

**2020/17/36**

**S22537E**

**I.R.A  
Activities in Ireland**

***START of file***

Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

20 December, 1990.

Mr. D.T. Phillips,  
"Winterfield",  
Oldland Avenue,  
Balcombe,  
West Sussex RH17 6LP.

Dear Mr. Phillips,

The Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., has asked me to refer to your recent letters concerning the I.R.A.

The Taoiseach has asked me to say that the Irish Government's attitude to the I.R.A. has been clear and consistent. The I.R.A. has been a proscribed organisation in Ireland since 1939 and membership is a criminal offence, liable to a term of imprisonment of seven years on conviction. Furthermore, the broadcasting services in this country are prohibited, under Section 31 of our Broadcasting Authority Act, 1960, from broadcasting interviews, statements or reports by a number of organisations including the I.R.A. and their political wing, Sinn Féin.

The Taoiseach and the Irish Government have consistently condemned outright all acts of violence perpetrated by the I.R.A. and other terrorist organisations and these expressions are backed up by deployment of a comprehensive range of anti-terrorist legislation and by the commitment of major resources of personnel, equipment and money to combat IRA activities. The commitment of the Government and the Irish people to combatting IRA and other terrorist activity is consistent, comprehensive and effective. The commitment of personnel includes the recruitment, deployment in the Border area and constant operational activity of three Army battalions and of a very large number of police officers in Border areas or wherever else in the State terrorist activity is suspected. This State will have spent approximately £170 million this year on security connected with the Northern Ireland situation representing almost four times per capita the level of expenditure by the British taxpayer in respect of Northern Ireland. As the Taoiseach said in the Dáil (Parliament) "our commitment in this area is freely given in the common interest of society, North and South, to ensure that the forces of terrorism - whether of domestic or international origin - do not prevail".

Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

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The Intergovernmental Conference established by the Anglo-Irish Agreement (copy enclosed) has reaffirmed the total rejection by the Irish and British Governments of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and the determination of both Governments to work together to ensure that those who adopt or support such methods do not succeed. Article 9 of the Agreement provided for the establishment of a programme of work to be undertaken by the Garda Commissioner and the Chief Constable of the R.U.C. with a view to enhancing cross-border co-operation on security matters in such areas as threat assessments, exchange of information, technical co-operation, training and operational resources. That programme of work continues to be implemented and the effectiveness of the co-operation received has frequently been acknowledged by British political and security force leaders.

The Garda Síochana continue to make regular seizures of arms, ammunition, explosives and bomb-making materials. Their impressive successes in this area have greatly hampered terrorist activity and have undoubtedly been successful in preventing greater loss of life or serious injury and destruction of property.

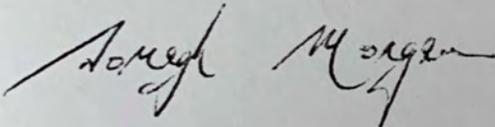
The Taoiseach has also asked me to say that there is no question of persons who commit serious crimes in the North and Britain escaping the consequences of their actions by seeking refuge in this State or vice versa. The means are available whereby such persons can, and are, made amenable to the process of justice provided sufficient evidence exists to connect them with the alleged offences. The special extradition arrangements we operate with Britain and the North provide the means by which a person can be returned to the jurisdiction in which the offence has been committed. These arrangements have been in place since 1965 and were strengthened by the enactment of the Extradition (European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism) Act, 1987 which, inter alia, limits the scope of the political offence exception to extradition by excluding certain specified violent terrorist type offences from the exception. These arrangements have served both countries well and continue to operate effectively. Furthermore, the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act, 1976 contains a provision whereby persons who are alleged to have committed serious crimes in the North and who are found in this jurisdiction can be brought to trial here.

Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

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The Taoiseach, while regretting the continuing loss of life as a result of terrorist atrocities, and indeed the loss of even a single life in this way, expresses the wish that the information contained in this letter will leave you in no doubt as to the determination of the Government and the Irish people to combat effectively all forms of terrorist activity.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Joseph Morgan".

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

ROINN AN TAOISIGH

Misc.  
F. 2.

Uimhir.....

To: Brian McCarthy  
From: Gerry Cribbin

*Mr. Kiwan*  
*To see if this is a good*  
*draft which we can use*  
*for similar correspondence in*  
*the future. Donegal 13/11/90*

Letter from D.T. Phillips concerning the I.R.A.

*Donegal*  
*In your*  
*signature.*

*Mr Shan*  
*Kealy*  
*submitted*  
*14*  
*Donegal 11/11/90*

1. Mr. D.T. Phillips from West Sussex first wrote to the Taoiseach on 2 August and on three subsequent occasions urging him to "ban the I.R.A. and dissolve it making it a criminal offence to defy the ban". His letters to the Taoiseach seem to have been prompted by the murder of Mr. Ian Gow, M.P.
2. Initially, the Private Office did not intend replying to Mr. Phillip's letter presumably because the writer shows an appalling lack of knowledge concerning the Irish Government's clear and consistent attitude to the I.R.A. However, three subsequent letters from him show his determination to get a reply.
3. Draft reply across for consideration, please.

Gerry Cribbin  
13 November, 1990.

*Mr McCarthy*  
*I have made some*  
*amendments and agree*  
*that the letter forms a*  
*useful model. However*  
*in the past we used to*  
*have an enclosure*  
*summarising legislation,*  
*deployments, results (with*  
*statistics), position on*  
*fugitive offenders etc.*  
*for enclosure with replies*  
*of this sort. and I think*  
*a similar enclosure would*  
*be useful & should be*  
*undertaken. Donegal 13.11.90*

*If need*  
*not delay*  
*issue of this reply!*



Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

*U return line  
Pond*

November, 1990.

Mr. D.T. Phillips,  
"Winterfield",  
Oldland Avenue,  
Balcombe,  
West Sussex RH17 6LP.

Dear Mr. Phillips,

The Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., has asked me to refer to your recent letters concerning the I.R.A.

The Taoiseach has expressed his surprise, and indeed his sadness, at your lack of knowledge concerning the Irish Government's clear and consistent attitude to the I.R.A. The I.R.A. has been a proscribed organisation in Ireland since 1939 and membership is a criminal offence, liable to a term of imprisonment of seven years on conviction. Furthermore, the broadcasting services in this country are prohibited, under Section 31 of our Broadcasting Authority Act, 1960, from broadcasting interviews, statements or reports by a number of ~~subversive~~ organisations including the I.R.A. and their political wing, Sinn Féin.

The Taoiseach and the Irish Government have consistently condemned outright all acts of violence perpetrated by the I.R.A. and other terrorist organisations. ~~These condemnations are not mere rhetoric.~~ The commitment of the Government and the Irish people to combatting IRA and other terrorist activity is consistent, comprehensive and effective. This State will have spent approximately £170 million this year on security connected with the Northern Ireland situation representing almost four times per capita the level of expenditure by the tax payer in Britain in respect of Northern Ireland. As the Taoiseach said in the Dáil (Parliament) "our commitment in this area is freely given in the common interest of society, North and South, to ensure that the forces of terrorism - whether of domestic or international origin - do not prevail".

The Intergovernmental Conference established by the Anglo-Irish Agreement (copy enclosed) has reaffirmed the total rejection by the Irish and British Governments of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and the determination of both Governments to work together to ensure that those who adopt or support such methods do not succeed. Article 9 of the Agreement provided for the establishment of a

*equipment*  
*and these expressions are banded up by deployment of a comprehensive range of anti-terrorist legislation and by the commitment of major resources of personnel and money to combat IRA activities*

*British*

*should*

*The commitment of personnel includes the deployment of personnel in the recruitment of personnel in the Border area and constant operation of the Army in battalions and of a very large number of police officers in B order areas or wherever else in the South is suspected.*

Oifig an Taoisigh, Tithe an Rialtais, Baile Átha Cliath 2.  
Office of the Taoiseach, Government Buildings, Dublin 2.



Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

- 2 -

*and the effectiveness of the co-operation recently has frequently been acknowledged by British political and security force leaders.*

programme of work to be undertaken by the Garda Commissioner and the Chief Constable of the R.U.C. with a view to enhancing cross-border co-operation on security matters in such areas as threat assessments, exchange of information, technical co-operation, training and operational resources. That programme of work continues to be implemented.

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The Taoiseach has also asked me to say that there is no question of persons who commit serious crimes in the North and Britain escaping the consequences of their actions by seeking refuge in this State or vice versa. The means are available whereby such persons can, and are, made amenable to the process of justice provided sufficient evidence exists to connect them with the alleged offences. The special extradition arrangements we operate with Britain and the North provide the means by which a person can be returned to the jurisdiction in which the offence has been committed. These arrangements have been in place since 1965 and were strengthened by the enactment of the Extradition (European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism) Act, 1987 which, inter alia, limits the scope of the political offence exception to extradition by excluding certain specified violent terrorist type offences from the exception. These arrangements have served both countries well and continue to operate effectively. Furthermore, the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act, 1976 contains a provision whereby persons who are alleged to have committed serious crimes in the North and who are found in this jurisdiction can be brought to trial here.

The Taoiseach expresses the wish that the information contained in this letter will leave you in no doubt as to the determination of the Government and the Irish people to combat effectively all forms of terrorist activity.

Yours sincerely,

*while regretting the continuing loss of life as a result of terrorist activities, and indeed the loss of even a single life in this way.*

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

11/11/190

Winterfield  
Oldlands Avenue

Dear Mr Haughes

Balcombe

West Sussex

The I.R.A

England

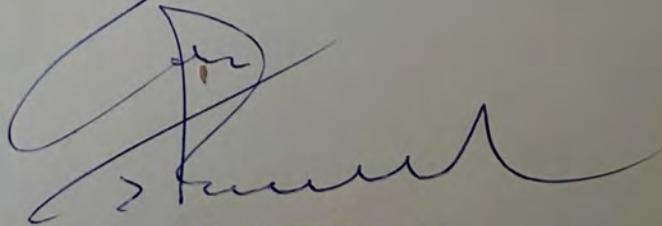
R.H.17 6LP

4 more murders - a party of

4 men out on <sup>a</sup> duck shooting expedition

gunned down by wicked and cowardly  
members of the I.R.A. And what do you  
about it - simply express sympathy for the  
bereaved! It is a national disgrace and  
particularly for you, who could, if you so  
desired, ban the I.R.A and stop these  
senseless murders which will have no effect  
on the troops & stationed here to keep order.

Haven't you the courage to reply  
to my several letters?



D. T. PHILLIPS.

October, 1990.

Mr. D. T. Phillips,  
"Winterfield",  
Oldland Avenue,  
Balcombe,  
West Sussex.

Dear Mr. Phillips,

Thank you for your further letters dated 10 and 28  
September, 1990, addressed to the Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J.  
Haughey, T.D.

The Taoiseach has noted your comments and is bringing them  
to the attention of his colleague, the Minister for Foreign  
Affairs, Mr. Gerard Collins, T.D.

Yours sincerely,

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

! PS, MIN/FOREIGN AFFAIRS

! TRANSMITTED FOR ATTENTION PLEASE

! WP4 RH942

9/90

Winstenfield  
Oldlands House  
Balscombe  
West Sussex  
England

Dear Mr Haughey  
The I R A

RH 17 6 LP

I wrote to you on the 2<sup>nd</sup> August  
with regard to this subject and I received  
an acknowledgement from your private  
Secretary on the 13<sup>th</sup> then promising to bring  
the contents of my letter to your notice.

I wrote a reminder on the 10<sup>th</sup> Sept as  
I had had no reply. I still have not  
heard from you and I should be very  
grateful if I may do so in the near future

Charles Haughey  
Yours faithfully  
D. T. Phillips

Yours sincerely  
Ernie Hunter

D. T. PHILLIPS.

9/19/90

'Winterfield'  
Oldlands House  
Boscombe  
West Sussex  
RH17 6LP

Dear Sir  
The L. R. A.

I wrote to you on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Aug England  
with regard to this matter and you kindly  
promised to bring it to the attention of the  
Treasurer, Mr Charles J. Haughey T.D.

I need to say grateful if I  
could have a reply as I have heard  
nothing and am sure writing to you

The Private Secretary  
to the  
Treasurer.

D. T. PHILLIPS.

October, 1990.

Mr. D. T. Phillips,  
"Winterfield",  
Oldland Avenue,  
Balcombe,  
West Sussex.

Dear Mr. Phillips,

Thank you for your further letters dated 10 and 28  
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Yours sincerely,

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

! PS, MIN/FOREIGN AFFAIRS

! TRANSMITTED FOR ATTENTION PLEASE

! WP4 RH942

24<sup>th</sup> October 90 Wintonfield  
Dear Mr Langley Oldlands House  
The I.R.A. Balcombe  
West Sussex

I wrote to you on the 2<sup>nd</sup> August England  
on this matter and your Private Secretary R 11/17 62P  
in his letter to me of the 13<sup>th</sup> then  
promised to bring it to your attention.

I have had no reply in spite of the fact  
that on the 10<sup>th</sup> Sept and again on the 28<sup>th</sup>  
of that month I wrote reminders!

You have always expressed horror, sorrow  
for the relatives and detestation for the  
murderous crimes committed by the I.R.A.

In the case of Mr Ian Gow MP you said "I  
am shocked and stunned. It is almost  
undescribable, the sudden savagery of taking a  
human life in this way".

You are the Prime Minister of Great Britain and  
one is free to ask why, if you feel so  
strongly about the wickedness of these foul acts  
do you not ban the I.R.A. and declare it  
making it a criminal offence to defy the law?

Please do not ignore this letter -  
I eagerly await your reply

P.T.O.

D. T. PHILLIPS.

I'm writing a further tragedy has  
occurred. Surely you will not tolerate  
any longer the existence of a party  
which can descend to such evil depths

Expressions of horror & sorrow  
are not enough. please - demand action!

*[Handwritten signature]*

DEPT. OF JUSTICE  
RECEIVED  
30 OCT 1930  
AM/PM

October, 1930

D. T. PHILLIPS

9.10

October, 1990.

Mr. D. T. Phillips,  
"Winterfield",  
Oldland Avenue,  
Balcombe,  
West Sussex.

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The Taoiseach has noted your comments and is bringing them  
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Yours sincerely,

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

! PS, MIN/FOREIGN AFFAIRS

! TRANSMITTED FOR ATTENTION PLEASE

! WP4 RH942

D. T. PHILLIPS

REGISTRY, 2 1/10/90

ANY PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE  
PLEASE ?

Indexed but not - Reg

beaver gnam <sup>me</sup> 3/10

1st copy attached. Nov. 2/10.

The I.R.A

Winterfield  
Oldlands House  
Bacombe  
West Sussex  
England

RH17 6LP

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with regard to this subject and I received  
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I had had no reply. I still have not  
heard from you and I should be very  
grateful if I may do so in the near future

Charles Haughey  
79

D. T. PHILLIPS.

Prime Minister  
Eire

8/9/90

Winstenfield  
Oldlands House  
Bacombe  
West Sussex  
England

Dear Mr Haughey  
The I.R.A.

RH 17 64P

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Charles Haughey  
279

*[Handwritten signature]*

D. T. PHILLIPS.

Prime Minister  
Eire

REGISTRY, Papers attached  
no 13/9  
ANY PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE  
PLEASE ?

RH 12/9

Dear Sir

The L. R. A.

'Winterfield'  
Oldlands House  
Boscombe  
West Sussex  
RH17 6LP

England

I wrote to you on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Aug  
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I would be very grateful if I  
could have a reply as I have heard  
nothing more since writing to you

The Private Secretary

to the

Treasurer.

D. T. PHILLIPS.

PLEASE  
STAMP  
DATE  
10/9/90

'Winterfield'  
Oldlands House  
Boscombe  
West Sussex  
RH17 6LP  
England

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The Private Secretary  
to the  
Treasurer.  
D. T. PHILLIPS.

INDEX & P.A.

26143

INDEXED

13 August, 1990.

Mr. D.T. Phillips,  
"Winterfield",  
Oldland Avenue,  
Balcombe,  
West Sussex.

Dear Mr. Phillips,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd August, 1990, the contents of which will be brought to the attention of the Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE J. SHAW

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

! RH3542/WP3

2 Aug 1990

Dear Mr Haughey  
The I.R.A

Winterfield  
Oldlands House  
Balecombe

West Sussex

I think I am correct in saying that in every single incident involving the murder by the I.R.A of a member of the British Forces, an MP or an ordinary citizen, going about his lawful business, I have at once expressed your horror, sorrow for the relatives and detestation for these murderous crimes. In the case of the latest tragedy (Mr Ian Gow MP) I said:

R117 6LP

"I am shocked and stunned, it's almost indescribable, the sudden savagery of taking a human life in his way". Other members of your Government expressed similar horror but the criminals go free!

Mr, Mr Haughey, are the Prime Minister of Eire, blessed with considerable power and surrounded by MPs who are equally disgusted and ashamed that these deeds should continue to be perpetrated. Will you act in the name of humanity bring in an Act of Parliament that would not only ban and dissolve the I.R.A but would impose heavy fines and imprisonment for those defying the law? The people of Eire are surely sick and tired of this bloodshed and would be thankful if steps could be taken resolutely to stop these killings.

I hope you will forgive me when I say quite frankly the British people find it hard to believe these protestations are made in good faith when measures which would have every chance of success by outlawing the IRA of finally stopping these murders are not taken by the Government which has the power to do so!

He shall <sup>all</sup> be indebted to you if I will act without further delay and before other innocent people die.

Charles Haughey  
Prime Minister  
Eire

(Mr) D. T. PHILLIPS.



Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

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expenditure by the British taxpayer in respect of Northern Ireland. As the Taoiseach said in the Dáil (Parliament) "our commitment in this area is freely given in the common interest of society, North and South, to ensure that the forces of terrorism - whether of domestic or international origin - do not prevail".

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Yours sincerely,

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

CONFIDENTIAL

Conversation with Paddy McGrory  
Belfast, 17 December 1990

Articles 2 & 3:

He articulated, in particularly forceful terms, widespread nationalist concern in Northern Ireland at the debate on Articles 2 & 3. In doing so, he offered the caustic comment that he could understand the Workers Party's search for respectability in the South - particularly in the light of Official IRA activity in recent weeks in Belfast which signalled the possibility of a renewed feud between the Officials and the Provisionals in the Markets area.

He was, however, bitterly disappointed at the stance of the Fine Gael Party which he felt displayed an unbelievable naivety about Northern Ireland. Changing or even deleting the Articles would not receive so much as a thank-you from the Unionists. They would simply pocket the concession and immediately move on to the next grievance. He recalled that some years ago the Unionists had a practice of making fiery speeches about Article 40 on the special position of the Catholic Church. When that Article was deleted, he had not heard "so much as a squeak of appreciation" from the Unionists.

He found the suggestion that Articles 2 & 3 were somehow used by the IRA as a justification for their campaign to be particularly absurd. In his practice he has represented hundreds of members of the IRA over the years. Never once has he ever heard anyone mention Articles 2 & 3 or indeed the Constitution which, in any event, they view as "a Free State document" and refuse to recognise its validity in any shape or form.

For nationalists, the tone of some of the speeches in the Dail clearly signalled their possible abandonment by the South and this had deeply angered many nationalists in the North. As an example, he mentioned that Brian Friel (a close personal friend) had phoned him earlier and had sounded off in particularly virulent terms about his sense of betrayal. [comment: I heard similar strong comments from every nationalist I met in Northern Ireland this week.]

Brooke Speech:

He had been very impressed with Brooke's "neutrality speech" of 9 November which he felt was bound to stimulate further debate within the republican movement. He speculated at some length on the capacity of the republican movement to respond in an imaginative way to the speech. In his view, Gerry Adams

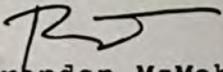
is one of the few people in the movement with a long-term view and with a capacity to think in an imaginative way. However, McGrory feels that Adams is very much constrained by the "Army" and is unable to make any significant move without the approval of the IRA.

Sandy Lynch:

McGrory is representing Danny Morrison who is still being held on remand facing charges relating to the imprisonment and attempted murder of the RUC informer, Sandy Lynch. (Ten others have also been charged in this case, including some senior IRA figures.) During the cross-examination at the preliminary hearing, Lynch revealed (to the obvious consternation of the RUC officers present) that he had been working for the RUC for 7 years. It was obvious to McGrory that Lynch was not supposed to have revealed that he had been working for the RUC for such a long time. It was also obvious from Lynch's demeanour in Court that he now fully identifies with the security services and not with his family or background. He displayed "not even a flicker of emotion or reaction" when his father shouted to him from the public gallery. McGrory commented that he had seen the same psychological transformation in some of the supergrass cases - most notably in the case of Harry Kirkpatrick.

According to Morrison, Lynch made a number of interesting revelations during his "interrogation" at the hands of the IRA, including the fact that he had been warned earlier in the week that he would be lifted by the IRA and was coached by the RUC as to what he should tell his interrogators. This had caused quite a few raised eyebrows within the IRA as it clearly implied that the RUC had another very senior source within the movement. It continues to be a mystery to the IRA as to how the RUC were able to pinpoint the house in West Belfast where Lynch was being interrogated. The IRA appear to have used the same house in the interrogation of Joe Fenton, another RUC informer murdered by the IRA in February 1989. [comment: It has been apparent over the past year, from the significant number of arms finds and raids on bomb factories (where a number of people have been caught red-handed) that the RUC may have a number of well-placed informers within the IRA in Belfast.]

Lynch named two other senior IRA figures (Kevin Mulgrew from Ardoyne and a well-known gunman with the unlikely name of Scapotici) as being responsible for his kidnapping & interrogation. Both are currently on the run.

  
Brendan McMahon  
Anglo-Irish Division  
20 December 1990

cc A/Sec Gallagher  
Counsellors A.I.  
Secretariat  
Box

Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

20 December, 1990.

Mr. David Parr,  
"Willow Cottage",  
1 Hobbs Lane,  
Beckley,  
Rye,  
East Sussex TN3 16TN.

Dear Mr. Parr,

The Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., has asked me to refer to your letter of 29 October concerning the recent IRA bombings at Newry and Derry.

The Government condemned in the strongest terms these attacks on army checkpoints which brought a heavy toll in dead and injured. It is the view of the Government and of the overwhelming majority of people on this island that such savage murders are futile and serve no purpose other than to bring suffering and tragedy in their wake.

The Irish Government totally reject any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and, to this end, the commitment of the Government and the Irish people to combat terrorism is consistent, comprehensive and effective. By the end of December, this State will have spent approximately £170 million this year on security connected with Northern Ireland and this represents almost four times per capita the equivalent level of expenditure by the taxpayer in Britain.

In addition to the considerable costs incurred by Irish taxpayers in respect of the Northern Ireland conflict, this State has in place a comprehensive range of legislative measures which are crucial to ensuring that the forces of terrorism do not prevail. Under Article 9 of the Anglo-Irish Agreement,

Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

- 2 -

a programme of cross-border security co-operation between the Garda Síochána and the Royal Ulster Constabulary continues to be implemented. The special extradition arrangements we operate with Britain and the North provide the means by which a person can be returned to the jurisdiction in which the offence was committed, and these arrangements have been strengthened by the enactment of the Extradition (European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism) Act 1987. This Act limits the scope of the political offence exception by specifying certain violent terrorist type offences as being non-political. The Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act 1976 provides another method for dealing with fugitive offenders. Under this Act, persons who are alleged to have committed serious crimes in Northern Ireland and who are found in this jurisdiction can be brought to trial here. Since 1939, the I.R.A. has been a proscribed organisation in this jurisdiction and membership is a criminal offence, liable to a term of imprisonment of 7 years on conviction. Furthermore, Section 31 of our Broadcast Authority Act 1960 prohibits the broadcasting of interviews, statements or reports by a number of organisations including the I.R.A. and their political wing, Sinn Féin.

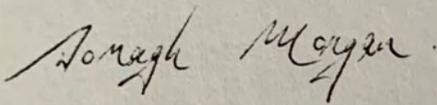
The Taoiseach has also asked me to say that the deaths and injuries inflicted by terrorists on so many people lends great urgency to the seeking, through peaceful means, of a just and lasting solution to the Northern Ireland conflict and, to this end, the Irish Government fully support the efforts of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland to get political talks underway. From the outset, the Irish Government have made every effort possible to create the conditions and framework in which productive talks could begin at the earliest possible date. The Irish Government seek to establish a new relationship of trust and friendship with the Unionist people of Northern Ireland. This is why the Taoiseach has so often emphasised his willingness to enter into discussions with them without any preconditions.

Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

- 3 -

The Taoiseach appreciates the compassionate and concerned manner in which your letter was written. He expresses the wish that the information contained in this letter will clarify the policies of the Irish Government.

Yours sincerely,



---

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

# ROINN AN TAOISIGH

Misc.  
F. 2.

Uimhir.....

To: Brian McCarthy.

From: Gerry Cribbin.

*Mr. Newry*

*Reply as above.*

*23*  
*PG*

**Re: Letter from Mr. David Parr concerning IRA bombings at  
Newry and Derry.**

1. Mr. David Parr of East Sussex wrote to the Taoiseach on 29 October concerning the recent IRA bomb attacks on army checkpoints at Newry and Derry. He is very critical of the tactics currently being adopted by the IRA - in particular, forcing civilians to drive bomb-laden vehicles.
2. The writer expresses the opinion that the Taoiseach is in a better position than anyone else to stop these 'events', although he admits to having limited knowledge of the political situation. Because of this, I thought it best to include in my reply a snapshot of the considerable resources - both monetary and legislative - which this State devotes to combatting terrorism.
3. Mr. Parr seems to be a compassionate, caring and humble man and, on this basis alone, I think that a reply would be justified.
4. Draft reply across for consideration, please.

*Gerry Cribbin*

22 November, 1990.

15 November, 1990.

Mr. David Parr,  
"Willow Cottage",  
1 Hobbs Lane,  
Beckley,  
Rye,  
E. Sussex.

Dear Mr. Parr,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th October, 1990  
addressed to the Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D.,  
and for your comments regarding the recent atrocity in  
Northern Ireland.

Your comments are being brought to the Taoiseach's  
attention.

Yours sincerely,

GEORGE SHAW

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

*W. Corbett*  
*BS* 19/11

- ! MR. MCCARTHY
- ! BRIAN, FOR ANY FURTHER ACTION IF YOU CONSIDER
- ! APPROPRIATE
- ! GS3731/WP3

29<sup>th</sup> Oct '90.

"Willow Cottage",  
1, Hobbs Lane,  
Beckley,  
Rye,  
E. Sussex  
TN316TN

Dear Mr Haughey,

I am an ordinary elderly Englishman, proud of association with people from Ireland both north and south of the border and of any Christian denomination.

My knowledge of Irish history is next to nothing and I do not carry a torch for England as being the most just and fair country in the world.

However I am appalled at the tactics and behaviour of the IRA culminating

in the recent 'human bomb' attacks.

I find it difficult to believe that you are not horrified by these base events which must be an all time low by any standards.

With my limited knowledge of the political situation, but applying common sense and close observation, it does seem that you, over and above all interested parties, are best placed to stop these events and bring about a cessation of the hate between Englishman and Irishman, and Irishman and Irishman.

I am not clever enough to offer a solution but my heart bleeds for every man, woman and child of whatever calling that is killed or injured.

Yours sincerely,

David Part.



Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

November, 1990.

Mr. David Parr,  
"Willow Cottage",  
1 Hobbs Lane,  
Beckley,  
Rye,  
East Sussex TN3 16TN.

*Mr Parr*  
Dear ~~David Parr~~,

The Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., has asked me to refer to your letter of 29 October concerning the recent IRA bombings at Newry and Derry.

The Government condemned in the strongest terms these attacks on army checkpoints which brought a heavy toll in dead and injured. It is the view of the Government and of the overwhelming majority of people on this island that such savage murders are futile and serve no purpose other than to bring suffering and tragedy in their wake.

The Irish Government totally reject any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and, to this end, the commitment of the Government and the Irish people to combat terrorism is consistent, comprehensive and effective. By the end of December, this State will have spent approximately £170 million this year on security connected with Northern Ireland and this represents almost four times per capita the equivalent level of expenditure by the tax-payer in Britain.

In addition to the considerable costs incurred by Irish tax-payers in respect of the Northern Ireland conflict, this State has in place a comprehensive range of legislative measures which are crucial to ensuring that the forces of terrorism do not prevail. Under Article 9 of the Anglo-



Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

- 2 -

Irish Agreement, a programme of cross-border security co-operation between the Garda Síochána and the Royal Ulster Constabulary continues to be implemented. The special extradition arrangements we operate with Britain and the North provide the means by which a person can be returned to the jurisdiction in which the offence was committed, and these arrangements have been strengthened by the enactment of the Extradition (European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism) Act 1987. This Act limits the scope of the political offence exception by specifying certain violent terrorist type offences as being non-political. The Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act 1976 provides another method for dealing with fugitive offenders. Under this Act, persons who are alleged to have committed serious crimes in Northern Ireland and who are found in this jurisdiction can be brought to trial here. Since 1939, the I.R.A. has been a proscribed organisation in this jurisdiction and membership is a criminal offence, liable to a term of imprisonment of 7 years on conviction. Furthermore, Section 31 of our Broadcast Authority Act 1960 prohibits the broadcasting of interviews, statements or reports by a number of ~~subversive~~ organisations including the I.R.A. and their political wing, Sinn Féin.

The Taoiseach has also asked me to say that the deaths and injuries inflicted by terrorists on so many people in ~~Northern Ireland~~ lends great urgency to the seeking, through peaceful means, of a just and lasting solution to the Northern Ireland conflict and, to this end, the Irish Government fully support ~~Mr. Peter Brooke's~~ <sup>Mr. Peter Brooke</sup> efforts to get political talks underway. From the outset, the Irish Government have made every effort possible to create the conditions and framework in which productive talks could begin at the earliest possible date. The Irish Government seek to establish a new relationship of trust and friendship with the Unionist people of Northern Ireland. This is why the Taoiseach has so often emphasised his willingness to enter into discussions with them without any preconditions.

*of the Secretary of State*

*for Winston Graham*



Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

- 3 -

The Taoiseach appreciates the compassionate and concerned manner in which your letter was written. He expresses the wish that the information contained in this letter will leave you in no doubt as to the commitment of the Government and the Irish people to combat all forms of terrorist activity.

*Shirley*  
~~by the achievement of peace and reconciliation~~

Yours sincerely,

*A. Holmes of the Irish Government.*

\_\_\_\_\_  
Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

11 DECEMBER 1990

Written Answers

*cc ps w  
Mr. M. D. Taylor = PSC  
Mr. M. D. Taylor = PSC*

**Mr. Waldegrave** [pursuant to the reply, 16 November 1990, c. 248]: The steering committee of solicitors representing the HIV haemophiliac plaintiffs and their counsel have put forward to the Department of Health proposals for the settlement of this litigation which they regard as a fair and reasonable resolution of the plaintiffs' claims.

The Government have carefully considered these proposals and agree that they will provide a fair and proper way of ending this litigation and of making financial provision for all affected haemophiliacs and their dependants, whether or not they have joined in the litigation. We believe that our case is legally strong and that the plaintiffs would not succeed in proving negligence on the part of the Department of Health. None the less the Government have always recognised the very special and tragic circumstances of the haemophiliacs infected by HIV and of their families. We recognise too the harrowing effect legal action would have on them.

The Government have therefore agreed in principle to meet the steering committee's proposals.

In outline the compromise would result in the Government providing to the Macfarlane Trust, in addition to the £34 million already paid, a further sum of about £42 million for distribution to all HIV haemophiliacs and their families according to their respective circumstances. Furthermore the Government have agreed that payments from the Macfarlane Trust will not affect entitlement to social security and other statutory benefits. The plaintiffs' reasonable legal costs would also be paid by the Government.

Because the proposed settlement will require the formal approval of all individual plaintiffs, and in the case of minors, of the court, it would be inappropriate at this time to publish further details until all plaintiffs and the court have had an opportunity to consider the full terms of the settlement and to approve them.

The Government would apply the outcome of any settlement to all parts of the United Kingdom.

The Government welcome these developments, which offer a speedy way of ending the lengthy period of uncertainty for haemophiliacs and their families and of giving them additional financial security.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

### Official IRA

**Mr. John D. Taylor:** To ask the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland what information his Department has on whether the Official IRA continues to exist in Northern Ireland; and if he will make a statement.

**Dr. Mawhinney:** I believe that the Official IRA still exists.

### Health Research

**Mr. Robin Cook:** To ask the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland if he will list (a) in cash terms and (b) deflated according to an appropriate index of higher education pay and prices the spending on health and personal social services research in each year from 1979 to the most recent year which his Department has funded in universities, polytechnics and other related institutions.

*for circ DAG, Roman  
Ann Anderson, [Olive  
86]366*

**Mr. Hanley:** Spending by the Department of Health and Social Services on health and personal social services research in Northern Ireland for 1989-90, the latest year for which an outturn figure is available, was £0.83 million.

Information for earlier years has been published in the appropriation accounts for Northern Ireland Departments.

### Home Help

**Mr. Mallon:** To ask the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (1) how many individuals currently in receipt of home help service receive (a) less than one hour per day, (b) less than two hours but more than one hour per day, (c) less than three hours but more than two hours per day and (d) more than three hours per day;

(2) how many individuals currently in receipt of home help service receive a daily allocation of home help time Monday to Saturday but no service on Sunday;

(3) how many individuals currently in receipt of home help service receive a daily allocation of home help time Monday to Friday but no service on Saturday and Sunday;

(4) what was the average amount of home help time received, per day, by each individual in receipt of home help service in each year since 1986, in each health board area in Northern Ireland.

**Mr. Hanley** [holding answers 4 December 1990]: The information requested could be made available only at disproportionate cost to the health and social services boards which are responsible for the management and delivery of the home help service.

## ENVIRONMENT

### Private Rented Housing

**Mr. Simon Coombs:** To ask the Secretary of State for the Environment if he will make a statement on the private rented housing market since the Housing Act 1988.

**Mr. Yeo:** It is too early to assess the overall impact of the Act on private renting. Research now in progress will provide information in the course of 1991. There are, however, clear signs of increased activity in the residential lettings market. In particular, business expansion scheme companies have so far raised £550 million, which will provide about 10,000 new homes to rent.

### Bathing Beaches

**Mr. Gareth Wardell:** To ask the Secretary of State for the Environment if he will place in the Library a copy of the National Rivers Authority reports covering all of England and Wales which provide information on the bathing beaches monitoring programme for the 1990 bathing season.

**Mr. Baldry:** The Secretary of State announced on 14 November that a detailed summary of these National Rivers Authority monitoring results will be placed in the Library.

### Hazardous Waste

**Mr. Bellingham:** To ask the Secretary of State for the Environment whether, in view of the decision by South Yorkshire waste disposal joint committee to close its

NOTE

SEEN BY  
TAO SEACH

*Mr. Kelly*  
*27-11-90*

FAX

*Tuesday*  
*To see please*

22 November, 1990.

To: Brendan McMahon

From: John Fee, SDLP

*22/11*  
*[Signature]*

Leaflet distributed yesterday at Provisional IRA checkpoint,  
Newry Road, Crossmaglen.

Note:

The attached leaflet was handed to a sister of John Fee at a Provisional IRA checkpoint near the Fee house in Crossmaglen yesterday. He has no information as to what prompted it. (John Fee is a nephew of the late Cardinal and, as well as being a prominent SDLP member, runs Seamus Mallon's constituency offices).

This is a very disturbing development and would seem to constitute a threat to off-duty gardai and army personnel visiting the North (and possibly also to the "Northern travelling personnel" of this Department). We will discuss with the Department of Justice as a matter of urgency.

*[Signature]*  
Dermot Gallagher,  
22 November, 1990.

cc: PSM; Mr. Nally; PSS; Mr. Mathews; Mr. Brosnan;  
Joint Secretary; Counsellors A-I; Travellers

Oglaigh na hEireann.

A chara,

a situation has developed in South Armagh where an increasing number of Free State forces visit this area on shopping trips etc, especially to filling stations. After detailed examination over a long period of time, it has become clear that these visits are more than just of financial or recreational importance. These Free Staters are dredging for information and collecting intelligence on people in the area generally and republicans in particular, all of which is passed to the occupation forces in the six counties. Several arrest operations and a great deal of the everyday harassment suffered by our people, has been instigated by the hand over by Free State forces of intelligence gathered by them.

in future, therefore, all business premises and recreational centres should boycott all British occupation forces, Free State forces and certain other government officials who are clearly collaborating with them. Let it be understood that anyone in the company of or associating with these above will also be treated as collaborators.

These people are spies and will be treated as such by the Republican Movement.

South Armagh,  
Provisional I.R.A.

10/30/90

12:32

202 232 5993

IRE EMB/WASH DC

001/004

*u by Gallagher  
31-10-90*

*31/10 1. cc  
2*

*PSM  
Mr. Nally; PSS  
Counselor A1*

*2. Mr. O. Grogan*

**FAX COVER SHEET**

FAX NO: 310

DATE: 30 OCTOBER 1990

TIME: \_\_\_\_\_

TO: HQ

FOR: ASST SEC GALLAGHER

FROM: BRENDAN SCANNELL, EMBASSY WASHINGTON

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES, INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET: (4)

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL: SPEAKER FOLEY'S STATEMENT ON RECENT  
IRA BOMBINGS.

ANY SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: \_\_\_\_\_

TRANSMITTING OPERATOR: NORMA.

THIS MATERIAL IS BEING SENT FROM FAX PHONE NUMBER (202) 232.5993

THIS NUMBER SHOULD BE USED FOR RETURN FAXING

IF THERE ARE ANY PROBLEMS ON RECEIPT, PLEASE PHONE TRANSMITTING OPERATOR  
AT (202) 462.3939

30 OCTOBER 1990

TO HQ FROM WASHINGTON  
FOR ASST SEC GALLAGHER FROM BRENDAN SCANNELL

SUBJ: STATEMENT BY SPEAKER FOLEY ON IRA BOMBING

1. Only in exceptional circumstances has it become the tradition of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to seek the floor of the House to make a statement. On Saturday, 27 October, at the opening of business on the floor of the House, the first item of which was the consideration of the Immigration Bill, Speaker Foley stepped down from the Chair and asked for the floor to make a statement on the IRA bombings of the 24 October.
2. The Speaker, we understand, consulted with Congressman Donnelly, Chairman of the Friends and Mr Bob Michel, Republican Leader in the House before making the statement. The Speaker, speaking on behalf of the Friends of Ireland (which he remarked he served as Honorary Chairman), condemned the IRA bombing and methods "unequivocally". You will recall that the Speaker also denounced the IRA in similar circumstances on 2 August for the murder of Ian Gow.
3. Comment  
  
The Speaker continues to follow Irish matters closely. He had privately been involved in the negotiations in the last few days in securing an additional US \$20 million for the IFI. The Speaker, by requesting the House floor before an important debate on Immigration which concerned Ireland, also helped to reinforce to House members his continuing interest in Irish affairs and the Friends of Ireland.

ENDS

ANOTHER IRA ATROCITY

MR. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise in both anguish and outrage. Two days ago, on Wednesday, October 24, 1990, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) exceeded even its gory record of infamy when it took hostage at gunpoint three separate Catholic families in Northern Ireland and forced a family member from each to become human car bombs. Using terror tactics no doubt learned from their Middle Eastern counterparts, the IRA threatened death for the remaining family members to force those they had kidnapped to drive explosive-laden vehicles to military checkpoints where they were then detonated.

The tragic toll of these attacks was ~~7~~ dead and ~~37~~ wounded. One of the dead and 21 of the wounded were simple bystanders, as is so often the case with IRA attacks. These innocents were added to a long and shameful list of others who recently fell victim to IRA slaughter - among them a nun, 2 tourists, an infant, a soldier's wife. The IRA kills many more innocent passersby than it ever has members of the British army or security forces.

A truly frightening aspect of these murders was that, although prominently reported, they have excited so little public condemnation in this country. I fear that the IRA has succeeded, as have other terrorist groups, in perpetrating so many grisly atrocities that their egregious brutality seems to many Americans the commonplace and expected in Northern Ireland. Such numbness must, for humanity's sake, be overcome. As defenders of the rule of law and of human dignity, we must voice abhorrence for terrorist acts. We must dwell on their cruelty and on their ultimate futility.

Mr. Speaker, I believe I speak today for myself and for the bipartisan Friends of Ireland. The Friends of Ireland include 168 Members of the House dedicated to promoting peace and reconciliation in Ireland. I serve as the honorary chairman of the Friends along with the Republican Leader, Mr. Michel. The Executive Committee of the Friends is chaired by Mr. Donnelly, and includes Mr. McDade, Mr. Dwyer, Mr. Madigan, Mr. Williams and Mr. Lowery.

All of the Friends of Ireland, Democrats and Republicans alike, have an interest in Irish affairs. Many of us share Irish ancestry. But none of us share any illusions about the nature of the conflict in Ireland. We see no romance in the tactics of the IRA, no glory in its policy of assassination and massacre. IRA atrocities do not support sectarian dialogue. IRA destruction cannot bring unification. That is why this latest, most cold blooded group of murders must be condemned unequivocally.

Mr. Speaker, the IRA identified those it forced to transport its bombs as "collaborators." Their connection to British forces

seems to have been either nonexistent or remote. The point to be taken from the IRA's appalling rationalization is that any person - Protestant or Catholic - is a potential victim of its wide-ranging, indiscriminate violence. That violence, and the obscene indifference to life it embodies - must be constantly exposed, decried and renounced. And always, such barbarism must be remembered for what it is - savagery that can only destroy, never rebuild, the Ireland the IRA says it wants to see.

*The Corbber  
We shd have  
a file on  
such messages.*

*[Signature]*

**GOVERNMENT STATEMENT FOLLOWING TODAY'S BOMB ATTACKS**  
**IN NEWRY AND DERRY**

The Government totally condemn this morning's attacks on army checkpoints in Derry and Newry, which have brought a heavy toll in dead and injured. The people who carried out these savage murders stand condemned by the overwhelming majority of people on this island. Their actions are futile and serve no purpose other than to bring suffering and tragedy in their wake.

On behalf of the Government, I extend my deepest sympathy to the families of the dead and injured.

24 October, 1990.

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX No: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 24/10/90

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

To: \_\_\_\_\_

For: Dermot Nally

From: Dermot Gallagher

Total number of pages, including cover sheet: 3

Brief description of material: Seaft statements  
following today's bomb attacks

Any special instructions: I will phone you about  
the attached

Transmitting operator: \_\_\_\_\_

This material is being sent from FAX phone No. 712116. If there are any problems on receipt please phone transmitting operator at \_\_\_\_\_.

Draft Message from the Taoiseach to the  
Prime Minister on the attacks on army checkpoints  
at Derry and Newry

I just want you to know how appalled and shocked I was at the news of the horrific attacks on two British army checkpoints early this morning. Please accept my deepest sympathy and that of my colleagues in Government.

We have issued a statement on the killings and you may wish to have a copy of this.

Government

FAORSEARCH ?

Draft Statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Mr. Gerard Collins, T.D., following today's  
bomb attacks in Newry and Derry

The Government today

condemn ~~unreservedly~~ this morning's attacks on army checkpoints in Derry and Newry, which have brought a heavy toll in dead and injured. The people who carried out these savage <sup>murder</sup> killings stand condemned by the overwhelming majority of people on this island. Their actions are futile and serve no purpose other than to bring suffering and tragedy in their wake.

On behalf of the Government, I extend my deepest sympathy to the families of the dead and injured.

24 October, 1990.

Tasera

As discussed

→

24/10/90

754505



Roinn an Taoisigh  
Department of the Taoiseach

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: 24/10/90 Time: \_\_\_\_\_

To: DTA

For: Dermot Bellefleur, A/Secretary

From: B W Cuddy

Total number of pages, including this cover sheet: 2

Brief description of material: Text of Government  
statements on Newry/Derry attacks.

Any special instructions: \_\_\_\_\_

Transmitting operator: \_\_\_\_\_

This material is being sent from fax telephone number 603281.

This number should be used for return faxing.

If there are any problems on receipt of fax please phone  
transmitting operator at 689333 ext. \_\_\_\_\_



ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT INFORMATION SERVICES: Ó SHEIRBHISÍ EOLAIS AN RIALTAIS Tel: (01) 607555 Telex: 93938

ON BEHALF OF

Department of the Taoiseach,  
Dublin 2.  
Tel. (01) 689333.

THAR CEANN

Roinn an Taoisigh,  
Baile Átha Cliath 2.  
Tel. (01) 689333.

**GOVERNMENT STATEMENT FOLLOWING TODAY'S BOMB ATTACKS**  
**IN NEWRY AND DERRY**

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On behalf of the Government, I extend my deepest sympathy to the families of the dead and injured.

24 October, 1990.

To: Mr. Frank Murray  
From: B. McCarthy

Re: Request for Peace Train Organisation

While the attached papers do not specifically say so, I understand that the request from the organisation, is that the Taoiseach would become a Patron - the Tánaiste and the opposition Leaders have already agreed to be patrons. I checked with the Department of Foreign Affairs as to whether their Minister has been approached. He has not but was consulted about the matter. He does not see any difficulty in the Taoiseach agreeing to become a patron should he wish to do so.

*B*

18 October, 1990.

(Taoiseach agreed to patronage - per Mr Murray note) *Per 19/10/90*

*Mr Lobb*

*2m re Mr. (N/S work)*

*B*

Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

17 October, 1990.

Hazel McClelland,  
4 Malone View Park,  
Belfast BT9 5PN.

Dear Hazel McClelland,

The Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., has asked me to refer to your letter of 17 September concerning the murder of Constable Louis Robinson. He has noted with sadness the account of your experience following this murder.

The Government condemned in the strongest terms the murder of Constable Robinson and extended deepest sympathy to his widow and family. In the Government's view, the manner in which this killing was carried out was particularly cruel and cold-blooded and once again showed the IRA's utter disregard for basic human values. These sentiments reflect the utter revulsion felt by the Government and by the Irish people at the murder.

The death of Constable Robinson and of so many others at the hands of terrorists lends great urgency to the seeking, through peaceful means, of a just and lasting solution to the Northern Ireland conflict and, to this end, the Irish Government fully support the Secretary of State's efforts to get political talks underway. From the outset, the Irish Government has made every effort possible to create the conditions and framework in which productive talks could begin at the earliest possible date. The Irish Government seek to establish a new relationship of trust and friendship with the Unionist people of Northern Ireland. This is why the Taoiseach has so often emphasised his willingness to enter into discussions with them without any preconditions.

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18.10.90  
! The Kinne  
To the ...  
= Mr Corbett  
? file on (15)  
B 17/10

/.....

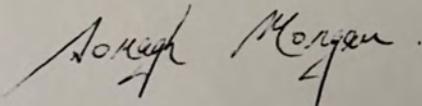
Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

- 2 -

The Taoiseach has asked me to emphasise that the Government are fully committed to combatting all forms of terrorism and totally reject any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence.

The Taoiseach was disappointed by the last sentence of your letter which hardly seems to be in the same spirit as the rest.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Joseph Morgan".

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.



Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

October, 1990.

Hazel McClelland,  
4 Malone View Park,  
Belfast BT9 5PN.

Dear Hazel McClelland,

The Taoiseach, Mr. Charles J. Haughey, T.D., has asked me to refer to your letter of 17 September concerning the murder of Constable Louis Robinson. He has noted with sadness the account of your experience following this murder.

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Oifig an Taoisigh  
Office of the Taoiseach

- 2 -

The Taoiseach has asked me to emphasise that the Government are fully committed to combatting all forms of terrorism and totally reject any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence.

The Taoiseach ~~does not understand the reference~~ fully appreciates the reasons which prompted you to write to him.

*in your final sentence*

Yours sincerely,

Private Secretary  
to the Taoiseach.

*was disappointed by  
the last sentence  
of your letter which  
hardly seems  
~~odd and~~ seems  
to be in ~~fact~~ with  
~~the rest~~  
the same spirit as  
the rest*

**National Archives Act, 1986, Regulations, 1988**

**ABSTRACTION OF PART(S) OF A RECORD PURSUANT TO REGULATION 8**

Form to be completed and inserted in the original record  
in place of each part abstracted

(i) Reference number of the separate cover under which the abstracted part has been filed: **S230/08/05/00310**

(ii) How many documents have been abstracted: **3**

(iii) The date of each such document: **17-28 September 1990**

(iv) The description of each document: **letter and memo regarding (personal) an incident.**

(v) Number of pages: **5**

[Where appropriate, a composite description may be entered in respect of two or more related documents]

(v) Reason(s) why the part has been abstracted for retention:

**(b)(c)**

**Section 8 (4) (a) (b) & (c) of the National Archives Act, 1986**

[These will be the reasons given on the certificate under section 8(4)]

Name: **Elaine Kelly**

Grade: **27/11/19. AP**

Department/Office/Court: **Taoiseach's Department**

Date: **27/11/19.**

Mr. Brooke's Speech to East Belfast Rotary Club,  
Lunchtime, 16 October 1990.

*P6, (Choro, 13)*

1. cc PS4  
H. Nally, PSS  
H. Hather, H. Hather  
Cullen A1  
2. H. W. Balen

The shooting in cold blood of two policemen in the Province's main shopping centre last weekend is a sad and bitter reflection of the destructive divisions that still bedevil life in Northern Ireland. Our overriding policy in Northern Ireland is to bring violence to an end. That policy has and will continue to have the first call on our resources and our energies. It represents a commitment by the whole British people to the suppression of terrorism and the preservation of democratic freedoms and values. Law and order policies are not our only weapons in our war against evil terrorism, and in particular the Provisional IRA. By all the various means at our disposal we will resist them and we will defeat them. No other outcome is possible or acceptable to the Government.

*17/10.90*  
*17/10.90*  
*17/10.90*

*17/10*  
*17/10*  
*15*  
*[Signature]*

2. But, as we look around Northern Ireland today, we can see many positive signs. There is much new investment, from firms such as Daewoo and Montupet, many new jobs are in prospect and there are exciting new schemes under way in Belfast, Londonderry and other parts of the Province. It is the intention of the Government that these will benefit all sections of society. Those signs are all visible on the ground. But, just as important, I detect a new spirit on the part of many people in the Province. There is, I believe, a developing mood of self-help and a desire to put away past animosities and build new, positive relationships for the future. Time and again I hear of initiatives and enterprises on the part of individuals and small groups of people in all parts of Northern Ireland and particularly in the areas of greatest deprivation. This must represent the way forward for all of us in Northern Ireland.

3. Yet there are still organisations, on both sides of the community, whose purpose is wholly negative in attempting to block the path to progress. By intimidation and extortion, by looking back and not forward, they have sought to frustrate enterprise, stifle progress and perpetuate the bad old ways of fear and deprivation. We for our part pursue each of these groups with equal vigour and determination.

4. All these organisations are evil, though the one I shall focus on today is the Provisional IRA, who claim to represent the interests of the ordinary nationalist man and woman, but who still, after all these years, need to maintain their position in society by violence or the threat of it and not through popular consent.

5. What is the truth about this organisation? I wish to say two things. First, and most obviously, it kills people. In the words of the "Economist", "it kills to exist, and it exists to kill". It claims that there is nothing wrong in killing people it says are "legitimate targets" and apologises for those it kills by mistake. I reject both. Let it never be forgotten that the IRA has killed more Catholics in Northern Ireland in the past 20 years than has anyone else.

6. And secondly, those whom the IRA do not kill they have left in fear. Families, particularly in Catholic areas, have been held hostage in their own homes to serve the killing and maiming of soldiers and policemen. Weapons have been hidden in the homes of the elderly and infirm. Still worse, young people have been lured into running errands for the IRA; leaving themselves open to a

frightened existence on the run or to ending up spending the best and most productive years of their lives in prison. There are no doubt those who say they support all this; but none of this can be justified. Any cause is defiled by such means. No end is worth pursuing or achieving by such methods.

7. And we all know that people living in areas which the IRA has sought to dominate suffer inconvenience because the security forces have to mount house searches and other operations to protect ordinary people against the actions and intentions of this tiny minority. But let me make it clear; unlike the IRA, the purpose of the police and Army is simple and unambiguous; to protect the community, to eradicate terrorism and to get the paramilitaries off the backs of the people. They are certainly not there to dominate one section of the community or the other.

8. How have the Provisionals sought to maintain a hold and exert an influence? Through the blackmail and intimidation of ordinary working men and women. I need not elaborate on what has passed for justice from the Provisional movement; in recent weeks and months many people have spoken tellingly about what happens to those who offend members of the organisation. There is no trial, no legal process. Instead there is the knock on the door at night; the cold fear of the victim; and the weeks and months in hospital. Or the final and enforced departure from home and family ties, into exile away from Northern Ireland. Or the hood, the bullet in the back of the head and the sad funeral. Yet the people who have been responsible for all this profess a belief in freedom and a better life for everyone. What is their definition of freedom? Who

appoints these judges, juries and executioners? They are representative of neither the men nor the women of any part of Northern Ireland.

9. The IRA is a parasitic organisation. It could never hope to survive through voluntary donations and subscriptions. So what has it done? Put simply, it has lived off the backs of the people, as have members of paramilitary organisations on both sides of the community. Its members have stolen and extorted money to sustain themselves and their activities. People in small businesses have been forced to pay protection money in order to save themselves from the threat of injury or their premises from destruction. Local enterprises have become subject to the mafia-like empire of the Provisional boss in the area. In this way the IRA's aim has been to stifle initiative and perpetuate the cycle of deprivation which all of us would wish to break. The process goes still further. Firms and enterprises in competition with those supported by the IRA face threats and intimidation. That is the reality of the Provisionals' concept of a free society with opportunity for all. It can have no relevance to their professed aim of a "peaceful, stable Ireland". Activities such as these can form no part of any scenario for peace. Instead they are the recipe for conflict and corruption.

10. The bitter truth is that the IRA is bent on taking money out of the local economy, rather than putting it in. And the wrong is compounded by the fact that that money has gone towards the means and methods of killing and intimidating people. Thus the vicious circle has continued.

11. The rest of us - like responsible people anywhere - attach the highest importance to creating jobs in Northern Ireland, both through inward investment and by encouraging local enterprise. But the IRA actually seeks to destroy jobs. For twenty years it has bombed factories, shops and public transport. And it has intimidated and killed employers and employees often just because the companies concerned were engaged in activities to which the Provisionals were opposed. Or take Belfast. In recent years massive investment has been undertaken by both the public and private sectors aimed at regenerating the city centre and providing jobs for the unemployed from both sides of the community. The response from the Provisionals has been to plant fire bombs in shops. It is the people of Belfast who give them a clear answer by straightforwardly continuing to shop in the city centre. I firmly believe that the people of Northern Ireland simply want to be left alone to go to work, to do their shopping, to enjoy their entertainment, and to bring up their children in a peaceful environment.

12. So much for the Provisional IRA's methods, methods which have increasingly seemed to be ends in themselves. Who do the Provisional IRA represent? If they were confident that they had the full support, freely given, of a majority of the ordinary men and women of the nationalist community they would not have needed to operate by means of the extortion and fear I have described. No genuinely popular representatives would have been so destructive of the aspirations of ordinary people. Above all, they would not have needed to continue to kill people in order to enable their voices to be heard. The Provisionals seem afraid to let their arguments stand

on their own merits. They are just not confident enough to join the constitutional political parties North and South who attract 95% of the votes and work through argument and consent. This speaks for itself. Their use of violence has demonstrated that the Provisionals have nothing positive to offer. They have sought power only through the bullet; not through popular support for their methods.

13. What do the Provisionals stand for? They want to put the political clock back to 1918 by wishing away much of what has happened since. They ignore realities, such as the fact that the overwhelming majority of nationalists on the island of Ireland vote for parties which acknowledge the Border as a fact of life, and would certainly condemn those who are prepared to kill to remove it. They do not represent the majority of Irish nationalist opinion; they are an unrepresentative minority rooted in the past. As a distinguished Irishman, Peter Sutherland, said at the weekend: "those who are carrying out vicious and sordid acts of murder and pointless violence in Northern Ireland must never be allowed to invoke the name and authority of those who took part in the War of Independence". The IRA ignore that history has moved on and is finding new ways of resolving former differences. The rigidity and backwardness of Provisional thought stands exposed in complete contrast with the openness, fluidity and change evident in Eastern Europe. Their ideas are bankrupt.

14. I said at the beginning that there is a new atmosphere of hope in Northern Ireland, a hope exemplified by exciting new developments and opportunities in both town and country. I profoundly believe

that people want to come together, in order to develop their prosperity and in so doing to bury past animosities and look together to a brighter future. The Government is encouraging this. We are committed to addressing community relations issues at all levels. We are working hard to create the conditions for self-sustaining growth in the local community, to tackle the worst areas of social and environmental deprivation and to promote constructive political development. In all these areas we are seeking to involve local people to the maximum extent and to build constructively on what is already there. I believe we are making progress. That is the positive path, the path of constitutional politics, and of peace and prosperity.

15. By contrast, the negative path is the one represented by the Provisionals. The impact of the IRA - and other, similar, bodies - in every single area of activity has been destructive. To the Catholic community, to the Protestant community, to relationships between the two communities, to the elderly who live in fear, to jobs, to young people, and to political development. The Provisionals continue to pursue an agenda which has been rejected through the ballot box by the vast majority of people in this island. Their methods are abhorred in civilised societies throughout the world. The days when such methods might have prevailed are long past. They will never be allowed to return.

16. Even by their own lights the Provisional IRA are without achievement. Their primary declared aim is to "get the British out of Ireland". I shall let pass the fact that that scorns the wishes of a million people and seeks to drive apart the two sides of the

community in Northern Ireland. The British Government's writ runs in Northern Ireland and will continue to do so for so long as a majority wish it. And, however long it takes, the Government will go on taking whatever measures are necessary, within the law, to ensure that the IRA can never win.

**National Archives Act, 1986, Regulations, 1988**

**ABSTRACTION OF PART(S) OF A RECORD PURSUANT TO REGULATION 8**

Form to be completed and inserted in the original record  
in place of each part abstracted

- (i) Reference number of the separate cover under which the abstracted part has been filed: **S230/08/05/00310**
- (ii) How many documents have been abstracted: **1**
- (iii) The date of each such document: **9/10/19**
- (iv) The description of each document: **Copy of informal note**
- (v) Number of pages: **1**

[Where appropriate, a composite description may be entered in respect of two or more related documents]

- (v) Reason(s) why the part has been abstracted for retention:

**(b)(c)**

**Section 8 (4) (a) (b) & (c) of the National Archives Act, 1986**

[These will be the reasons given on the certificate under section 8(4)]

**Name:** *Luine Kelly*

**Grade:** *AP*

**Department/Office/Court:** Taoiseach's Department

**Date:** *27/11/19*

*M. K...*  
*M. by Clapham*  
*27-9-90*  
*2719*  
*331/2*  
001 PC

SECURE FAX NO. 331

25 September 1990

TO: H.Q. FROM: Belfast  
FOR: Asst. Sec. Gallagher FROM: Joint Secretary

*cc PSW*  
*M. M...*  
*M. M...*  
*G...*

Security Cooperation

1. Mr. Alston has said to me that there is some concern on his side that a degree of "niggle" has entered security co-operation. He was referring specifically to Mrs. Thatcher's remarks of 19 September on the attempted murder of Sir Peter Terry\* although he also had in mind the differences of view over the British "shopping list" and the question of a security presentation to the full Conference. He hoped that Ambassador Fenn had been able to reassure Mr. Nally when he was called to see him last Thursday on the instructions of the Taoiseach. I said we had seen an account of the Ambassador's remarks and I doubted if we could have found them wholly reassuring. On our side, I noted that the Government had declined to be drawn into public controversy on Mrs. Thatcher's comments.

2. Mr. Alston went on to refer to the blowing up of cross-border road 176 near Kinawley which I understand has occurred and which we asked last Friday to have deferred. I took the opportunity to point out to Mr. Alston that in discussion with us on this matter the British side (Mr. Dodds) had said that the security authorities felt themselves to be under considerable pressure in view of the comments made by the Prime Minister and in view of the murder of Constable Robinson. Mr. Dodds had gone on to

\* Mrs. Thatcher referred to stepping up security and defences against this "guerilla warfare" and added that "the question is also whether we can assure ourselves that the Republic is doing all it can to track down terrorists, their sources of weaponry and all their stores of weapons".

331/3

- 2 -

say that the impetus provided by Mrs. Thatcher's remarks may have inspired a new approach to security leading to an initiative such as this road re-closure. (Note: a security think-in is being organised on the British side for Wednesday, 3 October which also appears to be responding to the Prime Minister and to the Robinson murder.) I said that a meeting between Minister Burke and Mr. Cope was expected fairly shortly and we trusted there would be no precipitate action on the part of the Northern authorities in the interim. In regard to possible initiatives on cross-border roads, I recalled that the issue of cross-border roads had been on the Conference agenda since November 1989 when the Minister for Justice had urged that no new initiatives, especially none involving the use of explosives, should be undertaken until a report had been made to the Conference. I noted that a report is still under consideration by the police chiefs.

3. Mr. Alston argued that the decision on crossing 176 had been taken by Mr. Brooke only after the most careful weighing of the issues. I accepted that the material supplied to us showed that considerable care had been paid to the matter but the considerations were all internal to the British side. The reclosure of a border crossing was a matter in which we had an obvious interest; we had been given no real opportunity to consider the issue and to make points which might not have weighed sufficiently on the Northern side or perhaps not weighed at all. It was for this reason that we had asked for the reclosure to be deferred for a period.

4. Mr. Alston also mentioned the matter of incursions. I said that there had always been a feeling on the part of the Northern authorities that we should not be too pernickety about incursions. There were three good reasons why every incursion was raised formally with the British side:

- first, there was the question of an intrusion into our jurisdiction without our consent; security actions on our side of the border were for our security forces exclusively; persons carrying weapons without

331/4

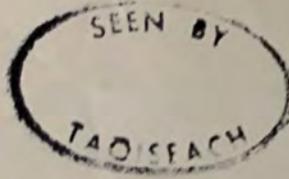
authorisation were chargeable under the law and in one case some years ago British soldiers had been charged; furthermore, if we did not protest all incursions, we ran the risk that the Northern security forces would take it that we were willing to tolerate at least some incursions;

- second, there was the effect incursions could have on political relations between the two Governments and on local attitudes to the security forces on our side of the border; and
- third, there was the strong concern on our side about the possibility of attack on Northern security forces incursing into our jurisdiction.

5. I said that for all of these reasons we would continue to raise every incursion formally although our protests would be graduated in accordance with the seriousness of the incident. I expressed some surprise that the British side should resent this, granted that they had repeatedly assured us that their own operating instructions to the British Army prohibited incursions and, indeed, that disciplinary action had been taken in a number of cases.

6. Mr. Ryan and I went over the issues involved in road reclosures and incursions again with the British side in a formal meeting today.

CONFIDENTIAL



*Tammy  
To me please  
17/9*

To: HQ  
For: R. Murphy

From: Belfast  
From: S. Hughes

Date: 17/09/90

*W. by S. Hughes  
18.9.90*

*P. Keenan  
18/19*

RUC Constable Louis Robinson

1. We were informed by the British side yesterday afternoon that Minister Cope had asked that the following message of appreciation be passed to Minister Burke via the Secretariat.

"The RUC have told me of the cooperation extended by the Garda since yesterday evening. I understand that Superintendent Nolan has been unstinting in the support for his RUC colleagues in the search for the missing man.

As you know, we appreciate the difficulties, but it is heartening to see how, at a time such as this, the two police forces can work together".

2. The message was conveyed by phone to Mr. Byrne, Department of Justice. Grateful if you would forward a copy of this fax to him in confirmation.

*c.c. A PSM  
PS S  
MR. Nally  
Sec D / Justice  
A / Sec Gallagher  
by hand*

317/2

SECURE FAX

1. ec psm; PEP  
Mr. Nobby; Mr. P...  
Mr. Nobby

To: HQ  
From: Belfast  
For: A/Secretary Gallagher  
From: Joint Secretary  
Date: 17 September 1990

2. Mr. Murphy

Robinson Killing

Minister Cope passed a message late this afternoon to say that he was under severe pressure in regard to the security area North of Killeen. He asked us to underline to the Minister of Justice the importance he attached to the surveillance question. He acknowledged of course that the technical issues are being examined by the two police forces.

We have passed on information provided on the arrest of two men by the Garda Siochana yesterday to the other side.

Dept of Justice confirmed that two men are still being detained as of 9.30 am 18/9.

~~Mr. Murphy~~  
huk  
18.9.90  
18/9

FAX COVER SHEET

FAX No: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 17/9/90.

Time: \_\_\_\_\_

To: \_\_\_\_\_

For: DERMOT NALLY.

From: DERMOT GALLAGHER

Total number of pages, including cover sheet: 2.

Brief description of material: DRAFT STATEMENT

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Any special instructions: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Transmitting operator: \_\_\_\_\_

This material is being sent from FAX phone No. 712116. If there are any problems on receipt please phone transmitting operator at \_\_\_\_\_.

*W. McCarty*  
*M. J. Keenan*  
*17.9.90* *17/9*

Draft Statement on shooting of Constable Robinson

On behalf of the Government, I condemn in the strongest terms the murder of Constable Robinson and extend deepest sympathy to his widow and family. The manner in which this killing was carried out was particularly cruel and cold-blooded and once again showed the IRA's utter disregard for basic human values.

*Approved by Taoiseach for  
issue by Minister. M. Gailorke 11PA  
SH informed  
17/9*

National Archives Act, 1986, Regulations, 1988

ABSTRACTION OF PART(S) OF A RECORD PURSUANT TO REGULATION 8

Form to be completed and inserted in the original record  
in place of each part abstracted

- (i) Reference number of the separate cover under which the abstracted part has been filed: **S230/08/05/00310**
- (ii) How many documents have been abstracted: **7**
- (iii) The date of each such document: **May - July 1990**
- (iv) The description of each document: **letter to the Taoiseach and associated papers. (private)**
- (v) Number of pages: **14**

[Where appropriate, a composite description may be entered in respect of two or more related documents]

- (v) Reason(s) why the part has been abstracted for retention:  
**(b)(c)**

Section 8 (4) (a) (b) & (c) of the National Archives Act, 1986

[These will be the reasons given on the certificate under section 8(4)]

Name: **Elaine Kelly**

Grade: **AP**

Department/Office/Court: **Taoiseach's Department**

Date: **27/11/19**

***END of file***