

PREM19

84

IRELAND

(Northern Ireland -  
intervention by Governor  
Carey of New York State)

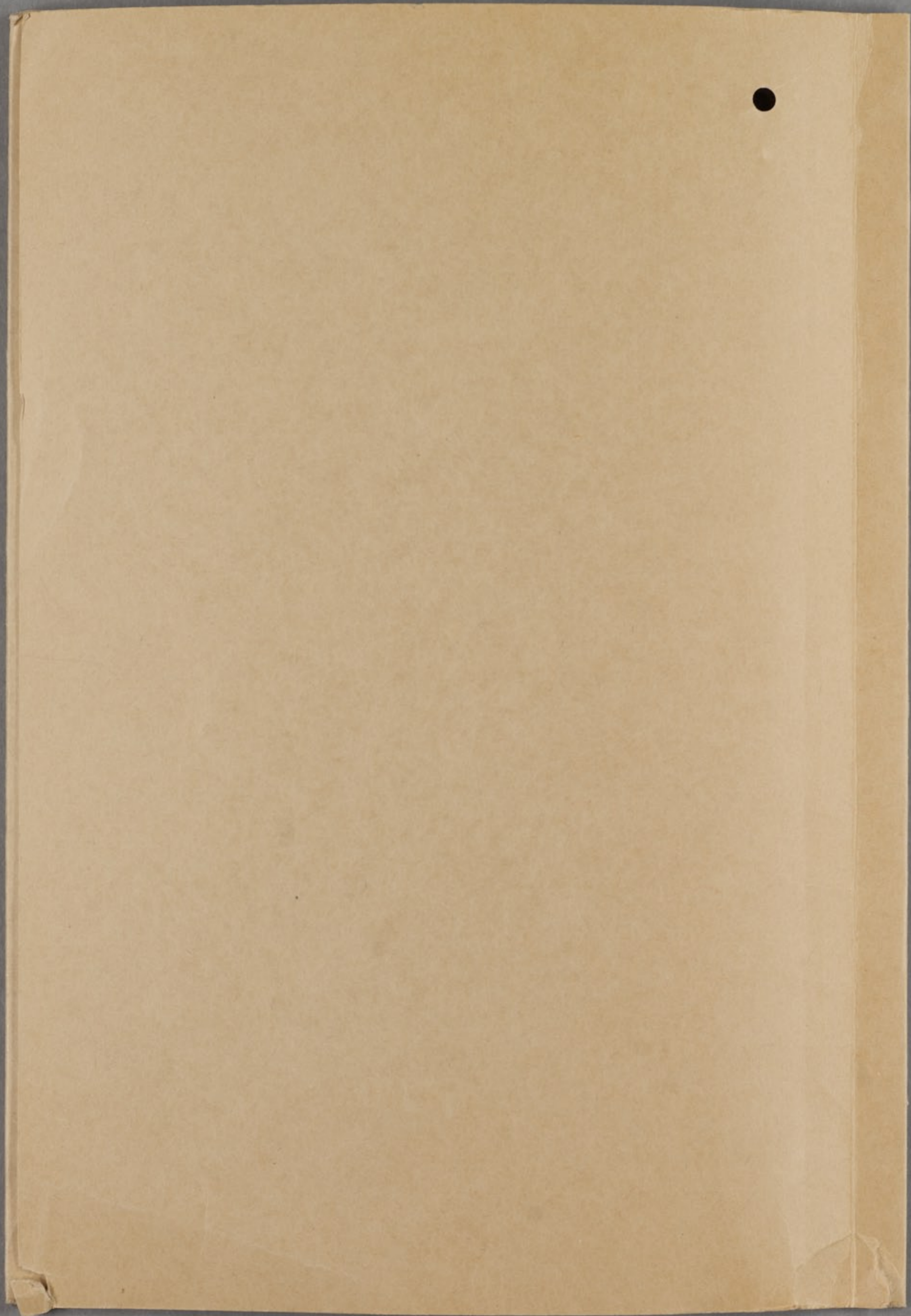
Confidential filing

Governor Carey of New York invited the Secretary of State of Northern Ireland and Foreign Affairs Minister of Republic of Ireland to a meeting to discuss the N. Ireland Situation.

IRELAND

AUGUST 1979

Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date	Referred to	Date
<del>16.8.79</del>		53 830					
<del>21.8.79</del>							
24.8.79							
PREM 19/84							



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UNCLASSIFIED

FM DUBLIN 241111Z AUGUST

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 208 OF 24 AUGUST 1979

AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST

INFO PRIORITY WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK

*Incluzed.*

*1-9  
Pant  
-29/8*

*Prime Minister*

*for  
29/8*

MR ATKINS REPLY TO GOVERNOR CAREY

1. MR ATKINS' RESPONSE IS REPORTED PROMINENTLY ON THE FRONT PAGES OF THE THREE DUBLIN NEWSPAPERS THIS MORNING. THEY ALSO REPORT GOVERNOR CAREY'S REACTION.
  
2. THE INDEPENDENT, IN A PIECE BY THEIR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT HEADLINED QUOTE SIX COUNTIES BOSS SCUTTLES US SUMMIT UNQUOTE RECORDS THE HISTORY OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S INITIATIVE, AND ALSO GOES ON TO STATE THAT MR O'KENNEDY'S REACTION TO MR ATKINS ANNOUNCEMENT WAS VERY LOW KEY (SEE MIFT) . BUT THE ARTICLE ALSO SUGGESTS QUOTE A NEW ROW COULD DEVELOP BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND MR LYNCH'S GOVERNMENT. THE LETTER FROM MR ATKINS STRESSED THAT THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND WAS A MATTER FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, THE PARLIAMENT OF WESTMINSTER AND THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE. THAT APPEARS TO RULE OUT ANY IRISH GOVERNMENT PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS UNQUOTE.
  
3. A BALANCED LEADER IN THE SAME PAPER SUGGESTS THAT THE CONTENT OF MR ATKINS' STATEMENT IS NOT UNEXPECTED. QUOTE DESPITE ALL THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING THE INVITATION IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE START THAT MR ATKINS HAD BEEN QUOTE CAUGHT ON THE HOP UNQUOTE BY THE INVITATION AND THAT HE WAS UNLIKELY TO ATTEND UNLESS THE BRITISH CABINET APPROVED HIS VISIT. FROM THE IRISH POINT OF VIEW A MEETING UNDER GOVERNOR CAREY MIGHT HAVE RESULTED IN SOME FURTHER PUBLICITY FOR THE NORTHERN PROBLEM BUT AGAIN IT MIGHT HAVE RESULTED IN NOTHING MORE THAN A FURTHER INSISTENCE THAT WE IN THE SOUTH ARE DOING NOTHING ABOUT CROSS-BORDER SECURITY - A PERPETUAL THEME OF ALL BRITISH COMPLAINTS UNQUOTE. THE EDITORIAL THEN REFERS TO A SEPERATE FRONT PAGE STORY SUGGESTING THE HMG ARE SELLING OFF OFFICIAL ASSETS IN THE NORTH AND CONCLUDES QUOTE THIS SHOWS THAT LONDON IS CLEARLY DECIDING THAT THE NORTH IS AN EXPENSIVE AND UNGRATEFUL AREA WHICH SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO COST THE BRITISH TAXPAYER MORE THAN AT PRESENT AND LONDON KNOWS THAT THE BRITISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE WILL APPROVE OF THAT ATTITUDE UNQUOTE.

*/4.*

4. THE IRISH TIMES IN A REPORT BY ITS LONDON EDITOR SAYS THAT THE FINAL DECISION TO TURN DOWN GOVERNOR CAREY'S PROPOSAL WAS TAKEN AT A MID-DAY MEETING LASTING ABOUT AN HOUR BETWEEN MR ATKINS AND MRS THATCHER. MR O'KENNEDY IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT THE BRITISH REJECTION OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S INVITATION WAS A REFUSAL TO ATTEND THAT PARTICULAR MEETING, NOT A REJECTION OF THE LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN IRISH AFFAIRS OF RESPONSIBLE IRISH/AMERICAN POLITICIANS. MR O'KENNEDY ALSO SAID THAT MR ATKINS HAD TELEPHONED HIM PERSONALLY YESTERDAY TO TELL HIM OF THE DECISION NOT TO ACCEPT THE GOVERNOR'S INVITATION BECAUSE THE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING IT HAD MEANT THAT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO HAVE HAD A SUCCESSFUL MEETING IN THE TERMS IN WHICH IT HAD BEEN ORIGINALLY UNDERSTOOD. EARLIER YESTERDAY MR O'KENNEDY SAID THAT HE BELIEVED THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT RECOGNISED THE LEGITIMATE IRISH/AMERICAN INTEREST IN TRYING TO ENSURE THAT THERE WAS NOT A CONTINUING STALEMATE IN THE NORTH. HE THOUGHT BRITAIN SAW THIS INTEREST AS A POSITIVE THING.

5. THE IRISH PRESS NOTES THAT MR ATKINS SAID THAT IT WOULD BE WRONG FOR A BRITISH MINISTER TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS OR NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF A PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE UNITED STATES OR ANYWHERE ELSE OUTSIDE THE UK AND GOES ON TO STATE QUOTE THEIR APPARENT REJECTION BY THE BRITISH NOT JUST OF ANY AMERICAN INFLUENCE.... BUT ALSO OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IS EXPECTED TO BE CHALLENGED AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY BY THE TAOISEACH, MR LYNCH. IT WAS BEING POINTED OUT IN POLITICAL CIRCLES LAST NIGHT THAT MR ATKINS' STATEMENT SEEMED TO OVERLOOK HIS OWN RECENT TALKS IN DUBLIN AS WELL AS THOSE OF HIS PREDECESSORS AS NORTHERN IRELAND SECRETARY UNQUOTE. THE PRESS ALSO STATES THAT SEAMUS MALLON (SDLP) HAD CRITICISED MR ATKINS STATEMENT BECAUSE IT PUT HIM INTO A NEGOTIATING STRAIGHTJACKET. MR MALLON IS QUOTED AS SAYING THAT MR ATKINS KNEW FULL WELL THAT THE PROBLEMS IN THE SIX COUNTIES COULD BE SOLVED ONLY THROUGH NEGOTIATION AND DISCUSSIONS WHICH INCLUDE THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AS A RIGHT. IT WAS TO BE HOPED THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE FACED UP TO THIS REALITY BEFORE EMBARKING ON AN APPROACH WHICH WAS DOOMED TO FAILURE.

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MR FERGUSSON  
LORD N.G. LENNOX  
MISS BROWN

ADDITIONAL DIST:  
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UNCLASSIFIED

F11 FCO 240920Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1076 OF 24 AUGUST

INFO IMMEDIATE CG NEW YORK BIS NEW YORK DUBLIN NIO BELFAST

*Ireland*

*Enter no.*

*6/21*

*20/8*

REFERENCE FREE-GORE/THOMAS TELECON TODAY (23 AUGUST)

GOVERNOR CAREY

1. FOR THE RECORD FOLLOWING IS INFORMATORY TEXT OF LETTER DATED 23 AUGUST FROM SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND TO GOVERNOR CAREY OF NEW YORK, COPIED TO YOU BY BAG. THIS TEXT WAS CONVEYED ORALLY TODAY TO GOVERNOR CAREY'S SECRETARY BY CONSULATE-GENERAL NEW YORK. SIGNED ORIGINAL LETTER BEING DESPATCHED BY HAND OF PILOT FLIGHT BA 175 24 AUGUST ARRIVING JF KENNEDY AIRPORT NEW YORK AT 1335 HOURS (LOCAL TIME) SAME DAY FOR COLLECTION BY CONSULATE-GENERAL.

2. TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

DEAR GOVERNOR

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 6 AUGUST. AS I TOLD YOU WHEN WE MET IN LONDON, THE UNITED KINGDOM GOVERNMENT WELCOMES THE INTEREST YOU HAVE SHOWN OVER THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND IN PARTICULAR YOUR STAUNCH STAND AGAINST TERRORISM. IT IS HOWEVER CLEAR FROM THE TERMS OF YOUR LETTER THAT THE MEETING WHICH YOU ENVISAGE WOULD BE-- AND COULD NOT FAIL TO BE -- A MEETING TO DISCUSS AND INDEED NEGOTIATE ABOUT THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND, A PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

I AM SURE YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT IT WOULD BE WRONG FOR A MINISTER OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO TAKE PART IN A DISCUSSION OF THAT NATURE IN THE UNITED STATES OR INDEED ANYWHERE ELSE OUTSIDE THE UNITED KINGDOM. HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT RECOGNISE THE DEEP INTEREST OF IRISH PEOPLE WHEREVER THEY MAY BE IN THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND. HOWEVER AS I MADE CLEAR IN THE STATEMENT I ISSUED ON 7 AUGUST FOLLOWING YOUR OWN PUBLIC STATEMENT IN NEW YORK, THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND IS A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, THE PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER AND THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE.

*/ THANK*

THANK YOU FOR COMING TO SEE ME - I ENJOYED WHAT WAS FOR ME A VALUABLE DISCUSSION WHEN WE MET IN LONDON, AND I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AGAIN.

YOURS SINCERELY

HUMPHREY ATKINS

CARRINGTON

NORTHERN IRELAND

FILES

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SIRA DUFF  
MR BUKHARD

MR FERGUSSON  
LORD N G LENNOX  
MISS BROWN

ADDITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

NORTHERN IRELAND (55)

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cc Mater  
N.I. Situation: May 79  
Enter - 29.  
Gym  
27/8

NOTE FOR THE RECORD

NORTHERN IRELAND

Note of a conversation between the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland at 10 Downing Street on 23 August 1979 at 12 noon

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The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland called on the Prime Minister, at her request, at No. 10 on 23 August at 12 noon, accompanied by Mr. K.R. Stowe.

The Prime Minister told Mr. Atkins that there could be no question of talking to Governor Carey about Northern Ireland. Mr. Atkins said that he agreed, at this stage. The Prime Minister said that Governor Carey could come to the UK if he wished to do so: but Northern Ireland was part of the United Kingdom and she herself would not think of discussing with President Carter, for example, US policy towards their black population. The Prime Minister said that she wished to set the record straight publicly, in view of misleading reports which had appeared in the Press.

Mr. Atkins said that he had already made it clear to the Press, in his own statement early in the month, that he had no intention of meeting Governor Carey. The Prime Minister said that the point had not been got across sufficiently. Mr. Atkins said that he did not totally exclude the possibility of meeting Governor Carey at some stage, along with other leading Irish Americans. Governor Carey was not a complete villain; he had, for example, condemned the IRA and terrorism, bracketing the IRA with the PLO and other terrorist groups. Governor Carey's position had helped to reduce the flow of supplies of money from the US to the IRA. The Prime Minister said that there could nevertheless be no question of discussing the future of Northern Ireland in the US.

Mr. Atkins asked the Prime Minister to reflect on what we really wished the US to do. The first objective should be to make the Americans realise that the more they talked the more difficulties

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- 2 -

they created for is in Northern Ireland. Our second objective should be to reduce still further the flow of money and sympathy from the US to the IRA. The Prime Minister commented that this was all too complicated. She was not in the habit of discussing the internal problems of the US with the Americans and they should not attempt to do so with us. The Americans must be made to realise that for so long as they continued to finance terrorism, they would be responsible for the deaths of US citizens (as had happened in the Hilton Hotel explosion in Belfast) as well as others. They must realise that while this went on, the British Government would attack and condemn them. The UK should not be perpetually on the defensive; Governor Carey had already got away with a great deal so far as UK public opinion was concerned. The Americans must be brought to face the consequences of their actions.

Mr. Atkins conceded that this was one way of approaching the problem: there was another, which was to try to talk to the American people, who were basically friendly to the UK, and to reason with them about the consequences of their actions. The Prime Minister said that we should not always turn the other cheek. Mr. Atkins said that it was true that, in refusing to continue the supply of weapons to the RUC, the US was interfering in the internal affairs of another country. The Prime Minister said that she did not agree: this did not constitute interference, since the right to supply arms or to withhold them was sovereign to any Government.

Mr. Atkins told the Prime Minister that he wished to bring Mr. O'Kennedy to accept the view that the IRA was a terrorist organisation, posing as much of a threat to the Irish Republic as to the UK - a leading Provisional, Gerry Adams, had said as much. The Prime Minister said that she did not believe this - there was no evidence of hostility between the Irish Republic on the one hand and the IRA on the other. The only way of changing Dublin's attitude towards the IRA would be to deprive Irishmen in the UK of the vote and to bring them fully within the UK's immigration laws. The fact that both countries were members of the EEC was, however, a complicating factor in exerting pressure on Ireland.

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/In further

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- 3 -

In further discussion, it was agreed that a Press Statement should be put out from No. 10 later in the day to the effect that there was no truth in reports that the Prime Minister intended to visit the US in the context of the Northern Ireland problem; that there was no truth in reports that Mr. Atkins intended to discuss Ulster with Governor Carey; and that the UK assumed that the US, along with other democratic nations, was totally opposed to terrorism and to violence as a means of achieving political ends. It was also agreed that Mr. Atkins should reply later in the day to Governor Carey's letter of 6 August and that the substance of his reply should be released to the Press.

In a discussion of the US decision to withhold export licences for the supply of arms to the RUC, the Prime Minister said that the UK should make her own weapons and be independent of external sources of supply. Mr. Atkins pointed out that this would be very expensive and that it would be a long time before actual deliveries could be made. The Prime Minister asked that the possibility should nevertheless be investigated.

At the end of the discussion, Mr. Atkins told the Prime Minister that he would telephone Mr. O'Kennedy that afternoon in order to forewarn him of the nature of his reply to Governor Carey. In response to a question from Mr. Atkins, the Prime Minister agreed that the reply need not permanently exclude the possibility of a discussion about Northern Ireland with the Governor.

*Byrd.*

23 August 1979

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7/1/79



Beland

copy on: Ireland, Siting, Pt 1.

10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

BF 21/9/79

23 August 1979

~~BF 6-9-79~~

Dear Sir,

Northern Ireland and Governor Carey

As you know, your Secretary of State called on the Prime Minister this morning in order to discuss the response which should be given to Governor Carey's invitation to him, and to the Irish Foreign Minister, to discuss the problems of Northern Ireland in New York; and how the matter should be handled publicly, in view of the misleading press reports which had appeared. The discussion resulted in action being taken on a number of fronts this afternoon and this evening. This letter is simply to place on record the decisions which were taken.

The Prime Minister made it clear that there could, in her view, be no question of discussing Northern Ireland with Governor Carey in New York. If Governor Carey wished to engage in such discussions, he should come to London. Mr. Atkins agreed, while pointing out that Governor Carey's recent statements about the IRA and terrorism had been helpful to us. He explained that our objectives should be to make the Americans realise the consequences of their words and actions concerning Northern Ireland and to reduce still further the flow of American money and sympathy to the IRA. The Prime Minister agreed that it should be brought home to the Americans that for so long as they continued to finance terrorism, American lives as well as those of others would be lost, as the Hilton Hotel explosion in Belfast had shown. The Prime Minister expressed the view that the British Government should not always turn the other cheek in the face of US criticism of our policies in Northern Ireland. Mr. Atkins agreed that the US Government's decision to withhold export licences for the supply of arms to the RUC should be vigorously criticised.

The Prime Minister enquired about the possibility of manufacturing the weapons that the RUC needed in the UK, or at least of finding an alternative source of supply. Mr. Atkins explained the practical difficulties which stood in the way of obtaining the particular arms which the RUC needed for their special requirements elsewhere than in the United States. The Prime Minister asked that an alternative possibility should nevertheless be investigated: I should be grateful if you could arrange for this to be done and for a report to be sent to Michael Alexander in due course for the Prime Minister's information.

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/Mr. Atkins

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- 2 -

Mr. Atkins explained that he hoped to bring Mr. O'Kennedy to accept that the IRA posed as much of a threat, in the long term, to the Irish Republic as it did to the UK, as recent statements by Gerry Adams had shown. The Prime Minister expressed some doubts as to whether this was really the case: she could detect no fundamental antagonism between the IRA and the Irish Republic. In further discussion of possible means of bringing pressure to bear on Dublin, it was agreed that although the British Government has in theory some cards in its hand, in relation to the British Nationality Act, there were difficulties about playing them including the fact that Ireland and the UK were both members of the EEC.

It was agreed that Mr. Atkins would despatch his reply to Governor Carey's letter of 6 August later today and that the substance of the reply would be made available to the Press. It was also agreed that the No. 10 Press Office would continue to emphasise that reports of a possible visit by the Prime Minister to the United States in the Northern Ireland context were without foundation; and would confirm that Mr. Atkins had discussed his reply to Governor Carey with the Prime Minister. The possibility of including in a Press Statement a veiled reference to the United States' refusal to supply arms to the RUC was considered but the Prime Minister subsequently accepted Mr. Atkins' view that there was nothing to be gained by raising this issue in the context of his correspondence with Governor Carey. The final form of the press releases from the NIO and from No. 10 has been worked out by our respective Press Offices.

As you know, the Prime Minister approved the draft which you sent across this afternoon of Mr. Atkins' reply to Governor Carey subject to minor amendments which I gave you over the telephone.

I am sending copies of this letter to Stephen Wall (Foreign and Commonwealth Office) and Martin Vile (Cabinet Office).

*Yours over,*

*Byron Lancaster.*

Joe Pilling, Esq.,  
Northern Ireland Office.

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RS TO PM

GRS 200A

UNCLASSIFIED

FM FCO 231900Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NO. 1074 OF 23 AUGUST

INFO IMMEDIATE BIS NEW YORK, C G NEW YORK, NIO(B), DUBLIN.

*Edw m*  
*24/8*

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRESS NOTICE RELEASED BY NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE TODAY (23 AUGUST)

RESPONSE TO GOVERNOR CAREY

THE SECRETARY OF STATE, RT HON HUMPHREY ATKINS MP, ANNOUNCED TODAY THAT HE HAS INFORMED GOVERNOR HUGH CAREY OF NEW YORK THAT HE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE INVITATION TO A MEETING THERE OF THE KIND ENVISAGED IN GOVERNOR CAREY'S LETTER OF AUGUST 6.

ACKNOWLEDGING GOVERNOR CAREY'S CONCERN ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF NORTHERN IRELAND, PARTICULARLY HIS PUBLIC STAND AGAINST TERRORISM, MR ATKINS MADE IT CLEAR THAT IT WOULD NEVERTHELESS BE WRONG FOR A MEMBER OF HM GOVERNMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSIONS OR NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF A PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE UNITED STATES OR ANYWHERE ELSE OUTSIDE THE UK.

IN HIS REPLY, THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID HM GOVERNMENT RECOGNIZED THE DEEP INTEREST OF IRISH PEOPLE WHEREVER THEY MIGHT BE IN THE PROBLEMS OF THE PROVINCE BUT HE REITERATED THAT THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND IS A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN HM GOVERNMENT, THE PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER AND THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE. HE TOLD GOVERNOR CAREY THAT HE FOUND THEIR RECENT DISCUSSION IN LONDON VALUABLE AND ENJOYABLE AND LOOKED FORWARD TO SEEING HIM AGAIN.

CARRINGTON

*FILES*  
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*ADDITIONAL DIST.*  
*NORTHERN IRELAND.*



*Bryan Cartledge Esq*

WITH  
THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE  
PRIVATE SECRETARY

NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
GREAT GEORGE STREET  
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

*Joe Pilling Esq*



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR  
NORTHERN IRELAND

Hugh L Carey Esq  
Governor  
State of New York  
Executive Chamber  
Albany 12224

23 August 1979

Dear Governor,

P.A.  
J.M.  
24/8

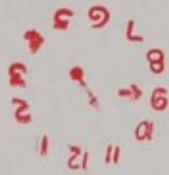
Thank you for your letter of 6 August. As I told you when we met in London, the United Kingdom Government welcomes the interest you have shown over the problems of Northern Ireland, in particular your staunch stand against terrorism. It is however clear from the terms of your letter that the meeting which you envisage would be - and could not fail to be - a meeting to discuss and indeed negotiate about the political future of Northern Ireland, a part of the United Kingdom.

I am sure you will understand that it would be wrong for a Minister of Her Majesty's Government to take part in a discussion of that nature in the United States or indeed anywhere else outside the United Kingdom. Her Majesty's Government recognise the deep interest of Irish people wherever they may be in the problems of Northern Ireland. However, as I made clear in the statement I issued on 7 August following your own public statement in New York, the political future of Northern Ireland is a matter for negotiation between Her Majesty's Government, the Parliament at Westminster and the people of the Province.

Thank you for coming to see me - I enjoyed what was for me a valuable discussion when we met in London, and I look forward to seeing you again.

Yours sincerely

Philip May Atkins



24 AUG 1979



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DESKBY 211400Z TO DUBLIN  
FM FCO 211235Z AUG 79  
TO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 96 OF 21 AUGUST

ERS TO PM

*Ireland*

*Endu m*

*6/27/79*

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON PRIORITY CG NEW YORK AND NIO BELFAST.

YOUR TELEGRAMS NUMBERS 197 AND 203:  
GOVERNOR CAREY'S INVITATION.

1. OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO GET ALONGSIDE MR. O'KENNEDY FOR PURPOSES MUCH WIDER, OF COURSE, THAN MERELY TO DEAL WITH CAREY, BUT WE WANT IF WE CAN TO REACH A COMMON VIEW ON THE HANDLING OF CAREY. THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND THINKS IT WOULD BE QUITE WRONG TO TAKE UP GOVERNOR CAREY'S OFFER, THOUGH THE IRISH WOULD NO DOUBT LIKE HIM TO DO SO: AND HE REALISES THAT IT WOULD SUIT THE IRISH WELL, GIVEN THAT HE WILL NOT AGREE TO THE PROPOSAL, TO BE ABLE TO SAY THAT ONLY OUR NEGATIVE ATTITUDE HAD MADE THE CAREY MEETING IMPOSSIBLE. WE NEED THEREFORE TO PUT TO O'KENNEDY, AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE (AND WITHOUT WAITING FOR HIS PROJECTED MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND) A POSITIVE PROPOSAL WHICH SUITS OUR INTERESTS AND HIS. WE HOPE THAT THIS CAN BE AGREED THROUGH THE DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL, SO THAT O'KENNEDY DOES NOT FEEL INHIBITED FROM MEETING SOSNI ON OTHER MORE SUBSTANTIAL ISSUES. THE REPORT IN CONSUL GENERAL NEW YORK'S TELEGRAM NUMBER 31 IS AN ADDED REASON FOR SPEEDY ACTION.

2. PLEASE ACCORDINGLY SPEAK TO O'KENNEDY ON THE FOLLOWING LINES. MR. ATKINS IS LOOKING FORWARD KEENLY TO HIS NEXT MEETING WITH MR. O'KENNEDY BUT ACCEPTS THAT A REPLY TO GOVERNOR CAREY CANNOT WAIT TILL THEN. HMG WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN THE POSITION ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUES IN DUE COURSE TO THOSE INTERESTED FROM ALL POINTS OF VIEW IN THE UNITED STATES. THEY CONSIDER, HOWEVER, THAT IT WOULD ONLY BE PRACTICAL AND USEFUL TO DO THIS AFTER THEY HAVE TAKEN A GOOD DEAL FURTHER THEIR DISCUSSIONS OF SUBSTANCE WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF NORTHERN IRELAND OPINION

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*/ Both*

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BOTH IN THE PROVINCE AND AT WESTMINSTER. MOREOVER, THEY WOULD WANT TO OUTLINE DEVELOPMENTS ARISING FROM THOSE TALKS TO THE IRISH GOVERNMENT ITSELF BEFORE SPELLING THEM OUT IN THE UNITED STATES (MR. ATKINS MAY BE ABLE TO SAY MORE WHEN HE SEES MR. O'KENNEDY). BUT SUBJECT TO THOSE STEPS, A VISIT BY SOSNI TO TALK TO INTERESTED PARTIES, OFFICIAL AND OTHERWISE, IN WASHINGTON, NEW YORK AND OTHER MAJOR CITIES WOULD BE ATTRACTIVE. SUBJECT TO FURTHER CONSULTATION BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, WE SHOULD SEE MUCH MERIT IN MR. O'KENNEDY PARTICIPATING IN MEETINGS OF THIS KIND, IF HE SO WISHED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT IS BY NO MEANS CLEAR THAT EITHER OF OUR INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY PLAYING THIS CARD FOR GOVERNOR CAREY'S SHORT TERM POLITICAL BENEFIT, WITH POSSIBLE COMPLICATIONS FOR OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE REMAINING 'HORSEMEN' WHO ARE POLITICALLY AND CONGRESSIONALLY OF GREATER SIGNIFICANCE.

3. YOU SHOULD THEREFORE GO ON TO SUGGEST TO O'KENNEDY WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, THAT OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS MIGHT RESPECTIVELY REPLY TO GOVERNOR CAREY ON THE LINES THAT WE WARMLY WELCOME HIS INITIATIVE AND INTEREST, CONTINUE TO COMMEND HIS STAUNCH STAND AGAINST TERRORISM, WOULD BE VERY WILLING TO COME TO TALK TO IRISH/AMERICAN INTERESTS TOGETHER ABOUT COMMON PROBLEMS (BUT NOT OF COURSE TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT, WHICH IS THE PROPER TASK OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND THEMSELVES), AND WOULD THINK IT PREFERABLE TO DO THIS A LITTLE LATER ON. WE HOPE THAT IT WOULD THEN BE APPROPRIATE TO ENCOMPASS DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON AND OTHER MAJOR CENTRES AS WELL AS NEW YORK, FOR WHICH PURPOSE WE SHOULD BOTH (REPEAT BOTH) BE IN TOUCH WITH THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNOR CAREY IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT TWO OR THREE MONTHS (THIS WOULD, FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION, HELP TO BRING SPEAKER O'NEILL AND THE OTHERS INTO THE ACT). YOU SHOULD MAKE IT PLAIN TO O'KENNEDY THAT, WHILE WE ARE DISCUSSING THE MATTER WITH HIM IN STRICT CONFIDENCE, WE WOULD INTEND TO PUBLISH OUR EVENTUAL RESPONSE TO CAREY AS SOON AS IT WAS DELIVERED,

# CONFIDENTIAL

SINCE IT IS EVIDENT THAT THE INITIATIVE ON PUBLICATION IS BETTER NOT LEFT TO HIM. WE ARE NOT SUGGESTING IDENTICAL OR INDEED SIMULTANEOUS RESPONSES TO CAREY, SINCE WE RECOGNISE THAT ANY APPEARANCE OF COLLUSION WOULD PRESENT DIFFICULTIES FOR THE IRISH. BUT HE WILL, WE HOPE, RECOGNISE THAT HMG HAVE MADE A VERY POSITIVE MOVE IN ACCEPTING THAT THE TWO MINISTERS MIGHT TAKE PART IN MEETINGS WITH IRISH/AMERICAN INTERESTS IN THE USA AND HE WILL UNDERSTAND THAT MR. ATKINS WILL INCUR THE RISK IF NOT CERTAINTY OF SOME CRITICISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND AT WESTMINSTER BY FALLING IN WITH THE INITIATIVE. SINCE HOWEVER MR. ATKINS HAS FELT IT RIGHT ON BROADER INTERNATIONAL GROUNDS TO DO SO, HE HOPES THAT MR. O'KENNEDY WILL BE ABLE FOR HIS PART TO REPLY IN THE SAME SENSE.

CARRINGTON

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PS/MR HURD

PS/MR MOWEN  
PS/MR BLAKER  
PS/PUS  
SIR A DUFF  
MR BULLARD  
MR FERGUSSON  
LORD N. Q. LENNOX  
MISS BROWN

ADDITIONAL DIST:  
NORTHERN IRELAND

**CONFIDENTIAL**

NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
 GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
 LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Prime Minister

G G H Walden Esq  
 Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
 Downing Street East  
 London SW1

*GH*  
*2/8*  
 20 August 1979

*Dear George,*

*GH*

GOVERNOR CAREY'S INITIATIVE

The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary will be aware that Governor Carey's formal letter inviting the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, in company with the Republic of Ireland Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr O'Kennedy, to visit New York for a meeting with Irish/American interests, was received earlier this month. Governor Carey was told that Mr Atkins would reply to him after consultation with his colleagues. We think that it would be sensible to send a reply fairly soon, before Governor Carey takes some further step to publicise for his own purposes his vision of a Carey-inspired Camp David for Northern Ireland.

Mr Atkins is clear that he should not take up Governor Carey's proposal, but it must be our objective to convey this view in a way which does no damage to our interests in the United States and which attracts the support of the Irish Government: we wish in particular, to avoid giving the Irish Government the easy option of saying that if only Britain had agreed to participate then of course they would willingly have gone along with the idea. We had originally expected that Mr Atkins would try to reach agreement with Mr O'Kennedy on the handling of the Carey initiative when they had their next private meeting, but this will be some little way ahead and it is the view, we know, of the Irish Government and of our Secretary of State, that a reply ought to be sent fairly soon. This means consulting the Irish Government about the substance of our response through HM Ambassador, Dublin. I attach a draft telegram to Dublin for this purpose: it reflects discussion earlier today between officials in FCO and NIO

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(Fergusson/Stowe), and my Secretary of State's agreement with the course proposed. I should be grateful if, subject to any comments you may have on the wording of the telegram, it could be despatched urgently to HM Ambassador, Dublin.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Brian Cartledge at No 10.

Yours ver.

Joe

J G PILLING

CONFIDENTIAL

2.

RE

CONFIDENTIAL

E.R.

DRAFT TELEGRAM

FROM FCO

IMMEDIATE TO DUBLIN

REPEATED FOR INFORMATION PRIORITY NIO BELFAST WASHINGTON

YOUR TELEGRAMS NOS 197 AND 203: GOVERNOR CAREY'S INVITATION

Our objective is to get alongside Mr O'Kennedy for purposes much wider, of course, than merely to deal with Carey, but we want if we can to reach a common view on the handling of Carey. The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland thinks it would be quite wrong to take up Governor Carey's offer, though the Irish would no doubt like him to do so; and he realises that it would suit the Irish well, given that he will not agree to the proposal, to be able to say that only our negative attitude had made the Carey meeting impossible. We need therefore to put to O'Kennedy, as quickly as possible (and without waiting for his projected meeting with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland) a positive proposal which suits our interests and his. We hope that this can be agreed through the diplomatic channel, so that O'Kennedy does not feel inhibited from meeting SOSNI on other more substantial issues.

2. Please accordingly talk to O'Kennedy on the following lines. HMG would welcome an opportunity to explain the position about Northern Ireland issues in due course to those interested from all points of view in the United States. Ministers consider that it would only be practical and useful to do this after they have taken a good deal further their discussions of substance with representatives of Northern Ireland

CONFIDENTIAL

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E.R.

opinion both in the Province and at Westminster. Moreover, they would want to outline developments arising from those talks to the Irish Government itself before spelling them out in the United States. But subject to those steps, a visit by SOSHI to talk to interested parties, official and otherwise, in Washington, New York and other major cities would be attractive. Subject to further consultation between the two Governments, we would see much merit in Mr O'Kennedy participating in meetings of this kind, if he so wished.

3. You should go on to suggest to O'Kennedy, within this framework, that our two Governments might respectively reply to Governor Carey on the lines that we warmly welcome his initiative and interest, continue to commend his staunch stand against terrorism, would be very willing to come to talk to Irish/American interests together about common problems (but not of course to negotiate a settlement, which is the proper task of the people of Northern Ireland themselves), and would think it preferable to do this later on, when it could encompass discussions in Washington and other major centres as well as New York, for which purpose we should both (repeat both) be in touch with the United States Government and Governor Carey in the course of the next two or three months. You should make it plain to O'Kennedy that, while we are discussing the matter with him in diplomatic confidence, we would intend to publish our eventual response to Carey just as soon as it was delivered, since it is evident that the initiative on publication is better not left to him. If necessary you could concede to O'Kennedy that we are not insisting upon identical or indeed simultaneous responses to Carey, since we recognise that any appearance of collusion would

CONFIDENTIAL

E.R.

CONFIDENTIAL

present difficulties for the Irish. But we will, we hope, recognise that HMG have made a very positive move in suggesting that O'Kennedy might join in any meeting of SOSNI with Irish/American interests in the USA and that this is devalued if he were to dissociate himself from our reply.

CONFIDENTIAL



21 AUG 1979



*Ireland*



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Paul Lever Esq  
Private Secretary to Foreign and  
Commonwealth Secretary of State  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street East  
London SW1

16 August 1979

*Having seen  
the letter, I  
think Mr. Booth  
was quite right!*

*John  
16/8*

*Dear Paul,*

GOVERNOR CAREY

For the record, I thought I would write to inform you that Mr Free-Gore of RID rang me today after a phone call from Mr Booth in New York: the latter was unhappy with my interim letter of 9 August to Governor Carey and wished to talk to him instead (omitting the reference to Cabinet Ministers going on holiday).

I must say that I was surprised that the letter, a week old, had not been transmitted to the Governor. Anyway for a number of reasons we in the NIO have decided that the opportunity for saying what was in the letter has passed, and that the best course at this stage is to say nothing - in writing or orally - to Governor Carey. My Secretary of State will be returning from his holiday shortly and thought can then be given (in consultation with other Ministers) to the form and timing of a substantive reply.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mike Pattison (no 10).

*Yours sincerely,  
Mike Hopkins*

M W HOPKINS



16 AUG 1979

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

✓ MAD



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Paul Lever Esq  
PS/Foreign Secretary  
Foreign & Commonwealth Office  
Downing Street East  
LONDON SW1

9 August 1979

*Dear Paul*

We spoke this morning about the attached letter and you kindly agreed to forward it to Governor Carey through the Consulate-General in New York.

I am sending a copy of this note and enclosure to Mike Pattison at No 10.

*Yours sincerely*  
*Mike Hopkins*  
M W HOPKINS

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Governor Hugh L Carey  
Executive Chamber  
State Capitol  
Albany  
NEW YORK 1224

9 August 1979

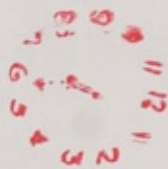
*Dear Governor*

I write to thank you, on behalf of the Secretary of State, for your letter of 6 August. As you mention in your letter, Mr Atkins is currently on holiday but you may be assured that it will receive his attention as soon as he returns. I must add however that many of his Cabinet colleagues are either on holiday or going on holiday, and it will be a little while before Mr Atkins is able to discuss your proposals with them and reply to you himself.

*Yours sincerely*

*M. W. Hopkins*

M. W. HOPKINS



1-9 AUG 1979

From: THE PRIVATE SECRETARY



NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

Nick Sanders Esq  
10 Downing Street  
London SW1

8 August 1979

Dear Nick,

Thank you for your letter of 7 August enclosing Mr Molyneaux's telegram. You will know that the statement made by Mr Atkins yesterday has been well publicised. (A copy has been sent to Mr Molyneaux in accordance with normal practice.) The Prime Minister might therefore like to reply to Mr Molyneaux along the following lines:

X "Thank you for your telegram - ~~which I have just seen~~ - about Governor Carey's proposals. I am sure you will by now have seen Mr Atkins's response, which makes it clear that there was no intention of negotiating the political future of Northern Ireland with United States politicians."

Yours sincerely X  
Mike Hopkins

M W HOPKINS

RE

- 8 AUG 1919





PRIME MINISTER.

2



Minister of State

This is the background to  
the row over  
Governor Carey's N.I.  
initiative. Mr Atkins'  
press release is at  
Flag A.

NORTHERN IRELAND OFFICE  
GREAT GEORGE STREET,  
LONDON SW1P 3AJ

PRIME MINISTER

*MAD*  
*3/11*

*P.A.*  
*Hu*  
*13/11*

TALKS WITH GOVERNOR CAREY

You will want to know the background to Governor Carey's statement in New York on Monday, 6 August, that he had invited Humphrey Atkins and Michael O'Kennedy for talks in New York in September "to continue our work towards peace, security and an end to violence in Northern Ireland". The text of Governor Carey's statement is annexed.

2. Humphrey Atkins saw Governor Carey in London on Thursday, 2 August, for a talk lasting 1½ hours. He thanked him for his consistent help in condemning terrorism but told him that his recent article in the New York Daily News alleging political neglect of Ulster by the British Government had given great offence here because it was not true. He explained the nature of the political initiative we had taken by way of private consultations with all shades of opinion representing Ulster, both at Westminster and in the Province itself. He told him that political progress could only be achieved with the support of both communities; that each had a veto over what it deemed to be unacceptable; and that therefore anyone peddling Irish unity or simple majority rule was making progress less not more likely.

3. Governor Carey maintained that he was only being listened to in his condemnation of terrorism because he was also known to be working for political progress. This led on to his suggesting that it would be helpful if Humphrey Atkins were to visit New York privately and, at a meeting with leaders of Irish-American opinion which he would arrange there, explain to them as he had explained to him what we were trying to do for the political future of Ulster. Humphrey Atkins said that he would certainly consider this but made it clear that any such visit would have to take its place in the whole range of consultations on which we had embarked, and that in any case he would need to consult his colleagues before agreeing to it. When he suggested that the Secretary of State should join up

with Michael O'Kennedy for this purpose Humphrey Atkins said that he had already been in discussions with Mr O'Kennedy and could certainly see no objection to talking to him again.

4. Governor Carey telephoned Humphrey Atkins on Friday to say that after further consultation (including consultation with Mr O'Kennedy or his office) he would like to follow up his suggestion of a meeting in New York and would write to him about it within a few days. He developed his ideas to the point of saying that he thought it would be helpful if the meeting took place in New York in September and that of course it would be private.

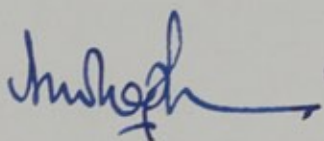
5. In the event Governor Carey for obvious political motives issued his statement without reference either to Dublin or London on Monday, 6 August. We have still not received a formal proposal from him. The US State Department and the other leaders of Irish-American opinion also seem not to have been consulted or warned in advance.

6. UK reporting of Governor Carey's statement, because it conveyed the sense that he was convening a conference to negotiate a settlement, produced a predictable and strong reaction in Ulster: Protestant leaders condemned it outright and even the SDLP were doubtful what to make of it.

7. We have been making it clear to the media in London and Belfast that there is no question of the UK Government agreeing to "negotiate" a political solution to the problems of Ulster at such a meeting. Our briefing has emphasised the points put to Governor Carey in paragraph 2 above and stressed the importance we attach to ensuring that the initiative we have taken in our political discussions is fully understood both in the Republic and in the United States of America. We have also emphasised how necessary it is to dispel misunderstandings about the current state of Ulster, the need to combat and defeat terrorism, to restore policing throughout the Province, and to give full support to the legally constituted forces of law and order - which has obvious relevance to the pressures being put on the United States Government over the supply of arms to the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

8. The Secretary of State proposes not to respond immediately to Governor Carey's letter when it is received until we have an opportunity of discussing it with Peter Carrington.

9. I am copying this to other members of OD and to Sir John Hunt.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Michael Alison', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

pp

MICHAEL ALISON

(Signed on behalf of the Minister of State  
in his absence)

7 August 1979

FULL TEXT OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S PRESS STATEMENT

As you know, I have for many years worked for peace and justice in Northern Ireland. In congressional hearings and in meetings with leaders in Belfast, Dublin, Washington and now in London, I have sought the basis for a settlement to bring an end to decades - and even centuries - of strife.

In a recent series of articles in the New York Daily News, Dr Kevin Cahill and myself have tried to point the way to peace, seeking the common ground of conciliation. Today I am pleased to announce that on August 2nd during my visit to London I held extensive and direct discussions with Mr Humphrey Atkins, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The two following days I held telephone discussions with Michael O'Kennedy, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ireland, and members of his staff. I have obtained their initial acceptance as individuals to meet with me in New York to continue our work towards peace, security and an end to violence in Northern Ireland.

This invitation will of course require review by the Prime Ministers and Cabinets of their respective governments. Such review is in the normal course and since both individuals have already indicated to me their desire to attend I look forward to a positive response. I am announcing this now in order to begin the necessary preparations.

I shall send a letter of invitation today to both Mr O'Kennedy and Mr Atkins. The location and specific plans for the meeting are not yet firm. The agenda will be determined by the parties themselves, but New York I hope will provide a setting for achieving the elusive peace we all seek. I am pleased to serve as host.

I have discussed this meeting with the Department of State and with my New York colleague, Senator Moynihan. Later today I shall be in contact with Senator Kennedy, Speaker O'Neill and others who have worked with me on this matter.

- 7 AUG 1979

9 0 " 12 1 2 3  
8 4 7 6 5 4

Statement by Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

1. I saw Governor Carey at his request on 2 August, and took the opportunity to explain to him the nature of the initiative which the Government had already begun in Northern Ireland, emphasising the need for private, patient negotiation with the political leaders in Northern Ireland. I stressed that any settlement had to be acceptable to both the majority and minority communities in Ulster.
2. This talk was one of many I have had since taking office with concerned parties in Northern Ireland and beyond. I am anxious to listen to any views which may be helpful, and as is known I have talked not only to numerous politicians and others in Ulster but also to Michael O'Kennedy and Garrett Fitzgerald from the Republic and Senator Moynihan from the US.
3. After the meeting Governor Carey suggested it might be useful if I were to visit New York for the purpose of a private meeting with his colleagues at which I would explain to them, as I had done to him, the threat to peace and security posed by the current activities of the Provisional IRA, and the urgent necessity of dealing with their terrorist campaign. I said I would certainly consider this, and raised no objection when Governor Carey mooted the possibility of Michael O'Kennedy being present. It was left that the Governor would write to me with a firm proposal which I would consider in consultation with my colleagues in the Government. I now await that letter.

E.R.

4. At no time was there any question of "negotiating" the future of Northern Ireland at such a meeting. The political future of the Province is a matter for negotiation between HM Government, the Parliament at Westminster and the people of Ulster.

5. I am in fact already considering a possible visit to the US to try to remove the considerable degree of misunderstanding about Northern Ireland and the <sup>British</sup> Government's policies which still seems to cloud the minds of some interested parties in America. I should on such a visit aim to explain the nature of the political initiative now under way; and in particular I should seek to obtain the maximum possible support from all concerned in dealing with terrorism - whether in ensuring that the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the legally constituted police force, can obtain the weapons they need, or in discouraging the misguided idealism which puts money into the pockets of the Provisional IRA and other terrorists to sustain their murderous campaign.

FOLUS 017/07

OO LUSAKA

GRS 490

UNCLASSIFIED

DESKBY DUBLIN 071730Z

FM FCO 071516Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 984 OF 7 AUG

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA (FOR WALDEN AND CARTLEDGE) TUNIS

(FOR SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NI) BIS NEW YORK, DUBLIN, NIO BELFAST.

YOUR TEL 2208

NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY'S STATEMENT.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT ISSUED BY SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR NORTHER IRELAND AT 1600 HOURS TODAY:

1. I SAW GOVERNOR CAREY AT HIS REQUEST ON 2 AUGUST, AND TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN TO HIM THE NATURE OF THE INITIATIVE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY BEGUN IN NORTHERN IRELAND, EMPHASISING THE NEED FOR PRIVATE, PATIENT NEGOTIATION WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. I STRESSED THAT ANY SETTLEMENT HAD TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN ULSTER.

2. THIS TALK WAS ONE OF MANY I HAVE HAD SINCE TAKING OFFICE WITH CONCERNED PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND BEYOND. I AM ANXIOUS TO LISTEN TO ANY VIEWS WHICH MAY BE HELPFUL, AND AS IS KNOWN I HAVE TALKED NOT ONLY TO NUMEROUS POLITICIANS AND OTHERS IN ULSTER BUT ALSO TO MICHAEL O'KENNEDY AND GARRETT FITZGERALD FROM THE REPUBLIC AND SENATOR MOYNIHAN FROM THE US.

*Prime Minister*

*GRS  
8/8*

*MS*



1  
AFTER THE MEETING GOVERNOR CAREY SUGGESTED IT MIGHT BE  
USEFUL IF I WERE TO VISIT NEW YORK FOR THE PURPOSE OF A  
FOLLOWING WORD UNDERLINED PRIVATE MEETING WITH HIS  
COLLEAGUES AT WHICH I WOULD EXPLAIN TO THEM, AS I HAD  
DONE TO HIM, THE THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY POSED BY THE  
CURRENT ACTIVITIES OF THE PROVISIONAL IRA, AND THE URGENT NECESSITY  
OF DEALING WITH THEIR TERRORIST CAMPAIGN. I SAID I WOULD CERTAINLY  
CONSIDER THIS, AND RAISED NO OBJECTION WHEN GOVERNOR CAREY MOOTED  
THE POSSIBILITY OF MICHAEL O'KENNEDY BEING PRESENT. IT WAS LEFT  
THAT THE GOVERNOR WOULD WRITE TO ME WITH A FIRM PROPOSAL WHICH  
I WOULD CONSIDER IN CONSULTATION WITH MY COLLEAGUES IN THE  
GOVERNMENT. I NOW AWAIT THAT LETTER.

4 AT NO TIME WAS THERE ANY QUESTION OF QUOTE NEGOTIATING UNQUOTE  
THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND AT SUCH A MEETING. THE POLITICAL  
FUTURE OF THE PROVINCE IS A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN HM  
GOVERNMENT, THE PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER AND THE PEOPLE OF ULSTER.

5. I AM IN FACT ALREADY CONSIDERING A POSSIBLE VISIT TO THE US  
TO TRY TO REMOVE THE CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF MISUNDERSTANDING  
ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES  
WHICH STILL SEEMS TO CLOUD THE MINDS OF SOME INTERESTED PARTIES IN  
AMERICA. I SHOULD ON SUCH A VISIT AIM TO EXPLAIN THE NATURE  
OF THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE NOW UNDER WAY: AND IN PARTICULAR  
I SHOULD SEEK TO OBTAIN THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SUPPORT FROM ALL  
CONCERNED IN DEALING WITH TERRORISM - WHETHER IN ENSURING THAT  
THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY, THE LEGALLY CONSTITUTED POLICE  
FORCE, CAN OBTAIN THE WEAPONS THEY NEED, OR IN DISCOURAGING THE  
MISGUIDED IDEALISM WHICH PUTS MONEY INTO THE POCKETS OF THE  
PROVISIONAL IRA AND OTHER TERRORISTS TO SUSTAIN THEIR MURDEROUS  
CAMPAIGN.

CARRINGTON

NNNN

SENT AT 2120Z/07 BRH

FOLUS013/07

OO LUSAKA

GRS250

UNCLASSIFIED

FM FCO 071542Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA

TELEGRAM NUMBER 697 OF 7 AUGUST.

(FOR WALDEN AND CARTLEDGE).

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM NOW REPEATED TO YOU AT REQUEST OF R I D  
WAS RECEIVED FROM BIS NEW YORK.

UNCLASSIFIED

FM BIS NEW YORK 061901Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TEL NUMBER 10 OF 6 AUGUST

AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST DUBLIN

NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY

1. GOVERNOR CAREY ANNOUNCED TODAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK THAT HE WAS INVITING MR HUMPHREY ATKINS AND MR MICHAEL O'KENNEDY TO MEET IN NEW YORK WITH THE GOVERNOR ACTING AS HOST ' TO CONTINUE OUR WORK TOWARDS PEACE, SECURITY AND AN END OF VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND'. FULL TEXT OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S STATEMENT AS GIVEN TO US BY TELEPHONE BY CAREY'S STAFF IS IN MIFT.

2. THE STATEMENT ASSERTS THAT HE HAS OBTAINED FROM THE INITIAL ACCEPTANCE OF TWO MINISTERS BUT ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THIS WILL REQUIRE REVIEW BY THE PRIME MINISTERS AND CABINETS OF THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. THE GOVERNOR LOOKED FORWARD TO A POSITIVE RESPONSE.

3. REUTERS HAVE REPORTED THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN THEIR US NEWS SERVICE. THEY QUOTE THE GOVERNOR AS SAYING THAT HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE TALKS COULD WORK BECAUSE HMG HAD A STRONG PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY AND PROBABLY WOULD BE IN PLACE FOR AT LEAST 5 YEARS. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE INTENDED TO INVITE REPRESENTATIVES FROM NORTHERN IRISH PARA-MILITARY GROUPS THE GOVERNOR REPLIED 'NO. YOU DON'T TALK TO TERRORISTS'.

CARRINGTON

NNNN

*Prime Minister*

*7/2*

*Aut.*



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

~~BFF 8-79~~

7 August 1979

I attach a copy of Mr. Molyneaux's telegram to the Prime Minister, about which I wrote to you earlier today.

Unless you think there is good reason for a reply to be sent immediately by a Northern Ireland Office Minister, I should be grateful if you could let me have a draft reply for the Prime Minister to send to Mr. Molyneaux, to reach us here by close of play on Wednesday 8 August.

I am copying this letter and enclosure to Paul Lever (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

N. J. SANDERC

Mike Hopkins, Esq.,  
Northern Ireland Office.

cc Press Office

<sup>FILE</sup>  
CONFIDENTIAL

DS



10 DOWNING STREET

From the Private Secretary

7 August 1979

Mr. Enoch Powell telephoned us this morning and told us that Mr. Molyneaux was sending the attached telegram to the Prime Minister. It is to be released to the Press at 1200 today.

As I told you on the telephone, we should be grateful if you could take on responsibility for any comments which may need to be made, in consultation with the No.10 Press Office.

2 rec'd 7/8  
As I also told you, we should be grateful to have a short note on the Carey initiative in a form which we could send out to Lusaka for the Prime Minister to see. That should reach us during today.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Martin Vile (Cabinet Office) and Paul Lever (Foreign and Commonwealth Office).

N. J. SANDERS

Mike Hopkins, Esq.,  
Northern Ireland Office.

CONFIDENTIAL

TJB

TELEGRAM TO PRIME MINISTER FROM J.H. MOLYNEAUX MP

Essential immediate steps remove impression  
Government or individual Ministers contemplate  
discussing internal constitutional affairs  
United Kingdom with foreign governments or  
politicians thereby giving encouragement to  
murderous attackers of civilians and  
security forces for whose safety Government  
responsible.

GRPS 660

RESTRICTED

*Governor Carey*

DESKBY 011330Z

RS TO PM

RESTRICTED

FM DUBLIN 071150Z AUGUST

TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 192 OF 7 AUGUST 1979

AND TO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON BIS NEW YORK

GOVERNOR CAREY'S INITIATIVE

1. THIS MORNING'S DUBLIN NEWSPAPERS REPORT A CAUTIOUS OFFICIAL REACTION BY THE DFA. A SPOKESMAN IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID: QUOTE THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MR O'KENNEDY, IS AWARE OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S INVITATION AND THINKS THAT THE MEETING COULD BE OF INTEREST SUBJECT TO THE QUESTIONS WHICH ARISE. WE ASSUME THAT THE DETAILS WILL BE WORKED OUT IN DUE COURSE. DETAILS OF TIME, PLACE AND SUBJECT MATTER OF THE MEETING HAVE YET TO BE WORKED OUT. IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT ANY PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS ARE SUBJECT TO THE APPROVAL OF THE TAOISEACH AND THE GOVERNMENT AND ALSO SUBJECT TO CONSULTATIONS WITH IRISH-AMERICAN POLITICAL LEADERS AND THE DEVISING OF AN APPROPRIATE FORMULA UNQUOTE.

2. THE PAPERS ALSO REPORT AN N.I.O. SPOKESMAN AS SAYING THAT MR ATKINS HAD AGREED TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF ATTENDING THE MEETING.

3. THE NEWSPAPERS THEMSELVES ARE MUCH LESS RESTRAINED. A FRONT PAGE ARTICLE BY THE IRISH TIMES' POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT HEADED QUOTE INITIATIVE ON NORTHERN IRELAND TALKS WELCOMED IN DUBLIN UNQUOTE, STATES THAT GOVERNOR CAREY'S INITIATIVE WAS RECEIVED IN DUBLIN WITH QUIET SATISFACTION AND SUGGESTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN TRYING FOR SOME TIME TO GAIN ACCEPTANCE FOR THE VIEW THAT A BRITISH INITIATIVE WAS ESSENTIAL. QUOTE HERE TOO DUBLIN APPEARS TO HAVE SUCCEEDED SLOWLY UNQUOTE. IN A SHORT EDITORIAL THE TIMES STATES THAT THE FACT THAT MR ATKINS AND MR O'KENNEDY HAVE APPARENTLY AGREED TO MEET GOVERNOR CAREY NEED NOT SET OFF A SHOUTING MATCH, NOR NEED IT CAUSE ANY UNIONISTS TO LOSE SLEEP. SOME OF THE MOST RESPONSIBLE MEN IN THE UNITED STATES WILL BE BACKING GOVERNOR CAREY. THE ROOTS OF THE PROBLEM IN THE NORTH MUST BE PROBED. QUOTE BRITAIN HAS AS MUCH NEED TO SEND HER BEST BRAINS TO CONFERENCE ON THE OLD CONTEST THAT HAS RACKED THESE ISLANDS AS SHE HAS TO PONDER THE FATE OF ZIMBABWE RHODESIA IN LUSAKA UNQUOTE.

RESTRICTED

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4. THE IRISH PRESS IN A LENGTHY EDITORIAL ALSO TAKES UP THE THE OF ZIMBABWE RHODESIA AND SUGGESTS THAT A WEEK OF TALKS ON NORTHERN IRELAND MIGHT CHANGE MRS THATCHER'S VIEW ON THAT PROBLEM AS DRAMATICALLY AS A WEEK OF TALKS IN LUSAKA HAD CHANGED HER VIEWS ON ZIMBABWE RHODESIA. QUOTE IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT AFTER THE STALEMATE OF THE MASON YEARS THE NORTHERN LOGJAM IS AT LAST BEGINNING TO MOVE AND MOVE AT A FAIRLY SHARPISH PACE. IT WAS A TORY GOVERNMENT THAT LAST OFFERED THIS ISLAND THE PROSPECT OF A NEW START WITH SUNNINGDALE, AN EXPERIMENT THAT FAILED LARGELY THROUGH THE POLITICAL COWARDICE OF MR WILSON'S LABOUR CABINET. THE INITIATIVES BEING LAUNCHED FROM AMERICA NOW OFFER ANOTHER TORY ADMINISTRATION THE OPPORTUNITY TO STAUNCH THE YEARS OF BLOODSHED AND ATTEMPT A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT UNQUOTE.

5. THE IRISH INDEPENDENT IN ITS EDITORIAL TAKS A DIFFERENT VIEW. GOVERNOR CAREY'S INITIATIVE IS SEEN AS CONNECTED WITH THE FORTHCOMING US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. QUOTE THE ONE FUNDAMENTAL SUBJECT WHICH DOES NOT EMERGE FROM THE SMOKESCREEN OF WORDS IS JUST WHAT THE AMERICANS WANT TO DO WITH THE NORTH. THE OPTIONS FOR A SOLUTION ARE LIMITED AND CARRY PARTICULARLY GRAVE CONSEQUENCES NO MATTER WHICH ONE IS SELECTED. ARE WE TO TAKE IT THAT THE AMERICANS HAVE THOUGHT OUT ALL THESE CONSEQUENCES? UNQUOTE. THE EDITORIAL GOES ON TO SUGGEST THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S ACTION ON ARMS FOR THE RUC MAY BRING JOY AND COMFORT TO BODIES SUCH AS THE PROVOS WHICH WILL NOW TELL THEMSELVES THAT ALL THE KILLINGS AND EXPLOSIONS HAVE BEEN WORTH THE EFFORT. QUOTE GOVERNOR CAREY SEEMS TO BE PLACING A LOT OF TRUST IN MRS THATCHER'S ABILITY TO GET A PLAN IMPLEMENTED BECAUSE OF HER LARGE MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT. BUT MRS THATCHER NEEDS TIME... IT WOULD BE WRONG TO RUSH HER TOWARDS A SOLUTION WHICH WAS NOT FULLY THOUGHT OUT AND WHICH COULD NOT BE IMPLEMENTED IN THE SHORT TERM AND IN THE LONG RUN THE FACT REMAINS THAT THERE IS A MAJORITY OF PEOPLE IN THE NORTH WHO, HOWEVER MUCH THEY DESIRE PEACE, ARE NOT RADY TO ACCEPT ANY OLD SOLUTION AND WHO BECOME VERY DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH WHEN UNCERTAINTY CLOUDS THE AIR AS IT D DOES AT PRESENT UNQUOTE.

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TO FLASH DUBLIN

TELEGRAM NUMBER 93 OF 7 AUG

INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON, BIS NEW YORK, NIO BELFAST

YOUR TELNO 191:

NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY'S STATEMENT  
BEGIN

1. WE HAVE TELEGRAPHED TO YOU SEPARATELY THE TEXT OF A STATEMENT WHICH THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ISSUED THIS AFTERNOON TO MAKE PLAIN HIS OWN POSITION FOLLOWING YESTERDAY'S ANNOUNCEMENT BY GOVERNOR CAREY OF A POSSIBLE MEETING IN NEW YORK. YOU MAY DRAW ON THIS FREELY.
  
2. WHEN THE GOVERNOR RAISED THE QUESTION OF A VISIT TO NEW YORK AT HIS MEETING WITH MR ATKINS ON 2 AUGUST, IT WAS REPRESENTED AS A PRIVATE OCCASION WHICH WOULD GIVE THE SECRETARY OF STATE THE OPPORTUNITY OF EXPLAINING TO OTHER AMERICAN POLITICIANS WHAT HE WAS TRYING TO DO IN NORTHERN IRELAND. MR CAREY IN A SUBSEQUENT TELEPHONE CONVERSATION PARTICULARLY URGED MR ATKINS TO EXPLAIN TO HIS US COLLEAGUES, AS HE HAD DONE TO MR CAREY HIMSELF, THE THREAT TO PEACE POSED BY THE PIRA AND THE URGENT NEED TO DEAL WITH THE TERRORISTS. ON THIS BASIS MR ATKINS INDICATED THAT HE WOULD CERTAINLY CONSIDER SUCH A POSSIBILITY, BUT THAT IT WOULD NEED TO BE CONSIDERED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE OTHER TALKS IN WHICH HE WAS ALREADY ENGAGED, AND HE WOULD OF COURSE NEED TO CONSULT HIS COLLEAGUES. GOVERNOR CAREY RAISED THE IDEA OF MR O'KENNEDY ALSO ATTENDING, AND MR ATKINS SAID THAT THE TWO OF THEM HAD OF COURSE ALREADY HAD DISCUSSIONS, BUT HE SAW NO OBJECTION TO THEIR MEETING AGAIN. THE GOVERNOR TELEPHONED MR ATKINS THE FOLLOWING DAY (APPARENTLY AFTER CONSULTING MR O'KENNEDY OR HIS OFFICE) AND IT WAS LEFT THAT THE GOVERNOR WOULD WRITE QUOTE WITHIN A FEW DAYS UNQUOTE. HIS LETTER IS STILL AWAITED.

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3. YOU MAY AT YOUR DISCRETION GIVE THE IRISH AUTHORITIES THE ABOVE ACCOUNT OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAVE LED TO THE PRESENT SITUATION. GOVERNOR CAREY DID NOT GIVE LONDON ANY ADVANCE WARNING OF HIS ANNOUNCEMENT YESTERDAY, WHICH WAS NO DOUBT DESIGNED TO SERVE HIS OWN POLITICAL ENDS. CLEARLY IT CALLS IN QUESTION HIS FOLLOWING TWO WORDS UNDERLINED BONA FIDES. AND WILL MEAN THAT WHEN THE FORMAL INVITATION ARRIVES IT WILL BE CONSIDERED VERY CAREFULLY BEFORE ANY REPLY IS SENT. THE SECRETARY OF STATE WILL CERTAINLY FIRST WISH TO DISCUSS IT WITH THE FOREIGN SECRETARY, WHICH MEANS A REPLY IS UNLIKELY TO GO BEFORE THE END OF THE MONTH, AND THEN CONSULT THE PRIME MINISTER WHO IS BEING KEPT FULLY INFORMED.

4. FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT MR ATKINS HAS BEEN AND STILL IS CONTEMPLATING A POSSIBLE VISIT TO THE US QUITE APART FROM GOVERNOR CAREY'S INITIATIVE. THE PURPOSE OF THIS WOULD BE TO CARRY SERIOUS IRISH/AMERICAN OPINION WITH HIM IN HIS SEARCH FOR AN ACCEPTABLE FORM OF GOVERNMENT FOR NORTHERN IRELAND: AND ALTHOUGH THE TIMING OF IT IS STILL WIDE OPEN IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT SUCH A TRIP WOULD BE APPROPRIATE UNTIL HIS TALKS WITH NI POLITICIANS HAD REACHED A POINT AT WHICH HE HAD GONE PUBLIC ON SOME SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL ADVANCE, WHICH CAN HARDLY BE BEFORE OCTOBER.

5. WE TAKE YOUR POINT THAT WE MUCH NOT ALLOW THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO PLACE UPON US THE SOLE BLAME IF THE CAREY INITIATIVE FLOPS, AS SEEMS LIKELY. YOU SHOULD SUGGEST TO THE DFA THAT, WITH THE EMPHASIS HE PLACED UPON THE PRIVATE CHARACTER OF THE PROJECTED MEETING, GOVERNOR CAREY HAS SERIOUSLY MISLED BOTH MR O'KENNEDY AND MR ATKINS. THIS FACT, TOGETHER WITH HIS ISSUE OF AN UNHERALDED ANNOUNCEMENT, WILL NO DOUBT WEIGH HEAVILY WITH BOTH OF THEM WHEN THEY CONSIDER WHAT REPLY TO SEND TO THE FORMAL INVITATION WHEN IT COMES. INDEED, YOU MIGHT CAST A FLY OVER THE DFA TO SEE HOW THEY WOULD REACT TO THE THOUGHT THAT THE TWO MINISTERS MIGHT CONSULT, THROUGH NORMAL DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS, BEFORE SENDING OFF THEIR REPLIES.

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TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TELEGRAM NUMBER 984 OF 7 AUG

INFO IMMEDIATE LUSAKA (FOR WALDEN AND CARTLEDGE) TUNIS  
(FOR SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NI) BIS NEW YORK, DUBLIN, NIO BELFAST.

YOUR TEL 2208

NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY'S STATEMENT.

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF STATEMENT ISSUED BY SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR NORTHER IRELAND AT 1600 HOURS TODAY:

1. I SAW GOVERNOR CAREY AT HIS REQUEST ON 2 AUGUST, AND TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN TO HIM THE NATURE OF THE INITIATIVE WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY BEGUN IN NORTHERN IRELAND, EMPHASISING THE NEED FOR PRIVATE, PATIENT NEGOTIATION WITH THE POLITICAL LEADERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND. I STRESSED THAT ANY SETTLEMENT HAD TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY COMMUNITIES IN ULSTER.

2. THIS TALK WAS ONE OF MANY I HAVE HAD SINCE TAKING OFFICE WITH CONCERNED PARTIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND BEYOND. I AM ANXIOUS TO LISTEN TO ANY VIEWS WHICH MAY BE HELPFUL, AND AS IS KNOWN I HAVE TALKED NOT ONLY TO NUMEROUS POLITICIANS AND OTHERS IN ULSTER BUT ALSO TO MICHAEL O'KENNEDY AND GARRETT FITZGERALD FROM THE REPUBLIC AND SENATOR MOYNIHAN FROM THE US.

3. AFTER THE MEETING GOVERNOR CAREY SUGGESTED IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF I WERE TO VISIT NEW YORK FOR THE PURPOSE OF A FOLLOWING WORD UNDERLINED PRIVATE MEETING WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AT WHICH I WOULD EXPLAIN TO THEM, AS I HAD DONE TO HIM, THE THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY POSED BY THE CURRENT ACTIVITIES OF THE PROVISIONAL IRA, AND THE URGENT NECESSITY OF DEALING WITH THEIR TERRORIST CAMPAIGN. I SAID I WOULD CERTAINLY CONSIDER THIS, AND RAISED NO OBJECTION WHEN GOVERNOR CAREY MOOTED THE POSSIBILITY OF MICHAEL O'KENNEDY BEING PRESENT. IT WAS LEFT THAT THE GOVERNOR WOULD WRITE TO ME WITH A FIRM PROPOSAL WHICH I WOULD CONSIDER IN CONSULTATION WITH MY COLLEAGUES IN THE GOVERNMENT. I NOW AWAIT THAT LETTER.

/ 4.

4. AT NO TIME WAS THERE ANY QUESTION OF QUOTE NEGOTIATING UNQUOTE THE FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND AT SUCH A MEETING. THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE PROVINCE IS A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN HM GOVERNMENT, THE PARLIAMENT AT WESTMINSTER AND THE PEOPLE OF ULSTER.

5. I AM IN FACT ALREADY CONSIDERING A POSSIBLE VISIT TO THE US TO TRY TO REMOVE THE CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES WHICH STILL SEEMS TO CLOUD THE MINDS OF SOME INTERESTED PARTIES IN AMERICA. I SHOULD ON SUCH A VISIT AIM TO EXPLAIN THE NATURE OF THE POLITICAL INITIATIVE NOW UNDER WAY; AND IN PARTICULAR I SHOULD SEEK TO OBTAIN THE MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SUPPORT FROM ALL CONCERNED IN DEALING WITH TERRORISM - WHETHER IN ENSURING THAT THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY, THE LEGALLY CONSTITUTED POLICE FORCE, CAN OBTAIN THE WEAPONS THEY NEED, OR IN DISCOURAGING THE MISGUIDED IDEALISM WHICH PUTS MONEY INTO THE POCKETS OF THE PROVISIONAL IRA AND OTHER TERRORISTS TO SUSTAIN THEIR MURDEROUS CAMPAIGN.

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
TELEGRAM NO 21 OF 7 AUG 79  
INFO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON DUBLIN

PLEASE PASS TO NIO.

GOVERNOR CAREY'S NORTHERN IRELAND INITIATIVE.  
A REPRESENTATIVE OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S OFFICE HAS TODAY  
PRESENTED A LETTER DATED 6 AUGUST FROM THE GOVERNOR  
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND.  
THE LETTER ITSELF IS IN TO-NIGHT'S CONFIDENTIAL AIR BAG.  
THE TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:-

QUOTE DEAR MR ATKINS:

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME AND CONSIDERATION YOU EXTENDED TO  
ME DURING MY RECENT TRIP TO LONDON. NOW, PURSUANT TO OUR DISCUSSIONS,  
I OFFICIALLY EXTEND TO YOU MY INVITATION TO VISIT NEW YORK IN THE  
VERY NEAR FUTURE, AND MEET WITH MR. MICHAEL O'KENNEDY, MINISTER FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

NEW YORK, THE HOME OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITE OF  
INNUMERABLE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES, IS SUPERBLY SUITED TO HOST  
THIS MEETING AND, AS GOVERNOR, I WILL MAKE CERTAIN OF ARRANGEMENTS  
TO ENSURE AN ATMOSPHERE OF COMFORT, SECURITY AND PRIVACY. I WILL  
CONSULT WITH YOU BY PHONE CONCERNING THESE PLANS AND ANY SUGGESTIONS  
YOU MIGHT CARE TO MAKE.

QUESTIONS OF AGENDA AND ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION WILL BE  
DETERMINED, OF COURSE, BY YOURSELF AND MR. O'KENNEDY. HOWEVER, THE  
VERY FACT OF YOUR MEETING WILL BE A LONG-AWAITED SIGN OF ENCOURAGE-  
MENT TO THOSE WHO HAVE SOUGHT AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION THAT RESPECTS  
THE RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEOPLE OF NORTHERN IRELAND.

I REALIZE YOU ARE CURRENTLY ON VACATION, AND YOUR ACCEPTANCE  
OF THIS INVITATION DEPENDS ON THE APPROVAL OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND  
CABINET, BUT THE EXEGENCIES OF PREPARING FOR SUCH A MEETING REQUIRE  
THAT I ASK YOU TO RESPOND AT YOUR EARLIEST POSSIBLE CONVENIENCE.

/ I HAVE INSTRUCTED

I HAVE INSTRUCTED MR PETER QUINN, ONE OF MY SPECIAL ASSISTANTS WITH A BACKGROUND IN THIS AREA, TO WORK WITH YOUR OFFICE AND WITH MR. O'KENNEDY'S IN ORDER TO ARRIVE AT ARRANGEMENTS SUITABLE TO ALL CONCERNED.

I LOOK FORWARD TO RETURNING YOUR HOSPITALITY.

SINCERELY, HUGH L CAREY UNQUOTE.

BOOTH

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TO IMMEDIATE FCO

TELNO 2217 OF 7 AUGUST

INFO NIO BELFAST, DUBLIN  
INFO SAVING CG NEW YORK, BIS NEW YORK.

MY TELNO 2208: NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY.

1. I HAVE SINCE LEARNED THAT NIMETZ, STATE DEPARTMENT COUNSELLOR, WHOSE POLITICS AND LEGAL PRACTICE HAVE BEEN IN NEW YORK, HAS BEEN IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH CAREY RECENTLY, AND MAY HAVE BEEN PRIVY TO CAREY'S INTENTIONS IN SUGGESTING THIS MEETING. (I REPORTED IN MY LETTER OF 26 JUNE TO CUBBON NIMETZ'S SUGGESTION THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND MIGHT WISH TO VISIT THE US FOR A QUIET MEETING WITH SOME OF THOSE PRINCIPALLY INTERESTED IN THE IRISH QUESTION IN US POLITICS.)
2. I DO NOT BELIEVE THIS NEED INFLUENCE OUR ATTITUDE TO CAREY'S INITIATIVE, PARTICULARLY SINCE CAREY'S PUBLICATION OF HIS INITIATIVE AND THE FACT THAT HE APPARENTLY DID NOT ACT IN CONCERT WITH O'NEILL AND KENNEDY. INDEED GOVERNOR CAREY MAY BE THE LEAST IMPORTANT OF THE FOUR, THE MOST IMPORTANT BEING O'NEILL AND KENNEDY. IF MR ATKINS WERE TO DECIDE TO VISIT THE US FOR THE SORT OF EXCHANGES WHICH NIMETZ ORIGINALLY HAD IN MIND I THINK HE SHOULD AIM TO MEET O'NEILL AND KENNEDY IN THE FIRST PLACE. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT CAREY'S INITIATIVE MIGHT NOT BE ADAPTED FOR THIS PURPOSE, DEPENDING ON MR ATKINS' SUBSEQUENT TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH CAREY AND KENNEDY'S OWN REACTION TO CAREY'S INITIATIVE.

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FM BIS NEW YORK 061900Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON

TEL NUMBER 11 OF 6 AUGUST  
AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO

INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST DUBLIN

MIPT.

NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY

FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S PRESS STATEMENT.

AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE FOR MANY YEARS WORKED FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE IN NORTHERN IRELAND. IN CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS AND IN MEETINGS WITH LEADERS IN BELFAST, DUBLIN, WASHINGTON AND NOW IN LONDON, I HAVE SOUGHT THE BASIS FOR A SETTLEMENT TO BRING AN END TO DECADES-- AND EVEN CENTURIES -- OF STRIFE.

IN A RECENT SERIES OF ARTICLES IN THE NEW YORK DAILY NEWS, DR. KEVIN CAHILL AND MYSELF HAVE TRIED TO POINT THE WAY TO PEACE, SEEKING THE COMMON GROUND OF CONCILIATION. TODAY I AM PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT ON AUGUST 2ND DURING MY VISIT TO LONDON I HELD EXTENSIVE AND DIRECT DISCUSSIONS WITH MR HUMPHREY ATKINS, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE CABINET OF PRIME MINISTER MARGARET THATCHER. THE TWO FOLLOWING DAYS I HELD TELEPHONE DISCUSSIONS WITH MR MICHAEL O'KENNEDY, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND, AND MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF. I HAVE OBTAINED THEIR INITIAL ACCEPTANCE AS INDIVIDUALS TO MEET WITH ME IN NEW YORK TO CONTINUE OUR WORK TOWARDS PEACE, SECURITY AND AN END TO VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

'THIS INVITATION WILL OF COURSE REQUIRE REVIEW BY THE PRIME MINISTERS AND CABINETS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. SUCH REVIEW IS IN THE NORMAL COURSE AND SINCE BOTH INDIVIDUALS HAVE ALREADY INDICATED TO ME THEIR DESIRE TO ATTEND I LOOK FORWARD TO A POSITIVE RESPONSE. I AM ANNOUNCING THIS NOW IN ORDER TO BEGIN THE NECESSARY PREPARATIONS.

' I SHALL SEND A LETTER OF INVITATION TODAY TO BOTH MR. O'KENNEDY AND MR. ATKINS. THE LOCATION AND SPECIFIC PLANS FOR THE MEETING ARE NOT YET FIRM. THE AGENDA WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES, BUT NEW YORK I HOPE WILL PROVIDE A SETTING FOR ACHIEVING THE ELUSIVE PEACE WE ALL SEEK. I AM PLEASED TO SERVE AS HOST.

/ I HAVE

I HAVE DISCUSSED THIS MEETING WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
AND WITH MY NEW YORK COLLEAGUE, SENATOR MOYNIHAN. LATER TODAY I  
SHALL BE IN CONTACT WITH SENATOR KENNEDY, SPEAKER O'NEILL AND OTHERS  
WHO HAVE WORKED WITH ME ON THIS MATTER.

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FM BIS NEW YORK 061901Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE WASHINGTON  
TEL NUMBER 10 OF 6 AUGUST  
AND TO IMMEDIATE FCO  
INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST DUBLIN

NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY

1. GOVERNOR CAREY ANNOUNCED TODAY AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK THAT HE WAS INVITING MR HUMPHREY ATKINS AND MR MICHAEL O'KENNEDY TO MEET IN NEW YORK WITH THE GOVERNOR ACTING AS HOST ' TO CONTINUE OUR WORK TOWARDS PEACE, SECURITY AND AN END OF VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND'. FULL TEXT OF GOVERNOR CAREY'S STATEMENT AS GIVEN TO US BY TELEPHONE BY CAREY'S STAFF IS IN MIFT.

2. THE STATEMENT ASSERTS THAT HE HAS OBTAINED FROM THE INITIAL ACCEPTANCE OF TWO MINISTERS BUT ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THIS WILL REQUIRE REVIEW BY THE PRIME MINISTERS AND CABINETS OF THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. THE GOVERNOR LOOKED FORWARD TO A POSITIVE RESPONSE.

3. REUTERS HAVE REPORTED THE PRESS CONFERENCE IN THEIR US NEWS SERVICE. THEY QUOTE THE GOVERNOR AS SAYING THAT HE WAS CONVINCED THAT THE TALKS COULD WORK BECAUSE HMG HAD A STRONG PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY AND PROBABLY WOULD BE IN PLACE FOR AT LEAST 5 YEARS. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION AS TO WHETHER HE INTENDED TO INVITE REPRESENTATIVES FROM NORTHERN IRISH PARA-MILITARY GROUPS THE GOVERNOR REPLIED 'NO. YOU DON'T TALK TO TERRORISTS'.

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FM WASHINGTON 062220Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 2208 OF 6 AUGUST

INFO NIO BELFAST, DUBLIN, CG NEW YORK AND BIS NEW YORK

BIS NEW YORK

K TELS NO 10 AND 11, AND TELECON RESIDENT CLERK/DAVIDSON.  
 NORTHERN IRELAND: GOVERNOR CAREY'S STATEMENT.

1. WE HAVE INFORMED STATE DEPARTMENT SPEAKER O'NEILL'S OFFICE AND SENATOR KENNEDY'S OFFICE, OF THE NIO STATEMENT IN REACTION TO GOVERNOR CAREY'S PRESS CONFERENCE.
2. STATE DEPARTMENT HAVE NOT ISSUED ANY REACTION, BUT IN RESPONSE TO ENQUIRIES THEIR CONTINGENCY PRESS GUIDANCE IS:- QUOTE BEGINS, Q CAN YOU COMMENT ON REPORTS THAT GOV CAREY OF NY HAS INVITED IRISH FOREIGN MINISTER O'KENNEDY AND BRITISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND HUMPHREY ATKINS ?  
 GOV CAREY HAS INFORMED THE DEPARTMENT THAT HE HAS EXTENDED SUCH INVITATION FOLLOWING HIS RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH SECRETARY ATKINS AND FOREIGN MINISTER O'KENNEDY.  
 Q DOES THE DEPARTMENT HAVE ANY VIEW ON THE APPROPRIATENESS OF SUCH A MEETING ?  
 GOV CAREY HAS DISCUSSED THESE INVITATIONS WITH THE DEPARTMENT AND OBVIOUSLY WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE GOVERNOR FOLLOWING UP HIS RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH MR O'KENNEDY AND MR ATKINS IN THE MANNER HE PROPOSES. ENDS.
3. IN PRIVATE, STATE DEPARTMENT SUGGEST THAT GOVERNOR CAREY HAS PUT EVERYONE ON THE SPOT BY ANNOUNCING HIS PROPOSALS PREMATURELY.
3. KIRK O'DONNELL AND CAREY PARKER (THE CHIEF AIDES OF SPEAKER O'NEILL AND SENATOR KENNEDY) BOTH INDICATE TO US PRIVATELY THAT CAREY APPEARS TO HAVE MOVED WITHOUT CONSULTING THEIR PRINCIPALS IN ADVANCE (BUT THEY CANNOT QUITE CONFIRM THIS AS BOTH PRINCIPALS ARE ON HOLIDAY). PARKER AND O'DONNELL SAID THEY WERE EXPECTING A VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BY MR ATKINS IN THE AUTUMN, AND THEY WOULD HAVE WELCOMED THIS. THEY FEAR THAT CAREY'S ANNOUNCEMENT TODAY WILL MAKE

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SUCH A VISIT LESS LIKELY, AND SAY THEY WOULD REGRET THIS. THEY ASSUMED THAT WHEN MR ATKIN'S CAME IT WOULD BE ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO WASHINGTON AND PERHAPS OTHER CITIES FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADERS, NOT FOR THE SORT OF CONFERENCE THAT CAREY IS PROMOTING.

4. WHILE KENNEDY AND O'NEILL MAY THEREFORE HAVE PRIVATE DOUBTS ABOUT CAREY'S INITIATIVE, THEY ARE LIKELY TO HAVE LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO WELCOME IT PUBLICLY.

5. I WILL COMMENT FURTHER TOMORROW.

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FM F C O 011428Z AUG 79  
TO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN  
TELEGRAM NO 85 OF 1 AUGUST  
INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST

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1. THE FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER FROM THE RT. HON. HUMPHREY ATKINS MP, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, TO THE HONOURABLE MICHAEL O'KENNEDY TD, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, DATED 30 JULY BEGINS:

WE HAD A WORD ON THE TELEPHONE EARLIER TODAY, AND I EXPLAINED TO YOU MY GROWING CONCERN THAT, AS A RESULT OF A SERIES OF INCIDENTS, THE GOOD RELATIONS WHICH I BELIEVE WE ESTABLISHED WHEN I MET YOU AND GERRY COLLINS IN DUBLIN LAST MONTH APPEAR NOW TO BE CALLED IN QUESTION.

IT IS NOT MY PURPOSE IN THIS NOTE TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT THE LATEST INCIDENTS WHICH YOU RAISED WITH ROBIN HAYDON ON THURSDAY - THE TRUTH OF WHICH I SHALL, OF COURSE, GET OFFICIALS TO INVESTIGATE - OR TO ARGUE WHAT I KNOW IS TRUE - THAT THERE IS CERTAINLY NO MALICE OR ILL-WILL ON THE PART OF HM GOVERNMENT BEHIND THEM. ALL I WANT TO DO IS TO SAY THAT I THINK IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WE COULD HAVE A FAIRLY EARLY MEETING SO THAT WE MAY, IN THE WORDS OF YOUR LETTER OF 18 JULY, QUOTE THRASH THESE PROBLEMS OUT UNQUOTE - BECAUSE I KNOW WE CAN APPROACH THE DIFFICULTIES IN A SPIRIT OF GOODWILL. I HAD THE IMPRESSION FROM OUR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION THAT YOU WOULD ALSO FIND IT HELPFUL TO HAVE AN EARLY MEETING. I SUGGESTED THAT WE MEET QUITE PRIVATELY, WITHOUT OUR MEETING BECOMING PUBLIC, AND YOU AGREED THAT THE MORE THAT COULD BE DONE TO DAMP DOWN MEDIA SPECULATION, THE BETTER. I GO ON HOLIDAY FOR A FORTNIGHT AT THE END OF THIS WEEK. SUBJECT TO THAT, I SHALL DO MY BEST TO FIT IN WITH YOUR OWN MORE DEMANDING PROGRAMME. NO DOUBT THE DETAILS CAN BE FIXED THROUGH THE DUBLIN EMBASSY.

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FM FCO 011428Z AUG 79

TO IMMEDIATE DUBLIN

TELEGRAM NUMBER 84 OF 1 AUGUST

INFO IMMEDIATE NIO BELFAST

YOUR TELNO 183: TELECON BETWEEN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND AND MR O'KENNEDY ON 30 JULY

1. THE TWO MINISTERS AGREED TO A MEETING BUT ACCEPTED THAT IT COULD NOT TAKE PLACE BEFORE END OF THIS WEEK, WHEN MR ATKINS GOES ON HOLIDAY. THEY AGREED THAT PUBLICITY SHOULD BE AVOIDED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, ALTHOUGH A COMPLETELY PRIVATE MEETING MIGHT PROVE TOO DIFFICULT TO ARRANGE. THE CONVERSATION WAS CORDIAL THROUGHOUT. MR ATKINS SAID HE HAD BEEN UNAWARE OF THE TWO MATTERS REPORTED IN YOUR TELNO 179 AND HAD ASKED OFFICIALS TO INVESTIGATE THEM URGENTLY. WE SHALL BE TELEGRAPHING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ABOUT THESE.
2. M I F T CONTAINS TEXT OF LETTER DATED 30 JULY FROM MR ATKINS TO MR O'KENNEDY. PLEASE ARRANGE FOR ITS EARLY DELIVERY TO MR O'KENNEDY, EXPLAINING THAT SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW VERY SOON.
3. WHEN DELIVERING ADVANCE TEXT PLEASE SEEK D F A'S VIEWS ON TIMING AND ARRANGEMENT FOR A FURTHER MEETING BETWEEN MR ATKINS AND MR O'KENNEDY. SECRETARY OF STATE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND WOULD LIKE THIS TO TAKE PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER HIS HOLIDAY, THAT IS TO SAY ON OR AFTER TUESDAY, 28 AUGUST.
4. THE AGENDA FOR THE MEETING AS USUAL WOULD RANGE OVER POLITICAL, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC MATTERS. MR ATKINS WOULD PREFER IF POSSIBLE TO KEEP SECRET THE FACT THAT A MEETING IS PLANNED OR SUBSEQUENTLY HAS TAKEN PLACE. HE CERTAINLY SUGGEST THAT THERE SHOULD BE TOTAL CONFIDENTIALITY ABOUT WHATEVER MIGHT BE SAID AT THE MEETING. MR ATKINS HAS AN OPEN MIND ABOUT THE LOCATION OF THE MEETING AND AS FAR AS POSSIBLE WOULD BE READY TO ACCOMMODATE MR O'KENNEDY'S CONVENIENCE.

CARRINGTON

DEPARTMENTAL DIST.

RID,

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END

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