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OF 191415Z NOVEMBER 85

AND TO TELELETTER CHANCERY ROME, UKDEL NATO, PARIS, BONN

FROM S J GOMERSALL FESQ, WASHINGTON TO C A MUNRO ESQ WED FCO

US/ITALY RELATIONS IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ACHILLE LAURO AFFAIR SUMMARY

1. RELATIONS FORMALLY ON THE MEND. US ANTICIPATE NO DIMINUTION IN ITALIAN POLITICAL OR MILITARY COOPERATION. BELIEF THAT THE EPISODE REVEALED CRAXI'S TRUE LEANINGS WITH REGARD TO THE PLO AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

DETAIL

2. OUR TELNO 2871 OF 15 OCTOBER REPORTED ARMACOST'S OBSERVATION THAT ONLY TIME WOULD HEAL THE WOUNDS LEFT BY THE ACHILLE LAURO AFFAIR. LORD BRIDGES' DESPATCH OF 6 NOVEMBER CONFIRMS HOW DEEP THEY WERE ON THE ITALIAN SIDE. MARTY VAN HEUVEN, DIRECTOR FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS IN STATE DEPARTMENT, GAVE ME HIS ACCOUNT OF THE AFTERMATH ON 12 NOVEMBER. HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE AMERICANS STILL BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE ABSOLUTELY IN THE RIGHT OVER ABBAS, BUT IN HIS VIEW THE DELIBERATE STEPS WHICH HAD BEEN TAKEN BY BOTH SIDES SINCE THEN TO SMOOTH THINGS OVER HAD BEEN LARGELY SUCCESSFUL. THE RECONFIRMATION OF THE CRAXI GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT EASIER TO PORTRAY THE EPISODE AS HAVING BEEN OF PELATIVELY SHORT-TERM SIGNIFICANCE.

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4. VAN HEUVEN DREW TWO MAIN LESSONS FROM THE EPISODE. FIRSTLY, CRAXI'S VIEWS ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE PLO HAD BEEN WELL-KNOWN FOR SOME TIME, BUT IT HAD NOT BEEN CLEAR HOW HE WOULD BALANCE THESE AGAINST US VIEWS. THIS HAD BEEN TESTED UNDER PRESSURE AND IT HAD EMERGED QUITE CLEARLY THAT CRAXI'S REACTION WAS IN FAVOUR OF THE PLO AND THE ARABS IN GENERAL. THIS WAS SOMETHING WHICH THE US WOULD NOW TAKE INTO ACCOUNT. BUT VAN HEUVEN FIRMLY DISCOUNTED ANY SUGGESTION THAT CRAXI WAS UNDER A CLOUD. SECONDLY, VAN HEUVEN THOUGHT THE EPISODE MIGHT HAVE PROVOKED A SUBTLE CHANGE IN THE US/ITALIAN RELATIONSHIP. CRAXI HAD PLAYED QUITE SUCCESSFULLY TO A NATIONALIST STREAK IN THE ITALIAN CHARACTER, AND HAD NOT BEEN AFRAID TO SHOW THAT ITALY'S OWN SOVEREIGN INTERESTS MIGHT NOT ALWAYS COINCIDE WITH THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. VAN HEUVEN DID NOT VIEW THIS AS A MALIGN DEVELOPMENT. US/ITALIAN RELATIONS (WHICH ARE EXCELLENTLY DESCRIBED IN LORD BRIDGES DES-PATCH) ARE CLOSE AND THE US AMBASSADOR IN ROME HAS TRADITIONLLY HAD AN INFLUENTIAL ROLE. VAN HEUVEN DESCRIBED THEM AS FOLLOWING THE PATTERN OF US/GERMAN RELATIONS WITH A 10-YEAR LAG. BUT HE THOUGHT THAT THE RECENT EVENTS MIGHT HAVE JERKED THEM SLIGHTLY OUT OF THEIR OLD MOULD.

5. ON THE EVENTS THEMSELVES, VAN HEUVEN SAID THAT THE STAND-OFF AT SIGONELLA ON THE NIGHT OF 10 OCTOBER HAD DEVELOPED BECAUSE AT THE TIME THE EGYPTIAN AIRCRAFT LANDED THE DELTA AND US NAVAL CONTINGENTS WERE STILL UNDER ORDERS TO BRING THE HIJACKERS AND THE TWO PLO LEADERS BACK TO THE US FOR TRIAL (AND HE ADDED THAT THESE ORDERS STILL STOOD IN RESPECT OF ABBAS). THE CLASH OVER JURISDICTION HAD BEEN SETTLED WITHIN AN HOUR BY THE PRESIDENT'S CALL TO CRAXI. AS FAR AS MILITARY RELATIONS WERE CONCERNED, VAN HEUVEN BELIEVED THAT OVERALL, (HIS WORD) THEY WERE UNIMPAIRED. AND THAT THE ITALIAN COVERNMENT WERE ANXIOUS TO TRY TO DRAW A VEIL OVER WHAT OCCURRED AT SIGONELLA AND TO DISCOURAGE ANY LOCAL JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION OF THAT ASPECT OF THE AFFAIR. THERE APPEARED TO HAVE REEN NO MAJOR PUBLIC REACTION AGAINST US USE OF THE BASES, AND SUCH LOCAL CRITICISM AS HAD BEEN AROUSED WAS CONTAINABLE. HE SAID SPECIFICALLY THAT THE ITALIANS HAD SOUGHT NO NEW ASSURANCES ABOUT USE OF THE BASES. AND THAT NONE HAD BEEN GIVEN.

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7. VAN HEUVEN CLEARLY FELT THAT AMERICAN ANGER OVER THIS ASPECT OF THE AFFAIR WAS WHOLLY JUSTIFIED. BUT HE AGREED THAT CRAXI ALSO HAD REASONS FOR COMPLAINT AGAINST THE AMERICANS : HE HAD ALMOST BEEN DEPRIVED OF HIS RECORD TENURE , HE WAS ALSO UNHAPPY ABOUT US HANDLING OF THE YURCHENKO AFFAIR AND US POLICY TOWARDS LIBYA. BUT SINCE THE WHITEHEAD MISSION THESE ISSUES HAD BEEN LARGELY SMOOTHED OVER. STEPS WERE ALSO IN TRAIN DURING RABB'S CURRENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON TO PATCH UP STRAINS BETWEEN HIM AND THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR PETRIGNANI, WHO NOT ONLY WAS SUSPECTED OF PLANTING IN LA STAMPA STORIES ABOUT RABB'S IMMINENT RECALL, BUT HAD ALSO APPARENTLY ELBOWED HIS WAY INTO THE RESTRICTED MEETING BETWEEN CRAXI AND REAGAN IN NEW YORK, FOR WHICH RABB HAD NOT RET-URNED.

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