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*Copy sent to Secretary Dore,
D/PA.
on
25/5/88.*

THE PRIME MINISTER

27 April 1988

Dear Charles,

I feel I must tell you how deeply upset I was with your speeches at New York and Harvard on 21 and 22 April. They did a disservice to Anglo-Irish relations and to the prospects of making a success of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. We have refrained from public criticism as much as possible. But you should know my thinking - which is only partially reassured by your remarks to our Ambassador.

I am glad that in the Dail you renewed your condemnation of terrorism. We are never going to achieve the goals set by the Agreement without dedicated and effective cross-border cooperation between our two governments against terrorism, which poses just as much of a long term threat south of the border as north of it.

I am disappointed, however, that your speeches failed to acknowledge this and alarmed that you seemed to be arguing that the persistence of violence actually calls into question the existence of Northern Ireland as an entity. To me, such an admission would be tantamount to a surrender to terrorism. Moreover such a view undermines Clause 1 of the Anglo-Irish Agreement which provides that the future of Northern Ireland is to be determined by the democratic wishes of the majority of the people there. The whole issue of the response to terrorism is too crucial for there to be any doubt about where our two governments stand on it. And frankly we are not receiving full cross-border cooperation on security matters.

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I also find it hard to reconcile other aspects in your speeches with the commitments which both our governments have accepted under the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Whatever our views on the long-term future of Northern Ireland, we are both committed in that Agreement to further the policy of devolution on a basis which would secure widespread acceptance throughout the community. I look to you to help over this.

Then again, we are both committed to seeking greater confidence in the administration of justice, yet remarks in your speeches are more likely to encourage those who wish to undermine that confidence rather than enhance it. The implication that the British Government does not uphold the rule of law is totally wrong. Our whole approach to terrorism is governed by the rule of law and will remain so.

The Agreement formally entitles you to raise issues of concern with us through the machinery of the Agreement: I am very disheartened that nevertheless you choose to go outside its framework to make what we think are unjustified and provocative criticisms. As Geoffrey Howe made clear in his notably restrained speech, there is no monopoly of grievance on the Irish side. But we have consistently sought to deal with our complaints through the proper channels.

Finally, you said that the situation is now "even worse than it has been". That judgment disparages both the hopes and the political dedication that led our two countries to come together to sign the Agreement in the first place.

You have reiterated your adherence to the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Your speeches make me doubt this. We must make it work. I hope that you will be able to let me know when

you meet Tom King that they were not intended as a signal of any intention to back away from your responsibilities under the Agreement and that the will and the determination remain to make progress towards the goals defined in it.

Yours sincerely

Raymond

Mr. Charles Haughey, T.D.