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24th November, 1987

CONFIDENTIAL

25/11
Mr. Justin Dillon
Anglo-Irish Division
Department of Foreign Affairs.

Taoiseach.
You may be
interested to see how
thorough the briefing is.
To J
25/11/87

- in PSS
- A/S Pallekris
- Mr. O'Donovan
- Mr. Ryan (Seib)
- Mr. Ryan (Lundin)
- Mr. W. J. Kelly (Paris)
- Ms. Nogue (D/Justice)
- Ms. Nally (D/Tamcead)
- Dr. Naughton (D/Tamcead)

[Handwritten signature]
in by C. Conroy
16/12/87

Dear Justin

Further to our various conversations relating to the resolution adopted by the European Parliament last week on the Enniskillen bombing, I enclose herewith some information material which the UK Representation personnel were circulating to British MEPs on the IRA and the Libyan connection.

Yours sincerely

[Handwritten signature]
J. F. Cogan
Counsellor

[Handwritten notes]
Mr O'Leary
2/12/87
W. J. Kelly
Copy for O'Donovan
O'Leary
file please

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November 1987

NORTHERN IRELAND: ENNISKILLEN REMEMBRANCE DAY ATROCITY

On Sunday, 8 November 1987, the Provisional IRA planted a bomb on the occasion of the annual Remembrance Day service in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh. It exploded, killing 11 people and injuring 61. The service, which has been postponed to later in November, commemorates the Irish dead of the two World Wars. The IRA in fact opposed the Second World War and had its own links with the Nazis. When Britain declared war against Nazi Germany in 1939, the IRA was then in the midst of a terrorist campaign in England: Winston Churchill, in October 1939, stigmatised the IRA's actions at that time (which often consisted of leaving bombs in the parcels offices of busy railway stations) as "the lowest form of warfare than can be imagined".

International condemnation of this latest IRA outrage has been widespread:

"I was deeply shocked to hear of the atrocity which took place at Enniskillen today and of the innocent victims who were sharing in the nation's remembrance. My heartfelt sympathy goes to the bereaved and injured in their distress."

Queen Elizabeth II, 8 November 1987.

"Every civilised nation honours and respects its dead. Every civilised country expects others to honour their dead. To take advantage of these people assembled in that way was really a desecration. It was so cruel, so callous that the people who did it can have nothing of human thoughtfulness, or kindness, or sensitivity, at all. It was utterly barbaric.... There should be no hiding place in any country for these people."

The British Prime Minister,
Mrs Margaret Thatcher,
8 November 1987.

"I know I speak for every decent Irishman and woman in expressing the anger and revulsion we feel towards those who have planned and executed this criminal act of carnage against innocent people gathered to commemorate their dead.... Those responsible must be repudiated utterly and no effort must be spared to ensure that they are brought to justice."

The Prime Minister (Taoiseach) of the
Republic of Ireland, 8 November 1987.

"It is clear from the location chosen for the bomb, and the absence of any warning, that those responsible for this monstrous act set out deliberately to kill and maim ordinary members of the public: people from both communities who had come together on a Sunday morning, young and old, like thousands upon thousands of others throughout the United Kingdom, to honour the memories of those who have died in two World Wars and since. In all the tragedy of the terrorist campaign, this outrage stands out in its awfulness. To perpetrate such an outrage against people, for many of whom the occasion was already one of sorrow and remembrance, betrays a total lack of any human feeling. Nor could there have been a more deliberately provocative act, more calculated to stir up sectarian hatred, than this outrage on this special and solemn day."

Secretary of State for Northern
Ireland, Mr Tom King, House of
Commons, 9 November 1987.

"This attack by the IRA shows a new depth of vicious cowardice. It is an atrocity against ordinary people honouring those who fought to get the very freedom that terrorism wants to destroy."

British Labour Party leader,
Mr Neil Kinnock, 8 November 1987.

"We have always known that the IRA were ruthless but this must be the product of diseased minds."

British Liberal Party leader,
Mr David Steel, 8 November 1987.

"It is just an appalling atrocity, an act of sheer savagery, probably the most deeply provocative act to have been committed against the Unionist people."

(Northern Ireland) Social Democratic
and Labour Party leader, Mr John Hume,
8 November 1987.

"The massacre is a diabolical deed by hell-inspired monsters who will stoop to the lowest depths of murder and deal a dark carnage of blood upon the Province."

(Northern Ireland) Democratic Unionist
Party leader, Dr Ian Paisley,
8 November 1987.

"It is unacceptable that the fanatics who carried out this murderous attack on a group including old-age pensioners and young people should be allowed to escape justice.... All sections of the community and all political parties must give their full support to the police in their fight against terrorism."

(Northern Ireland) Alliance Party
legal affairs spokesman,
Mr Dan McGuinness, 8 November 1987.

"The atrocity committed in Enniskillen today is nothing short of barbarous murder. Whoever the perpetrators are, they are the enemies of all Irish society. We must ensure that there can be no hiding place for them anywhere. This brutal killing, together with the kidnapping and arms seizure, underlines again the importance of full and effective international cooperation in the fight against terrorism."

(Republic of Ireland) Fine Gael
Leader, Mr Alan Dukes, 8 November
1987.

"The barbaric act of blowing up civilians honouring their war dead at Enniskillen today is a desecration of the Lord's Day and a deliberate act of war against the Unionist community of Northern Ireland. The sheer awfulness of the act is clearly designed to provoke a backlash against the nationalist community, leading to large-scale community conflict and death."

(Republic of Ireland) Progressive
Democratic Party leader,
Mr Desmond O'Malley, 8 November 1987.

"It's hard to find words to express the revulsion and horror I feel at the awful crime committed in the north of Ireland this morning. The thought that such a crime could be committed in the name of Irish unity, or that it could ever be called a political crime, leaves me feeling saddened and ashamed."

(Republic of Ireland) Labour Party
leader, Mr Dick Spring, 8 November
1987.

"The bomb had been clearly designed not just to inflict the greatest possible number of casualties, but to provoke the strongest possible outrage among the Protestant population. This attack is entirely consistent with the strategy of the Provisionals to provoke full-scale sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland."

The Workers' Party leader
(Republic of Ireland),
Mr Tomas MacGiolla, 8 November 1987.

The Pope's message on the atrocity: "He expresses his heartfelt condolences to the families of the innocent persons killed by this cruel act and he invokes the divine gift of strength and comfort upon the injured. His Holiness reiterates the Church's clear condemnation of violence and of any support or tolerance of such crimes against human life."

Cardinal Casaroli, Vatican Secretary of State, in a message to Bishop Joseph Duffy of Clogher, on behalf of the Pope, November 1987.

"The American people join me in the revulsion I know was felt throughout the United Kingdom at today's act of terrorism in Northern Ireland. We extend our deepest sympathies to the families of those who lost their lives and to those who were injured. It is a very cruel irony that such a deed should be done on a day of remembrance. All of us are reminded once again that terrorist outrages must not be permitted to destroy what so many throughout the world have struggled to build."

The President of the United States,
Mr. Ronald Reagan, 9 November 1987.

"There was a powerful explosion today at the war memorial complex in the Northern Ireland town of Enniskillen ... at least 10 people died as a result of the barbaric act, and about 20 received injuries of varying seriousness.... The explosion occurred at 1045 in the morning Greenwich time, when numerous visitors had arrived at the memorial in order to pay respects to the memory of those who died in the First and Second World Wars, and also of the victims of clashes on religious grounds in Ulster. In connexion with this, citing spokesmen for the security forces, it indicates the possible involvement in the explosion of fighters of the 'Provisional' IRA, which uses methods of armed terrorism in waging a struggle against British domination in Northern Ireland."

Soviet news agency, Tass,
8 November 1987.

"The operation carried out during the memorial service ... does not belong to legitimate revolutionary operations in the fight for liberation and independence."

Libyan news agency, Jana, November
1987.

"This was a most heinous crime, appalling in its utter brutality. It was deliberately designed to cause the maximum destruction of human life because of the presence of so many people engaged in an act of remembrance of their dead. Those who planned this deed, those who carried it out and those who in any way gave willing assistance in its execution, are each and every one guilty of murder most terrible. Coming after the events of recent weeks, this is a further indication of the depths of savagery to which we have now sunk."

Cardinal Tomas O'Fiaich, Roman
Catholic Primate of All Ireland,
8 November 1987.

"It is long since there has been such a sense of disgust throughout the Catholic community as Sunday's explosion in Enniskillen has aroused.

"There is in the Catholic community, North and South, a strong desire to find some way of collectively expressing our sympathy and solidarity with the Protestant community in this tragedy. During these days we ask people to come to week-day masses in large numbers so that the whole population may be united in repentance, sorrow and prayer at this terrible time. Everything should be done to demonstrate Catholic revulsion at these crimes and to dissociate the Catholic community completely from those who carry out such deeds....

"It is sinful to join organisations committed to violence or to remain in them. It is sinful to support such organisations or to call on others to support them.

"We sympathise with the police forces, North and South, in their task of upholding the law in most difficult and dangerous circumstances. Many of their members have lost their lives. Many others, like Garda O'Connor, have suffered serious injury in this task. We call on all our people to cooperate with the police in bringing the guilty to justice.

"It has become clear that dotted across this country there are safe houses provided for members of these organisations. There are people who store weapons or who willingly help fugitives to escape. We say very solemnly to these people that they share in the awful crime of murder. People must choose. There is no longer any room for romantic illusion. There is no excuse for thinking that the present violence in Ireland can be morally justified."

Part of statement issued by Roman
Catholic Bishops in Ireland,
9 November 1987.

"The murder of 11 people gathered for the Remembrance Day service in Enniskillen and the indiscriminate injury inflicted on many others was a grievous sin against God and humanity. Catholics reject and condemn such barbarism without reservation. I call on them to join me in prayer for the victims of this outrage and for their suffering families, and in a renewed commitment to reconciliation and peace in Northern Ireland."

Cardinal Basil Hume, Archbishop of
Westminster and head of the Roman
Catholic Church in England and
Wales, 9 November 1987.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, today condemned the Enniskillen bombing as "blasphemy". He said: "The violence of evil men will not be allowed to destroy all the progress that has been achieved in the search for reconciliation and peace in Ireland."

Most Rev and Hon Robert Runcie,
Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate
of all England, 9 November 1987.

"It's just an incredible scene. If anyone had any doubts at all what terrorism can do. I just wish that those who planted this bomb could see what I am seeing. Certainly not sights I want to see again in my ministry or my life. I have seen tremendous courage. I have seen work by the hospital staff here stretched to the limit. I have seen people showing courage and comfort. I have seen people shocked and dazed, and of course we have seen people who have lost their lives."

Most Rev Robin Eames, Primate of the
Church of Ireland, 8 November 1987.

"No one can feel the anguish more than people like ourselves who have endured terror and the inhumanity of man for centuries. Our sympathy, therefore, goes out with added depth to those affected by the bombing and to the community in general."

The Chief Rabbi, Sir Immanuel
Jakobovits, 12 November 1987.

"A blind act of blind hatred."

Spokesman of the Communist Party of
Ireland.

LIBYA AND THE PROVISIONAL IRA

June 1986

The Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Barry, told the Dail on 18 June that he had asked Colonel Qadhafi for firm assurances that the Libyan Government would not encourage the IRA in any way or have contact with them. He said "The IRA is the enemy of the Irish State and of the democratically elected institutions of this State. Libyan Government support whether moral or material for the Provisional IRA is unacceptable to us". The statement was in response to a Press interview given in Tripoli by Major General Ahmed Jalloud to a European Parliament delegation in which he appeared to indicate that Libya had resumed its aid to the Provisional IRA and had provided \$2 million to Sinn Fein in the Irish Republic (Irish Times, 18 and 19 June 1986).

July 1986

The Libyan Foreign Relations Bureau denied that Libya had anything to do with the IRA. The Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs told the Dail on 4 July 1986 that he had noted the obvious differences between the denial and the remarks attributed to Major General Jalloud. "The Government cannot accept that, notwithstanding the assurances received now or in the past, members of the Libyan leadership should express support for the IRA and repeat in public statements that support is or will be forthcoming for the IRA" (Irish Independent, 5 July 1986).

October 1986

In an interview on RTE TV on 28 October, Colonel Qadhafi said that Libya should be thanked for its position on Ireland: "If I was leader of the south of Ireland, I would consider that the north was colonised and fight to liberate that part of the country. I would regard the country as deficient in independence." He called on young people in the north and south to support and take part in the "struggle for liberation". He said of Mr Haughey (then in opposition) "I consider him as a friend and I will support him". When Mr Haughey was "victorious", he expected that trade relations with Ireland would increase. In a statement Mr Barry, the Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, reiterated the Irish people's rejection of violence. He said "I consider Colonel Qadhafi's statements as an outrageous intrusion into the internal affairs of this country. We wish to have normal relations with the Libyan people but that is impossible as long as the leadership of Libya seeks to bring down

the democratic institutions of this state" (The Times, 30 October 1986).

March 1987

In an interview published in the London Observer, 1 March 1987, Colonel Qadhafi was asked if he had increased aid to the IRA because of Britain's involvement in the 1986 American air raids on Libya. He replied "Yes of course.... The Americans are acting with the mentality of cowboys and a civilised country like Britain should not be in the same policy with the Americans. But Thatcher played with the cowboys and therefore it did a lot of harm to Britain. Yes, she is a cowgirl." Mr Haughey, then leader of the Fianna Fail party and now the Irish Prime Minister, said "I see it as my duty to prevent support being given to the IRA from any source and in any form. I will take any possible steps available to me to ensure this" (Dublin, 2 March 1987, Reuter).

April 1987

Tripoli television on 15 April broadcast the text of a speech by one of Qadhafi's sons on 14 April during events marking the anniversary of the American raids on Libya. He said that Libya would "open centres for the Palestinians to liberate Palestine, for the PLO and for the Irish Republican Army".

May 1987

The British Press reported that two senior Sinn Fein officials had visited Libya in April for a ceremony to mark the American raids on Libya which was addressed by Colonel Qadhafi's teenage son, Sadi, and that Colonel Qadhafi had supplied the IRA with large quantities of plastic explosives. The present Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Lenihan, told the Dail on 14 May that the report was being investigated and it would be inappropriate to make any diplomatic protest to the Libyan Government until the investigation was complete. He said: "Any support from the IRA from any source is totally abhorrent to the Government and we reject any agency or government responsible for furnishing help to the IRA" (Irish Times, 15 May 1987).

October-
November 1987

On 30 October, French customs officials boarded the Panamanian-registered m.v. Eksund off Roscoff. The vessel was taken to Brest where her 5 crew were arrested and 150 tonnes of arms and ammunition were off-loaded. Allegations that Libya supplied the arms are believed to be well-founded. The Irish Minister for Justice, Mr Collins, told the Dail on 10 November that the

Irish police were urgently examining reports that two landings of arms had been made in 1985 and two in 1986, all arranged by the IRA. He said later on RTE that there was "reason to worry" (Irish Press, 11 November 1987).

16 November 1987