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Embassy in Tripoli. Libyan interests in the UK are looked after by the Saudi Arabian Embassy in London. In February, 1985 on the occasion of the release of four British citizens held "hostage" in Tripoli for over 9 months, the Foreign Office were concerned to discount any suggestions that the release was as a result of a commitment to re-establish a Libyan Embassy in London. Some improvement in relations is indicated by the bilateral talks between Libya and the U.K. which took place under the auspices of Italy.

Relations with Ireland

28. On 1 July 1977 Ireland and Libya decided to establish diplomatic relations at Ambassadorial level on a non-residential basis. The Libyans had pressed for the setting up of an office in Dublin. The Libyan Ambassador in London was accredited to Ireland on 18 January 1979 and the Irish Ambassador in Rome sought the agreement of the Libyan authorities to his accreditation to Libya. There was considerable delay in the latter process and the Ambassador was unable to present his credentials until May 1981. Ambassador Kennedy (Rome) presented credentials in Tripoli on 12 November 1983. Irish consular affairs in Libya are dealt with by the Italian Embassy in Tripoli.

29. Irish trade with Libya is very important. Our exports in 1983 were worth IR£49.5 million. Imports from Libya were IR£25.8 million. In 1984 Irish exports to Libya were worth £37.2 million. Imports from Libya were IR£14,000. There were 438 Libyans registered as aliens in Ireland on 31 December 1983. In December 1982 a Libyan citizen was killed in Limerick. His attacker was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for manslaughter.

Libya and the IRA

30. Active Libyan support for the IRA culminated in the Claudia affair in March 1973 when a ship which had been loaded with Soviet arms in Tripoli was intercepted by the Irish Navy off Helvick Head and a number of people were arrested. The Libya-IRA relationship declined markedly from 1975 onwards, probably, because of pressure from the Irish and British Governments on the matter, a Libyan desire for better relations with both countries, disputes with the IRA and the visit of a UDA delegation to Libya.

31. In September 1976, Gaddafi told Newsweek that 'the IRA chapter is behind us'. He went on to imply, however, that his dropping of the IRA was tactical and temporary: 'I believe we should drop anything that does not present us with an imperative urgency'. The period from the mid-70's was marked by occasional bursts of rhetorical support for the IRA and the line that Libya was giving the IRA moral but not material support. When the first Irish Ambassador to Libya presented credentials in Tripoli in 1979, the Libyan Foreign

Minister went out of his way to say that Libya did not approve of terrorism or violence. The Irish authorities have continued to avail of opportunities which have arisen to impress on the Libyans our view of the IRA and of the Northern Ireland question.

32. The UK/Libya dispute following the killing of a British policewoman in London on 17 April led to renewed talk by Gaddafi of Libyan support for the IRA. On 2 May, Colonel Gaddafi spoke of "restoring our friendship with the IRA, the honest people who are fighting for the independence of their country from British colonialism". In response to a question about meeting IRA leaders, Gaddafi said "we already know them because of our contact in the 70's and now that Britain has behaved like this we shall resume our support". Gaddafi had earlier spoken of opening bureaus for the IRA.

33. The Ambassador in Rome (who is also Ambassador to Libya) called to the Libyan People's Bureau in Rome on 7 May and explained fully the Government's position on the IRA to the head of the bureau and handed him an aide memoire on the matter. On 16 May the head of the bureau assured the Ambassador in Rome that Gaddafi had no quarrel whatever with the Irish people or their Government. What Gaddafi had said about the IRA was aimed at the British. The Ambassador explained that to give the IRA support in Libya would be to threaten our institutions, and would be an unfriendly act. The Ambassador formed the opinion that the head of the bureau was implying that the threat to open IRA offices in Libya was more anti-British rhetoric than a thought-out plan and that the Libyans were very conscious of the need to preserve Irish-Libyan friendship in whatever they do.

34. Col. Gaddafi in a speech delivered on 2nd September marking the 16th anniversary of his rise to power, again seemed to countenance links between Libya and "revolutionary committees" in other countries and singled out six countries, including Ireland.

Middle East Section
26 November 1985

Meeting with Libyan Special Envoys

Department of Foreign Affairs : 23 January 1986

1. Background

At the request of their Foreign Minister, Libyan special envoys have visited a large number of European capitals, carrying with them a letter from their Minister to his European counterparts and using the opportunity of their contacts in capitals to present the Libyan perspective on the current crisis in US-Libyan relations. The Twelve agreed to meet the envoys; they also agreed that, in hearing the Libyan case, they would leave the Envoys in no doubt about the degree of concern in Europe arising from terrorist acts and from any possible State support for such terrorism.

2. Libyan Delegation to Dublin

The visiting delegation was led by Mr. Ahmed Abdulhamid Alatrash, Director, Department of Economic Affairs who was accompanied by Mr. A.T. Abusriwil, Director, Department of Relations with Europe and Mr. Ali Ghariani of the Secretariat of Heavy Industry. They were received by the Deputy-Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs who was accompanied by Messrs. Murphy and Sharkey, Counsellors, Department of Foreign Affairs.

3. Political Exchange

The Deputy Secretary welcomed the delegation to Dublin and explained that current pressures (resumption of Dail; cabinet business etc.) had prevented the Minister, whom they had asked to see, from meeting them. He had therefore been asked to meet them as Deputy Secretary on the Minister's behalf and he was authorised to speak for the Minister. He looked forward to hearing their views on the immediate issues of concern.

Mr. Alatrash spoke of his high regard for Ireland and for the Irish people (he had been a student at Trinity) and for the exemplary role of Ireland in international affairs. The purpose of the visit was to hand over a letter from his Foreign Minister (this he did at the end of the meeting) and to convey Libya's views on the events in Rome and Vienna and on the reaction of the US through the "declared embargo".

By way of clarification of Libya's position, Alatrash began with an account of Libya before the revolution when it was a "backward feudal monarchy" under the influence of the US and Britain both of whom maintained bases there. The revolution of 1969 had espoused three principles: socialism, unity and freedom. To achieve socialism, the revolution had to terminate the foreign military presence and to nationalise American assets ("though providing adequate compensation").

The first five year plan had begun in 1971, involving reconstruction at home and, abroad, Libyan financial support for other developing nations. The US was hostile to these Libyan efforts to end "foreign domination and influence" and, overtime, withheld permits for the export of civilian aircraft, refused to supply spare parts for the oil industry and prevented oil experts from working in Libya.

Libya upholds the principle of unity: unity at home, unity of the Arab world, unity of all nations. Libya had achieved Arab unity to a certain extent (with Egypt, the Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Morocco) but had been consistently hindered in its efforts by the Americans.

Libya has advocated the freedom of all peoples. In the Arab world, in Africa and elsewhere, it has supported freedom movements. This, however, did not suit the United States which once again had opposed these Libyan endeavours.

Libya for its part opposes the current efforts of the US to wage an unjustified war against Libya:-

- the sixth fleet is stationed close to Libya;
- US surveillance aircraft constantly overfly Libya;
- the US uses bases in neighbouring countries to attack Libya;
- Libyan planes have been shot down and the US has sent suicide squads into Libya.

President Reagan had made it clear beyond doubt that the US was waging an economic war against Libya. Mr. Alatrash read from the Executive Order imposing the embargo. These activities involved an effort to suffocate the Libyan economy and were unjustified and illegal. Furthermore, the US had sought support in Europe and elsewhere for its efforts. It was for this reason that Libyan envoys were visiting European capitals to explain Libya's position and to condemn the US actions as a threat to peace. Mr. Alatrash hoped these points would be clear and that Ireland would not join with the US against Libya.

The Deputy Secretary thanked Mr. Alatrash for his comments and for communicating his concerns. He would understand that as an EEC member State we were obliged to coordinate our position with our partners. He had referred to the attacks in Rome and Vienna; in Europe there was great concern at this outbreak of terrorism. Ireland had its own tragic experience of terrorism, North and South. This served to increase our shock and outrage at events such as those in Rome and Vienna. The Twelve Foreign Ministers would meet on 27 January to consider the problems posed by this recent resurgence of terrorism. It would not be appropriate to preempt the conclusions of that meeting but we would expect that it would give expression to the outrage of European Governments and public opinion in the face of these recent condemnable atrocities.

Mr. Alatrash agreed that international terrorism must be fought by all peace-loving nations. The Libyan people had also suffered from terrorism (hijacking and shooting down of a Libyan airliner; infiltration by US of Libyan airspace; killing of two Ambassadors; suicide squads directed against Libya; presence of sixth fleet; the US Executive Order etc.). Libya expresses its horror and outrage at all acts of terrorism and is ready to cooperate to prevent such acts.

The attacks at Rome and Vienna were horrible acts of terror. Alatrash expressed Libya's disgust at these unfortunate and terrible events which had led to needless killing. This had been made clear to the Governments of Austria and Italy. He had had a meeting with the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs who had said that he had no evidence to confirm the American charges and that the Americans had not provided them with proof. The US was simply looking for an excuse to blame Libya and justify its own actions.

"International forums" had expressed themselves in favour of Libya. The truth will emerge as to who was responsible. As far as Libya is concerned "we know the truth and we deplore it".

Libya strongly supported justice for the Palestinians. The Arab world considers this to be their primary concern. No solution has been found to this tragic problem; as long as it continues, we must expect terrible acts. These had their origins in the heart of the conflict. What could anyone expect from those who had witnessed their families murdered in the Chatila and Sabra camps.

The Deputy Secretary indicated that we very much welcomed these comments, in particular their condemnation of and disassociation from acts of terrorism. We too favoured a just solution of the Palestinian problem. We had been insistent on this in our international diplomacy, at the UN and in other forums. We have condemned violence of all kinds - from whatever source in the Middle East. The cause of justice for the Palestinians, to which we are committed, is not served but rather damaged by terrorism.

We had read with concern press reports of recent statements attributed to the Libyan leader suggesting support for certain kinds of terrorism. Every Government should make clear, by word and deed, its emphatic rejection of all forms of terrorism and those who perpetrate it. Terrorist acts damage the peace process in the Middle East and make more difficult a settlement. We had listened carefully today to Libyan comments and to their condemnation of terrorism and would bear these closely in mind in the period ahead.

Mr. Alatrash asked whether the statements attributed to Col. Gadaffi had been reported in the international press. On hearing this to be the case, he said he could only assume the US to be the source and that the US is spreading a distorted view. The Americans are doing their utmost to get rid of

Gadaffi. They had learned of a CIA plot - and this was reported in the Washington Post on 3 November 1985 - to remove Gadaffi. They had also sent "killer-squads". They are trying to convey the impression that Gadaffi is the "bad boy" of the world - behind all the trouble in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. Libya did not have the means to involve itself in this way. Libya disassociated itself from acts of terrorism and rejected attempts to implicate its leader in such acts.

Terrorism will continue as long as the Palestinian cause is neglected. The Israelis had sent planes to Tunis and had killed indiscriminately through their bombing. It is important to concentrate on the root of the problem; once the problem is settled, there will be no more acts of this kind.

The Deputy-Secretary repeated our recognition of the importance of a settlement of the Palestinian problem, while again indicating that terrorism damages the cause of justice for the Palestinians.

Mr. Alatrash said that "Libya did not assist outside of Israel"; they felt sorry for the victims of terrorism whether in Ireland, the Middle East or elsewhere. Once the Palestinian problem is solved "there will be no more minor incidents happening here and there". Once there is a solution in Ireland, as we know, there will be no more violence here. So also a solution for the Palestinians will ensure no more "minor acts".

Ireland is a country which has a long experience of suffering and which has empathy for the position of other small countries. He was certain "our role would be forthcoming" at the meeting of Ministers.

The Deputy-Secretary again repeated our understanding for the Palestinian problem. Europe also wished to play a role in assisting a solution. We would have to question, however, the use of the term "minor acts"; all in Europe regarded the attacks in Vienna as outrageous acts of terrorism. We would go to the meeting of Ministers, having listened with full attention to the Libyan presentation, and we would bear their comments closely in mind.

Mr. Alatrash suggested that by the term "minor" he had not sought to condone the airport attacks in any way; he had expressed his sense of horror at them. He had in mind the scale of these acts when compared to other events such as the bombing of Tunis. He agreed that they were horrible acts.

4. Irish-Libyan Economic Relations

Mr. Alatrash then turned to economic matters. He said that Relations between Libya and the European countries were very good as regards trade matters. Libya supplies very large amounts of oil to European countries, notably the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. Libya imports large quantities of goods from Europe for use in development projects.

He said that Libya had good economic relations with Ireland. Products were imported, especially meat and dairy products. There were a number of joint ventures. Irish technicians and experts have done important and valued work in Libya. Mr. Alatrash said that the further development of trade and economic relations would be welcomed by Libya. Ireland and Libya had a Joint Commission, he said, which met from time to time. He expected a meeting of the Joint Commission to take place very soon, perhaps in the first half of 1986. He hoped such a meeting would strengthen economic relations between the two countries.

The Deputy Secretary agreed that bilateral economic relations were good. He expressed satisfaction at the fact that Libya has provided a market for Irish goods and services in recent years and particularly for our cattle and beef.

As far as the Joint Commission was concerned, the first session had been held in Dublin in 1983 and the second session, which was to have been held in Tripoli in 1984, had been postponed. He hoped it would be possible to have a meeting of the Joint Commission at an agreed date in the future. He pointed out that the first half of 1986 could be difficult because of existing commitments to service a number of other Joint Commissions, some with Arab States.

Mr. Alatrash said that he would welcome very much a Joint Commission meeting in Libya as soon as possible, especially in view of the Libyan Five Year Plan which is being finalised and will run from this year. At the meeting the Irish side could be acquainted with projects under the Five Year Plan which is being finalised and will run from this year. At the meeting the Irish side could be acquainted with projects under the Five Year Plan so that they could take part. Past experience could be evaluated at the session and a number of projects identified which would be assigned to Irish firms. Libya was very satisfied with its experience of Irish firms. Irish technicians had made a big contribution to the country's development. Mr. Alatrash referred also to the placement of Libyan students on courses in Ireland; he felt that this question should be further studied and encouraged by both sides. The Libyan side would like to have meetings with the various Irish Departments to see what Irish companies could play a part in the Five Year Plan. Perhaps in addition to the Joint Commission meeting there could be bilateral meetings between Irish and Libyan officials.

The Deputy Secretary said that we would welcome such meetings. The Embassy at Rome, which was accredited to Tripoli, had been paying greater attention to Libya in the past 18 months and there had been a number of visits to Libya. The Counsellor at the Embassy, Mr. FitzGerald, was hoping to travel there soon. Mr. Alatrash said that Mr. FitzGerald would be very welcome as would Ambassador Kennedy. When Ambassador Kennedy visited Tripoli in March 1985 the Five Year Plan was still at an early stage. Irish experts would also be welcome to visit Libya on a bilateral basis. If a Joint Commission meeting could not be

held in the first half of 1986 then it should be held before the end of this year because other countries were interested in the Five Year Plan, for example Canada. It was an ambitious plan, calling for much equipment and materials. The Germans would be coming to Libya for a meeting in the first quarter of 1986 and the Austrians in the first half of 1986. He was very keen that Ireland come forward and be interested in the Five Year Plan.

The Deputy Secretary reiterated the Irish side's interest in the proposal and said that contact should be maintained between the two sides with a view to following it up and seeking agreed dates for the Joint Commission meeting. He referred to the outstanding invitation from the Minister for Industry, Trade, Commerce and Tourism to the Libyan Minister for Light Industry and the Economy to visit Ireland. He hoped that the Minister would take up this invitation at some date. Mr. Alatrash said that he would pass on his remarks to the Minister.

Mr. Alatrash said that the Tripoli Trade Fair will take place in March 1986. An official invitation had been extended through the Irish Embassy in Rome for Ireland to participate. He hoped this would prove possible. The Deputy Secretary replied that some 35 Irish firms had participated in the Fair in 1985. The Irish side had heard that this year's Fair was being postponed. Mr. Alatrash said no, that the Fair was going ahead in March and repeated the point about the official invitation and the hope that Irish firms would participate. The Deputy Secretary said that he would bring this to the attention of the appropriate authorities and in particular the Irish Export Board.

5. Anglo-Irish Agreement

Mr. Alatrash asked about the above.

The Deputy-Secretary explained the background and political context of the Agreement; through negotiations, we had achieved an important role in Northern Ireland, a far-reaching and historic step. Our interest was in promoting stability, reconciliation and reconstruction. We did not underestimate the difficulties; unionist political leaders continued to oppose the agreement. Against this, the Agreement had the overwhelming support of the British parliament. Through the work of the Inter-Governmental Conference, at which our Minister was the Irish representative, the Agreement could achieve its central objectives and lay the basis for peace.

Mr. Alatrash asked how the agreement was seen in the South.

The Deputy-Secretary said that it had been favourably received. This was clear from the opinion polls which indicated widespread support for the Agreement throughout the South.

6. Concluding Discussion

Mr. Alatrash welcomed this sign of hope. His country hoped for peace in Ireland and throughout the world and condemned all violence and international terrorism. He hoped that Europe would not be influenced by the attitude of the United States; if Europe were to react similarly this would be catastrophic for Libya and "would not contribute to the solution of international problems". He, therefore, hoped reason would prevail and that Ireland would play a leading role in this respect.

The Deputy Secretary thanked him for these comments and assured him that our Foreign Minister would be fully informed of his views.

Mr. Alatrash asked what Ireland's position was on international boycotts; were we opposed in principle?

The Deputy-Secretary explained our position on South-African fruit imports. We would introduce restrictions if it can be proved that slave labour is being used by South African fruit producers. This related to our grave concern at the apartheid system.

Mr. Alatrash, returning the discussion to Libya's problems with the United States, referred to the solidarity shown to Libya by the States belonging to the Islamic Conference, the Arab League and the Afro-Arab Conference. All had made it very clear that they would take measures against the United States and that they would consider an attack by the US on Libya an attack on them all. He hoped that the "Council of Europe" countries would not support a policy of economic strangulation and that this would help ease the crisis and lessen the threat.

The Deputy-Secretary thanked Mr. Alatrash again for his remarks; we would consult very closely with our partners and he could be assured that the common position of the Twelve would be clear after the meeting on 27 January. Alatrash referred to the letter from his Foreign Minister. The Deputy-Secretary said he would be glad to receive it and to convey it at once to our Minister for Foreign Affairs.

7. Gadaffi and the IRA

The Deputy-Secretary took Mr. Alatrash aside and spoke to him directly and privately about our serious concerns in this regard. A separate note has been prepared on this point.

24 January 1986

*L. h. S. Roche
Libya / IRA file*

Libya/IRA

1. The relationship between Libya and the IRA has re-emerged as an issue in the context of the UK-Libya dispute following the killing outside the Libyan People's Bureau in London of WPC Fletcher. The Department of Foreign Affairs has closely monitored Colonel Gaddafi's remarks since the killing of WPC Fletcher. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has made a statement and has arranged for representations to be made to the Libyan authorities and contact to be made with the UK authorities.

2. The phase of active Libyan support for the IRA culminated in the Claudia affair in March 1973 when a ship which had been loaded with Soviet arms in Tripoli was intercepted by the Irish Navy off Helvick Head and a number of people arrested. While the Libya-IRA relationship continued in a substantial form for some years after that, it declined markedly from 1975 onwards. This probably resulted from a number of factors - pressure from the Irish and British Governments on the matter, a Libyan desire for better relations with both countries (agreement to establish diplomatic relations with Ireland was reached in 1977), disputes with the IRA and the visit of a UDA delegation to Libya.

3. In 1976, Gaddafi told Newsweek (20/9/76) that 'the IRA chapter is behind us'. He went on to imply, however, that his dropping of the IRA was tactical and temporary: 'I believe we should drop anything that does not present us with an imperative urgency'. The period from the mid-70's up to Gaddafi's statements of last week was marked by occasional bursts of rhetorical support for the IRA and the line that Libya was giving the IRA moral but not material support. When the first Irish ambassador to Libya presented credentials in Tripoli in 1979, the Libyan Foreign Minister went out of his way to say that Libya did not approve of terrorism or violence. The UK authorities, although keeping a close and continuing watch on the matter, stated publicly that no links that would give cause for concern existed. At various stages in the evolution of official Irish-Libyan relations the Department of Foreign Affairs has consulted the Department of Justice about Libyan links with subversives but no obstacles to the development of relations have been put forward. Typical of Gaddafi's rhetorical gestures in this period was his letter in August 1981 to the UN Secretary General urging him to intervene in the H-Block hunger strikes issue.

4. The Irish authorities have continued to avail of opportunities which have arisen to impress on the Libyans our view of the IRA and of the Northern Ireland question. When Minister of State Collins and a delegation visited Libya in February this year, the Minister of State raised the question of terrorism with the Libyan Minister with responsibility for relations with Ireland. He explained that reunification of Ireland would have to come about by peaceful means, that there was no popular support in Ireland for terrorist activities and that he hoped that Libya understood clearly our position. The Libyan response was that they understood our position and that Libya was giving no support to the IRA. Libya supported the clear wish of the whole Irish people to unity.

5. The UK/Libya dispute following the killing of WPC Fletcher in London on 17 April has led to renewed talk by Gaddafi of Libyan support for the IRA. He was interviewed on French television on 30 April, and in a translation of the Libyan version of his remarks is quoted as saying:

"We declare our full support for the independence and unity of Ireland. Even if we condemn British practices as well as those of the IRA, the essential of the problem is a just cause, and we are at the side of the Irish people in its struggle for independence and unity. If Great Britain considers the IRA as a terrorist organisation, we consider that those who have deserted the (Libyan) revolution and reside now in Great Britain, are also terrorists. If certain countries want to support those whom we consider as terrorists, then we have the right to support these organisations. In fact, we are seriously envisaging the support of these organisations should these countries continue to support terrorist Libyan organisations outside Libya. The first of these organisations will be the IRA. We will open bureaus for it and Libya will support it with all its means until Great Britain and Libya agree not to support terrorism against either country".

On 2 May, Colonel Gaddafi gave a press conference in Tripoli which was attended by an RTE reporter. The lunchtime radio news that day carried a report saying that Gaddafi had spoken of "restoring our friendship with the IRA, the honest people who are fighting for the independence of their country from British colonialism". In response to an RTE question about

meeting IRA leaders, Gaddafi said "we already know them because of our contact in the 70's and now that Britain has behaved like this we shall resume our support". Portions of the interview, in which Gaddafi spoke via an interpreter, were shown on the RTE television news bulletin on the evening of 2 May. This bulletin also carried a Government statement to the effect that Colonel Gaddafi's remarks were viewed with grave concern and were being taken up with the Libyan authorities.

6. Prior to the 2 May interview, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, had in any event been considering raising the matter of the French television interview with the Libyan authorities. Following the RTE broadcast at lunchtime on 2 May arrangements were expedited for:
 - (i) the Ambassador in Rome to contact the Libyans in Tripoli, and in Rome where he would leave with them a note, to make known our grave concern about the offer of support for the IRA (see copy of telex c25 2/5/84).
 - (ii) contact to be made with the UK authorities to let them know how we viewed the matter and to learn their assessment of Gaddafi's remarks.

7. The Ambassador in Rome (who is also Ambassador to Libya) tried in vain to speak by phone to Zlitni, the Libyan Minister with special responsibility for relations with Ireland, on 3 May. He spoke instead to a high-ranking official of the Libyan equivalent of a Foreign Ministry and read out the text of our note. The official seemed shaken by our protest; he said he would "look after it". On 7 May the Ambassador called by appointment to the Libyan People's Bureau in Rome and in the course of a 45 minute meeting with the head of the bureau explained fully the Government's position on the IRA. The Ambassador left with him the text of the speaking note and will be forwarding other material, including a document in Arabic on the Northern Ireland question and the New Ireland Forum Report, to the Libyan authorities. The head of the People's Bureau said that possibly there was a misunderstanding about what Gaddafi had said. The Ambassador replied that if this were so, the Irish Government would be most anxious to have any corrections.

8. On 16 May the head of the bureau assured the Ambassador in Rome that Gaddafi had no quarrel whatever with the Irish people or their Government. What Gaddafi had said about the IRA was aimed at the British. The Ambassador explained that to give the IRA support in Libya would be to threaten our institutions, and would be an unfriendly act. The Ambassador formed the opinion that the head of the bureau was implying that the threat to open IRA offices in Libya was more anti-British rhetoric than a thought-out plan, and that the Libyans were very cautious of the need to preserve Irish-Libyan friendship in whatever they do.

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9. Contact was made by phone on 2 May with the FCO to let the UK know of our concern, of the action we proposed to take and to seek a UK assessment of the significance of Gaddafi's remarks. An official of the Irish Embassy in London was briefed on the UK view in the FCO on 3 May. A full report is contained in telex c 136 of 3/5/1984. The thrust of the British presentation was that the Libyans had not yet decided to translate rhetoric into action. They were mainly concerned with "show". If a decision was taken, support was likely to be slow and small.

Department of Foreign Affairs.

21 May, 1984