

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



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1. INSTRUCTION TO AMBASSADOR ROME INCLUDING SPEAKING
NOTE (c25 OF 2/ 5/ 84)

2. ACCOUNT OF MEETING IN FCO ON 3 MAY(c136 OF 3/5/84)

3. REPORT FROM AMBASSADOR ROME ON MEETING AT PEOPLES
BUREAU ON 7 MAY

QQQQQQ

C25

IMMEDIATE

2ND MAY 1984

TO ROME FROM HQ

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM MACKERNAN

MMMDFFDD

2A
IRA/LIBYA.

1) THIS MATTER HAS NOW ATTAINED CONSIDERABLE URGENCY FOLLOWING AN ACCOUNT ON THE RTE RADIO LUNCHTIME NEWS TODAY 2 MAY OF AN INTERVIEW BY GADDAFI IN TRIPOLI. RTE'S REPORTER, FINTAN DRURY, SAID GADDAFI SPOKE OF THE IRA'S STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITAIN AS A JUST CAUSE WHICH LIBYA WAS NOT EMBARRASSED TO SUPPORT. HE SAID THAT LIBYA ALREADY KNEW IRA LEADERS FROM CONTACTS IN THE 1970'S AND NOW THAT BRITAIN HAS BEHAVED LIKE THIS LIBYA WOULD RESUME ITS SUPPORT. WE SH WILL SEND YOU A TRANSCRIPT OF THE RET REPORT AS SOON AS ONE IS AVAILABLE

2. THE MATTER HAD ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED THIS MORNING BY THE SECRETARY, A/S LILLIS, A/S O'TUATHAIL AND MYSELF ON THE BASIS OF THE PARIS INTERVIEW OF 30 APRIL WHICH HAD CONCERNED THE MINISTER. THE LATTER IS NOW PARTICULARLY PERTURBED AT THE REITERATION, INDEED STRENGTHENING, OF THE OFFER OF SUPPORT FOR THE IRA IN TODAY'S INTERVIEW.

3) HE HAS INSTRUCTED THAT WE MAKE CONTACT WITH THE LIBYAN AUTHORITIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO MAKE KNOWN OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE REPORTED REMARKS IN THE 2 INTERVIEWS. TO THIS END WE WOULD WISH YOU TO DO TWO THINGS.

A) MAKE CONTACT WITH A SUITABLY HIGH-RANKING PERSON IN LIBYA BY TELEPHONE TO MAKE KNOWN OUR CONCERN, DRAWING ON THE ANNEXED SPEAKING NOTE. YOU COULD SAY THAT YOU WILL BE TAKING THE MATTER UP IN GREATER DETAIL WITH THE LIBYAN PEOPLE'S BUREAU IN ROME. U

B) WE WOULD WISH YOU TO CALL AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ON YOUR LIBYAN COUNTERPART IN ROME AND LEAVE WITH HIM THE ANNEXED SPEAKING NOTE. YOU COULD ALSO LEAVE WITH HIM A COPY OF THE INFORMATION PAPER IN ARABIC, WHICH IS IN THE EMBASSY, ON THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON THE NI PROBLEM AND THE IRA.

ANNEX

SPEAKING NOTE

THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND HAVE LEARNED WITH GRAVE CONCERN OF THE REPORTED REMARKS OF COLONEL GADDAFI ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPORT FOR THE IRA. ACCORDING TO REPORTS AVAILABLE IN DUBLIN COLONEL GADDAFI STATED IN AN INTERVIEW ON FRENCH TELEVISION ON 30 APRIL.

''WE ENVISAGE SUPPORTING THE IRA
AND AS A FIRST STEP THE IRA WILL HAVE OFFICES OPENED UNLESS THERE IS AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN BRITAIN AND OURSELVES''.

IN AN INTERVIEW IN TRIPOLI ON 2 MAY COLONEL GADDAFI IS QUOTED AS HAVING SAID LIBYA ALREADY KNEW IRA LEADERS BECAUSE OF CONTACT IN THE 1970'S AND THAT SUPPORT WOULD NOW BE RESUMED.

THE IRISH AUTHORITIES HAVE AVAILED OF A NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PAST TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE LIBYAN AUTHORITIES THEIR VIEW OF THE IRA AND ITS ACTIVITIES. THE IRISH GOVERNMENT WISHES TO REITERATE THAT THE IRA IS AN ILLEGAL ORGANISATION ENGAGED IN TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH, AS WELL AS IN BRITAIN. ~~XX WMRØØ~~ ITS MURDEROUS CAMPAIGN MAKES THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE COMPLEX NORTHERN IRELAND PROBLEM, TO WHICH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED, EVEN MORE DIFFICULT. IN THE LIGHT OF THIS THE IRISH GOVERNMENT CANNOT BUT VIEW SUPPORT FOR, OR OFFERS OF SUPPORT FOR, THE IRA AS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE AND INIMICAL TO GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN LIBYA AND IRELAND. SPECIFICALLY THE GOVERNMENT WOULD VIEW THE SUGGESTION THAT THE IRA WOULD BE INVITED TO ESTABLISH AN OFFICE IN LIBYA AS AN UNFRIENDLY ACT.

END OF C25

C 136
IMMEDIATE

3.5.84

TO HQ
FOR ASST SEC NAC KERNAN

Morgan Please see Combing
to Report with Corrections
to Sub. D.C. *for* *John* *Went* *to* *the* *US*
FROM LDM
FROM TOWNSEND

Mr Rye
Mr Mone
Mr Gunning
Mr Salido

11

C30 to Rome

11111

CC PS *W*
PS *S*

PS *W*
PS *S*

John

3/5/84

1326

S. Bailey

QADHAFI STATEMENTS ON SUPPORT FOR IRA

1. I SAW PATRICK NIXON, ASSISTANT HEAD OF NEAR EAST DEPARTMENT IN FCO, THIS MORNING AS FOLLOW UP TO YOUR CONVERSATION WITH JENKINS YESTERDAY. I REFERRED TO THE CONCERN IN DUBLIN, AND SAID THAT I UNDERSTOOD THAT WE WOULD BE TAKING THE MATTER UP WITH THE LIBYANS TODAY THROUGH ROME. I SAID IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE THE BRITISH VIEW ON HOW FAR QADHAFI'S STATEMENT WAS PURELY RHETORIC AND HOW FAR THERE MIGHT BE SUBSTANCE IN IT.

2. NIXON OUTLINED THE HISTORY OF LINKS BETWEEN LIBYA AND THE IRA. THERE HAD BEEN NO RESUMPTION OF CONTACTS SINCE 1976. HOWEVER IN OCTOBER LAST THE THEN HEAD OF THE PEOPLE'S BUREAU IN LONDON, KUWIRI, HAD THREATENED RESUMPTION OF SUPPORT FOR THE IRA. HE HAD RECEIVED "A FLEA IN THE EAR" FROM THE MINISTER OF STATE, MR LUCE. THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE SINCE THEN, OF ANY RESUMPTION OF CONTACTS ALTHOUGH THERE HAD BEEN "ONE OR TWO RATHER STRANGE VISITS TO TRIPOLI." (THE BRITISH ARE EVIDENTLY MONITORING THIS ASPECT CLOSELY).

3. SINCE THE BOMBINGS IN BRITAIN (BY LIBYANS) EARLIER THIS YEAR, SOME FURTHER VEILED THREATS HAD BEEN MADE. GENERALLY, THESE WERE REMARKS SUCH AS THAT BY A SENIOR OFFICIAL IN THE FOREIGN LIAISON BUREAU IN TRIPOLI: "YOU WILL BE GLAD TO HEAR THAT WE HAVE NOT YET TAKEN THE DECISION" (I.E. TO RESUME SUPPORT FOR THE IRA).

4. THERE IS, AS YET, NO "OFFICIAL" BRITISH ASSESSMENT OF YESTERDAY'S REMARKS BY QADHAFI (IN ANY EVENT, THEY DO NOT HAVE DIRECT REPORTS ANY LONGER FROM TRIPOLI): HOWEVER, NIXON OFFERED THE FOLLOWING PERSONAL VIEWS:

- LIBYA WAS ^{SURPRISED} SURPRISED, AND UNPREPARED, FOR THE STRENGTH OF THE BRITISH REACTION TO THE EVENTS OF 17 APRIL: THEY DID NOT EXPECT A FULL BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.
- THEY STILL HOPE TO PERSUADE THE BRITISH TO CHANGE THEIR MINDS

- THE LIBYANS ARE UNDERESTIMATING THE LENGTH OF TIME FOR WHICH BRITAIN INTENDS TO MAINTAIN AN ATTITUDE OF "NO BUSINESS" (I THINK NIXON INDICATED THAT THIS WAS MORE LIKELY TO BE A COUPLE OF YEARS RATHER THAN MONTHS, BUT AM NOT POSITIVE ON THIS).
- AS LONG AS THE LIBYANS HOPE THAT BRITAIN MAY CHANGE ITS MIND, THEY MAY HOLD BACK FROM GOING TO THE EXTREME OF PROVIDING FUNDING FOR THE IRA.
- IN LIBYAN TERMS, THE REACTION IN TRIPOLI HAD, TO DAY, BEEN SOMEWHAT "RESTRAINED". ALL THE EMPHASIS HAD BEEN ON RECIPROCITY, AND THEY HAD BEEN SCRUPULOUS IN THIS REGARD.
- IF THE LIBYANS DID DECIDE TO ESCALATE FURTHER THE DISPUTE, THIS WOULD BE LIKELY TO SHOW ITSELF IN A NUMBER OF WAY: THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE SOME OTHER INDICATIONS AS WELL AS ACTUAL SUPPORT FOR THE IRA. THESE INDICATIONS HAD NOT YET APPEARED

5. EVEN IF QADHAFI DID DECIDE TO RESUME SUPPORT FOR THE IRA, IT WOULD BE UNCLEAR WHAT FORM IT WOULD TAKE. OBVIOUSLY, THE IRA WOULD NOT TURN DOWN CASH: HOWEVER, THE LIBYANS WERE VERY SHORT. IN ANY CASE, THEIR "DELIVERY", WITH REGARD TO FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR OTHER "LIBERATION MOVEMENTS" HAD FALLEN FAR SHORT OF THEIR PERFORMANCE. THE IRA MIGHT PREFER WEAPONS, BUT THE LIBYANS HAD BEEN "BURNED" ON THIS BEFORE.

6. NIXON'S OVERALL ASSESSMENT WAS THAT THE LIBYANS HAVE NOT YET DECIDED TO TRANSLATE RHETORIC INTO ACTION. THEY ARE MAINLY CONCERNED WITH "SHOW". IF A DECISION IS TAKEN, SUPPORT IS LIKELY TO BE SLOW AND SMALL.

7. I WENT ON TO ASK ABOUT ACTION WHICH BRITAIN HAD INDICATED IT WOULD BE TAKING, E.G. AT THE COUNCIL NEXT WEEK, AS A FOLLOW UP TO THE BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH LIBYA. NIXON SAID THAT HE DID NOT EXPECT THAT AT THE COUNCIL MEETING, BRITAIN WOULD DO MORE THAN BRIEF PARTNERS. REFERENCES TO FUTURE ACTION WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO GO BEYOND SIR GEOFFREY HOWE'S STATEMENT ON 1 MAY.

7. THERE ARE (AS ANNOUNCED) STUDIES GOING ON ON THE QUESTION

OF EXISTING DEFENCE CONTRACTS WITH LIBYA, RESTRICTIONS ON LIBYANS COMING TO BRITAIN, AND CHANGES TO THE VIENNA CONVENTION. SOME OF THESE MAY TAKE SOMETIME, AND IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE MUCH DETAILED INFORMATION AVAILABLE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. 8. ON THE REAGAN SUGGESTIONS, THERE ARE "A WHOLE ADDITIONAL AREA", AND IT IS CLEARLY ONE ABOUT WHICH THE BRITISH HAVE CONSIDERABLE DOUBTS. NIXON MADE THE OBSERVATION THAT IT DID NOT SEEM RIGHT TO COMBAT TERRORISM WITH THE SAME METHODS.

9. IN THE CONTEXT OF THE IRISH REACTION TO THE RECENT EVENTS IN LONDON, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE FCO ARE PLEASED WITH THE STRONG STATEMENT ISSUED LAST WEEK.

END END END

7/5/84

IMMEDIATE

TO HQ FROM ROME
FOR A/SECRETARIES MCKERNAN AND O'TUATHAIL
FROM AMBASSADOR

MMMQQQQ

I CALLED BY APPOINTMENT THIS MORNING MONDAY 7 MAY AT 11.00 AM ON THE HEAD OF THE LIBYAN PEOPLES BUREAU. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAD TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO GET AN APPOINTMENT LAST WEEK. THEY CLOSED UP ON THURSDAY LAST AT NOON AND WERE ~~FOR~~ CLOSED OF COURSE ALL DAY ON FRIDAY. I OFFERED TO CALL ANY TIME ON SATURDAY OR SUNDAY BUT NO APPOINTMENT WAS GRANTED. MR BOLSTER SECURED THIS MORNING'S APPOINTMENT BY PHONING THEM EARLY THIS MORNING.

2. THE NEW HEAD (SECRETARY) OF THE BUREAU, WHOSE NAME HAS NOT YET BEEN COMMUNICATED TO US, SUCCEEDED RECENTLY AMMAR EL TAGGAZY WHO WAS MURDERED IN ROME BY ANTI-GADDAFI ELEMENTS. HE IS YOUNG, DRESSES & IN ARMY FATIGUES AND BOOTS AND IS ALMOST INCOMMUNICATIVE. HE SPEAKS ONLY ARABIC OFFICIALLY ALTHOUGH I FOUND OUT TOWARDS THE END OF MY CALL THAT HE SPEAKS SOME ITALIAN AND WE CONVERSED IN THAT AS THE TALK CONCLUDED. AN INTERPRETER TRANSLATED THE MAIN PART OF THE CONVERSATION INTO ARABIC AND HALTING ENGLISH.

3. THROUGHOUT OUR CONVERSATION, WHICH LASTED 45 MINUTES, I WAS MOST CAREFUL ON THE ONE HAND TO LEAVE MY OPPOSITE NUMBER HERE IN NO DOUBT REGARDING THE IRISH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ABOUT COLONEL GADDAFI'S STATEMENTS ON FRENCH TELEVISION ON 30 APRIL, BUT ON THE OTHER TO SAFEGUARD OUR RELATIONS, OUR EXPORTS, AND THE FORTHCOMING MEETING OF THE JOINT COMMISSION.

4. I WENT THROUGH THE SALIENT POINTS OF THE SPEAKING NOTE BEFORE HANDING IT OVER AS AN AIDE-MEMOIRE. ~~YEA~~ WHEN THE HEAD OF THE BUREAU MADE NO REPLY AND NO EFFORT TO ACCEPT THE AIDE-MEMOIRE I EXPLAINED THAT I HAD ALREADY CONVEYED THE CONTENTS OF IT TO TRIPOLI ON THE PHONE. THIS SEEMED TO SHAKE HIM AND HE ASKED TO WHOM I HAD SPOKEN AND WHAT REPLY I HAD RECEIVED. I EXPLAINED THAT WE HAD TRIED TO GET DR ZLITNI OR MR NURI BEELMAN BUT NEITHER WAS AVAILABLE AND THAT I HAD MANAGED TO CONTACT MR HAMMAN WHO SAID HE WOULD TAKE CARE OF IT AND CALL ME BACK IF NECESSARY (SEE MY Q65 OF 3/5/84). ALTHOUGH THEREFORE I HAD CONVEYED ITS CONTENTS ON THE PHONE TO LIBYA I FELT IT RIGHT TO HAND IT IN WRITING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO THE HEAD OF THE BUREAU IN ROME. HE SAID HE WOULD SEND IT TO TRIPOLI.

5. HE THEN SAID THAT POSSIBLY THERE WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT WHAT GADDAFI HAD SAID AND I REPLIED THAT IF THIS WERE SO THEN MY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE MOST ANXIOUS TO HAVE ANY CORRECTIONS, AS THE REPORTED SUPPORT FOR THE IRA WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE AND INIMICAL TO GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN US.

6. HE THEN ASKED ME ABOUT ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS, OUR ECONOMY, OUR MAIN EXPORTS, OUR TRADE WITH LIBYA, OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, AND EVEN THE WEATHER IN IRELAND. I GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT HAVING HEARD WHAT I HAD TO SAY HE WAS ALSO ANXIOUS TO KEEP OPEN GOOD RELATIONS. INEXPERTLY

GOOD RELATIONS. INEXPERTLY, HE ASKED IF IRELAND HAD ANY MISSION IN LIBYA (HE SHOULD HAVE KNOWN THE POSITION) AND I SAID THAT THIS QUESTION MIGHT WELL ARISE IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE JOINT COMMISSION BUT THAT HE WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT LIBYA'S PROFESSED SUPPORT FOR THE IRA WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT THE IRISH PEOPLE AND ITS GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO BEAR IN MIND IN THAT CONNECTION. HE AGAIN SAID HE WOULD TRANSMIT MY AIDE-MEMOIRE WITHOUT DELAY TO TRIPOLI.

7. TOWARDS THE CLOSE HE OFFERED ME LIBYAN TEA, SPOKE SOME ITALIAN AND CAME TO THE DOOR TO SEE ME LEAVE IN A FRIENDLY WAY. HE SAID WE WERE GOOD FRIENDS AND WOULD COME TO SEE ME. I SAID THAT IF THERE WAS A REPLY FROM LIBYA I WOULD COME AT ONCE TO SEE HIM. I THINK WE COULD SAY IN CONCLUSION THAT WHILE I LEFT HIM IN NO DOUBT AS TO HOW THE GOVERNMENT FEELS ON THE IRA ISSUE, THE LINES OF COMMUNICATION HAVE NOT BEEN IMPAIRED.

8. IN THIS CONNECTION WE ARE ADDITIONALLY SENDING TO DR ZLITNI AND DR ALI TRICKI (THE LIBYAN FOREIGN MINISTER) THE PUBLISHED VERSION OF THE NEW IRELAND FORUM REPORT, THE UNOFFICIAL SUMMARY AND THE DOCUMENT ON IRELAND IN ARABIC WITH A NOTE ~~BY~~ DRAWING THEIR ATTENTION ALL OF THEIR CONTENTS AND IN PARTICULAR TO PAGE THREE OF THE ARABIC DOCUMENT. WE ARE SENDING THESE THROUGH THE PEOPLE'S BUREAU AND AS A FOLLOW-UP THIS MORNING'S MEETING WITH THE HEAD OF THE BUREAU WE WILL SEND HIM A COPY OF THE FORUM REPORT TOGETHER WITH AN ITALIAN VERSION OF THE UNOFFICIAL SUMMARY (WHICH WE PREPARED FOR LOCAL DISTRIBUTION).

NO. 5 READS AS FOLLOWS:

HE THEN SAID THAT POSSIBLY THERE WAS A MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT WHAT GADDAFI HAD SAID AND ~~IX~~ I REPLIED THAT IF THIS WERE SO THEN MY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE MOST ANXIOUS TO HAVE ANY CORRECTIONS, AS THE REPORTED SUPPORT FOR THE IRA WAS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE AND INIMICAL TO GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN US.

040H PLS IN PLAIN NOW