IN DEALING WITH FOREIGN MEDIA AND ALSO HIS OWN EXTENSIVE US MEDIA CONTACTS WHICH WOULD BE AT OUR DISPOSAL. HE ACCEPTED THAT BRITISH INFORMATION SERVICES RESOURCES WERE CONSIDERABLE IN THE US BUT ALSO SPOKE FLATTERINGLY OF THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF OUR INFORMATION ACTIVITIES IN RECENT YEARS.

5. GOVERNOR ADDED TWO FURTHER REASONS WHY MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE. FIRSTLY, IT WOULD PROVIDE US ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES WITH A RALLYING POINT AT THE BEGINNING OF THE LONG RUN-IN TO NATIONAL ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR. IF NO OTHER US EFFORT EXCEPT THAT OF THE CAUCUS AND BIAGGI WAS VISIBLE HOW COULD POLITICIANS WHO WERE UNDER PRESSURE FROM CONSTITUENTS BE PREVENTED FROM IDENTIFYING THEMSELVES WITH THE CAUCUS. SECONDLY, A MEETING IN NEW YORK WOULD SERVE TO REMIND THE US ADMINISTRATION THAT THEY COULD NOT AFFORD TO CONTINUE IN THE ESSENTIALLY NEGATIVE LINE ON IRELAND WHICH THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND, IN PARTICULAR, AMBASSADOR BREWSTER IN LONDON WAS IMPOSING (THE GOVERNOR SEEMED INCIDENTALLY UNAWARE THAT PRESIDENT HAS ALREADY MENTIONED NORTHERN IRELAND TO THE BRITISH PRIME MINISTER AT THE TOKYO SUMMIT AND THAT VANCE HAD ALSO RAISED IT WITH CARRINGTON. THIS WOULD SEEM TO CONFIRM THAT KENNEDY AND O'NEILL WHO WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN BOTH OF THESE CONTACTS ARE NOT TAKING THE GOVERNOR INTO THEIR COMPLETE CONFIDENCE).

6. THE GOVERNOR OBVIOUSLY HAS NO INTENTION OF SERIOUSLY INVOLVING THE OTHER BIG THREE IN HIS INITIATIVE. INDEED I UNDERSTAND FROM KENNEDY THAT HE AND THE GOVERNOR MET IN NEW YORK RECENTLY AND SUBJECT WAS NOT DISCUSSED AT ALL. KENNEDY HAD PREVIOUSLY AGREED TO A BRITISH SUGGESTION THAT HE SHOULD MEET ATKINS IN WASHINGTON SOMETIME THIS AUTUMN AND THAT REMAINS HIS POSITION. O'NEILL HAS NOT BEEN CONSULTED OR KEPT INFORMED BY GOVERNOR AND EQUALLY HAS NO INTENTION OF PARTICIPATING IN A NEW YORK MEETING. MOYNIHAN MAY POSSIBLY GO ALONG PASSIVELY WITH GOVERNOR'S INITIATIVE BUT I HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO CHECK THIS OUT AT FIRST HAND. GOVERNOR'S VIEW IS THAT IT WOULD BE UNFAIR TO SURROUND ATKINS WITH AN IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER AND FOUR PRO IRISH US POLITICIANS AND THAT THE MEETING SHOULD BE KEPT TO AS SMALL A GROUP AS POSSIBLE.

7. IN REGARD TO THE AGENDA FOR THE MEETING THE GOVERNOR REPEATEDLY EMPHASISED THAT THIS WAS SOMETHING WHICH HE DID NOT WISH TO GET INVOLVED. IF POSSIBLE IT SHOULD BE SORTED OUT BETWEEN DUBLIN AND LONDON BUT HE ACCEPTED THAT SECURITY SHOULD NOT DOMINATE EITHER THE MEETING OR ITS PUBLIC PRESENTATION. THE PHRASE HE HAD USED IN HIS TALKS WITH ATKINS WAS QUOTE SECURITY AND STABILITY UNQUOTE AND HE SAW NO REASON WHY POLITICAL TOPICS SHOULD NOT FORM THE MAIN PART IN THE MEETING. WE REMINDED HIM OF A LONG SERIES OF PROBLEMS WITH THE BRITISH ON THE PRESENTATION OF SECURITY DISCUSSIONS AND SAID WE ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO ENSURING THAT THE AGENDA WAS CORRECT BEFORE FORMALLY ACCEPTING A PROPOSAL FOR A MEETING.

8. THE GOVERNOR PRESSED VERY HARD FOR AN EARLY RESPONSE TO HIS LETTER OF 6 AUGUST AND IF THAT WERE NOT IMMEDIATELY POSSIBLE HE ASKED THAT ARRANGEMENTS BE MADE TO ENABLE HIM TO TALK BY TELEPHONE TO THE MINISTER. HE SAID HE NEEDED SUCH A RESPONSE BOTH TO DEAL WITH HIS US MEDIA CRITICS BUT ALSO TO ENABLE HIM TO PUT MORE PRESSURE ON ATKINS TO CONFIRM HIS INITIAL ACCEPTANCE.

9. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE MINISTER MIGHT NOW FORMALLY RESPOND TO THE INVITATION PRAISING THE GOVERNOR FOR HIS CONTINUING AND CONSTRUCTIVE INTEREST GOING BACK TO THE 1972 HEARINGS AND AGREEING TO ATTEND THE PROPOSED NEW YORK MEETING ON THE BASIS THAT ALL ASPECTS OF CURRENT ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS INCLUDING THE AMERICAN DIMENSION MIGHT BE DISCUSSED IN AN INFORMAL AND OFF THE RECORD WAY. IT WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE IMPORTANT TO GET SUCH A RESPONSE TO THE GOVERNOR BEFORE BRITISH RESPOND IN A NEGATIVE WAY AND IT IS, THEREFORE, SUGGESTED THAT THE MATTER BE CONSIDERED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IF IT IS DECIDED TO RESPOND POSITIVELY I WOULD PROPOSE TO SEEK TO SEE THE OTHER THREE TO EXPLAIN TO THEM WHY WE THOUGHT IT USEFUL TO GO ALONG WITH THE IDEA AT THIS STAGE.