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sea ba choir stiuradh:-
sing rejig to this commination should bo addressed to:-

An Rúnaí
(The Secretary)
fen vimhir so:-
and the following number quoted.

Telephone (01)789711


February 1986

## Tephone (01) 789711



RUIN DI GUS CIT, (Department of Jusuces)

72-76 FAICHE STIABHNA, ( $72-76 \mathrm{St}$. Stephen's Green),

BALE ATHA CLIATH, 2.
(Dublin.?

(3)

Dear Deccan I refer to previous correspondence regarding the reopening of exprened viens cross-border roads with particular reference to your Department's minute of 21 January concerning five bridges.

Your minute was referred to the Garda authorities for observations and I enclose a copy of their response which contains the views of fouble LJA/ the local Divisional Officers. The cases in question were not VF ectuity. raised at any of the meetings of Border Chief Superintendents or $4 \mathbb{K}_{4}$ Cures.
Border Superintendents.

When you have examined the Garda response I would be glad if you could let me know if you still wish these cases to be assessed at well there one of the formal border liaison meetings.

Cones were mir
Yours sincerely dercumed as yob in lesson muter Mun by
cia fur.


[^0]Any reply to this communication should be addressed to:

## Commissioner,

Garda Siochána,
Phoenix Park, Dublin 8.
and the following number quoted:
D. $1495 / 80$.

The Secretary, Department of Justice.


OIFIG AN CHOIMISINEAZA, BALE ÁTHA CLIATH.


Re-opening of Cross Border Roads.

I attach for your information reports from both the District and Divisional Officers concerned in reply to yours of 23rd. January, 1986.

The report mentioned in final paragraph by Superintercent Curran, Monaghan was forwarded to you on 13/4/1984.
Subsequent reports on Lackey Bridge were forwarded to you on 5/9/1984, 4/4/1985 and 17/6/1985.


ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER.


## 2churstung

SECRET \& URGENT.

Assistant Commissioner, 'D' Branch.


Re: Re-opening of Cross Border Roads,
Referring to your's of 27th. January, 1986, in above, I attach report from the District Officer at Ballyshannon. The only $c=0$ sassing point involved in places under review within Donegal Division is that at Dolman's Lane (L.74A.).

I agree with the District Officer's assessment of the situation. I do not favour any easement in the situation where all but lazier type vehicles can negotiate the existing obstacles. At this particular point it is, in present circumstances, as beneficial to all an Donegal side of the Border to have access rendered difficult as it is to those on the Northern Ireland side. However, any change in this $\varepsilon=$ angement which would render travel more difficult would result in local complaint.

Chief Superintendent, Letterkenny.

Re: Re-opening of Cross Border Roads.

I refer to your of the 29th. Jenuary 1986 and I am to report that I viewed the Border Crossing et Dolans Lane ( Ref: I. 74 (A). 2C7 New Ref ) on the 31st. January 1986.

While I was there I had photographs taken (attached) of a Fiat Regrate motor car as it went through the crossing from South to Nichth. As can be seen it barely got through the barriers. A sketch of the crossing scene with measurements is also attached fer your information.

As the crossing exists at present a smell motor car or van of the Hiace or Liteace type can negotiate the barriers and this is disturbing in view of the fact that the crossing is adjacent to Cliff Power Station and also to the E.S.B. Installation et Kathleen Fells, Bellyshennon.

To open up this crossing would in my view be a serious risk to tease. As it is I am not happy that even cars or vans can make their way through it, as this route could be used in the event of ar escalation of activities by the Loyalists or attacks on the Belleek area by the P.I.R.A.

Fcmerded for your information, please.


Superintendent.


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1. $195 / 30$

Commissioner 'D' (Security).

Custer Beige

nemonenin of Cross Border: Roads

The attached report dated the 29 th instant from the District Officer at Hanorimailton, on, above natter, is forvarde to you herewith in response to your minute of the 27th January, 1986.

The only Cross-Border road involved affecting this Division is the I.62. A: can be seen the District officer has outlined the position in regard to this Border Crossing rad has given his Ties and observations, which I share in full.
T. certainly mould not fervour the reopening of the Border Crossing at I .62 under any circumstances.

D. $495 / 80$.

SECRET.


Chief Superintendent, sligo.

RE- Opening of Cross Borisr Roads.
In reference to above and Commissioners minute of the 27th., insi., I wish 0 report as follows :-
L. 62-Cashel Bridge, Kiltyclogher, Co. Leitrim is situated in this District. This Bridge was demilished by the British Army by explosives on the 13/9/ 4974. The road has been closed since that date. A footbrifes ( wooden) was erected adjacant to the original sridge which was used by pedestrians. This inotbridge mas replesed by a new footbridge (Steel) on the 7 th. . August, 1985. This new footbridge now spans the County River between -eitrim and Fermanagh where the original Bridge was, that is the bridge referred to above which was blown up in Septomber, 1974. Hy report of the 9th., August, 1985 has ressrence.
I would be totally opposed to the re- opening of this Cress Border road in the present time. Before this road was closed it was used extensively b- Subversives and Smugglers. A number of attecks were mounted $0:$ members of the Security Forces from Northern Ireland by zising this road. The village of Kiltyclogher is vithin a suw hundred yards of this Bridige and if the road was opene to vehicular traffio the possibility of an attack by members of the U.D.A. and U.F.F. could not be ruled out. Since the closing of these Border roads there have been very fow inoidests in the Kiltyclogher area. In the early seventies the then Tocational School at Kiltyclogher was destroyed by an explorion. It was suspeoted that Prodestant paramil taries were respozsible. There is no Cross Border roads open on this part of the Border except L. 59 at Blacklion/ Belcoo where there is a permanent Army/ Garda checkpoint. The present strength of Kiltyclogher Garda Station is I Sgt. and 4 Gardai. When this resd was open the strength was much bigger. There was a strensth of Five Sgt's and 28 Gardai at various times in Kiltyclosier. If it was decided to re- open this road the strength of this station would have to be greatly increased. As well it would also be advisable to hav a pomanont Check Foint sinilar to that in operation in Blacklion at this Crossing as well.
I can appreciate that sinc the closing of these roads Kiltyclogher village has siffered greatly as far as businf is concerned. On the other hand as already stated there $b$ been po incidents in the evea. The people of Kiltyologhe' hoyefin oomel to accept tis altuation.
D. $495 / 60$.

## iva sochaida <br> C: Er BupGrantendents s-0 <br>  <br> 13 FEB 1986 <br> DUBSOM OF <br> 

A/Com:nissioner, (D) 3ranch.

Re: Openine of Jross Forder Roads.

To see the attsched report from Superintende:t T Curran, Border Suŋeriateacent on the ajove sujject. -ine facts are as. stated by juyerintendent Curran.

Ov r the past :umber of :"eeks, ac:ivity by subversives alon: the border hes increased especially in the aress of tils perticuler crossings.

I En completel:̈ onosed to the re-oz三ning of any of those border crossinas. $i=$ decision is made by hicher suthorities to re-oper,




Ј. J. $\because C . . .811 \%$


Chief Superinte..dent.


Chief Superintendent, Monaghan.

## Re: Opening of Cross Border Roads.

Reference to attached correspondence. The question of re-opening of the three roads in Cavan/Monagh三n area referred $=0$ in attached correspondence has been initiated by local politicians at the request of interested parties in their respective areas and $i=$ my informatics is correct Sinh Fein members on the local Councils are playing a prominent part in this type of activity.

I will deal briefly with each of the roads referred to.
(1) Aghalane Bridge L. 47(a) is the main rows from Beiturbet to Enniskillen. Before and $\equiv t$ the start of the Northern troubles in 1969 it was widely used by local people and tourists. In the =arly seventies a number of shootings and Bomb attacks in the Northern Ireland Security: Forces took place near the Border and it was alleged that the road was used by subversives to make good their escape ito the South. It's closure came in early 1973 after a car Bomb exploded in Belturbet killing two people. This Bomb was planted by the U.V.F. and it was well established afterwards that the culprits used this road to convey the Bomb from the North and the culprits returned to the North by the same route.

The closure of the Road had and still hes a very bad effect on the economic life of Belturbet, it has completely cut off Co. Fermanagh from the town which geographically and traditionally was a major part of its hinterland.

The nearest Cross Border Road accessible to traffic is six miles distant on the eastern side of the town and eleven miles on the western side which makes the town almost out of bounds from a business point of view.
(2) Leitrim Bridge, L. 39 is a link road between the Clones/Newtownbutler Read and the Clones/Cavan Concession Road. It wis first closed in the ear-y seventies and was re-opened in the late seventies by the local people. It remained open and was used daily by local residents until mid 1985 when it wes again closed by the Northern Ireland Authoritjes. The reason for its closure then is difficult to understand as there were no incide:ts in the area at that tire which would have necessitated such action. The road is indeed of little sig:ificance, it is used only by the people who reside in clise proximity to it and its closure does not adversily effect them in their erery day work.

The area is thinly popuated most of whom are small farmers. None of the Earms straddle the Border therefore its closure is not of vital importance to their livelihood. The nearest Cross Border road which is accessable to traffic i: 8 miles distant on the eestern side and ten miles on tie western side.

The Road in its present state makes security that zuch easier as it is one crossing less to man in the event of a major incident Norti or South of the Border.
(3) Lacky Bridge, Lima 17 (c. is very familiar to everyjody and it has been the subioct of numerous corresponcience in the past. There is no change in the position tere since my report of the and April 1984 and subseque..t reports.

AN ROINN GNȮTHAI EACHTRACHA
Department of Foreign Affairs
BAILE ȦTHA CLIATH, 2.
Dublin 2.

## CONFIDENTIAL

Apri1 1986.

Mr. Michael Lillis, Joint Secretary,
 Anglo-Irish Secretariat, Belfast.

Reopening of Cross-Border Roads

Dear Michael,

You will recall raising the question of the reopening of cross-border roads last December and the British response in January this year which suggested that the matter could best be progressed by a comprehensive joint review by the Garda/RUC on the implications of reopening each particular road.

Before pursuing the British suggestion we believed it would be desirable to have the views of the Garda authorities and we accordingly requested their observations on the five most pressing instances where the reopening of cross-border roads is being sought, i.e., Lackey Bridge, Cashel Bridge, Dolans Lane, Aghalane Bridge and Leitrim Bridge. Response from the local Garda officers at superintendent and chief superintendent level was extremely negative in all cases as you will have seen from the Department of Justice letter of 26 February (copy attached for convenience). It is notable that in one case, Lackey Bridge, the local superintendent was in favour of reopening but was overruled by his superior. We have considered with the Minister the security issues involled vis-a-vis the political importance of the reopening of at least some of these roads. The Minister is very strongly of the view that local security considerations should not override the political requirements as a matter of course, he has therefore instructed that we press the British authorities again on the matter. Before we
do this, we feel that it will be necessary to get at least the acquiescence of the Minister for Justice, and possibly also the Minister for Defence, in order to ensure that the Garda authorities take an overall view of the situation and do not simply 'play safe' on each road.

We have discussed the various issues informally with Department of Justice and with the Army and we understand the main security arguments to be as follows:

- The reopening of a route could lead to paramilitary activity along it and even to the resumption of paramilitary organisation and local influence in neighbouring centres. As an example, Army sources cited Kiltyclogher which after the road closures of the 1970 s ceased to be a route of paramilitary activity and (more importantly) ceased also to be a centre for the provisionals. Kiltyclogher is now regarded as very 'quiet'.
- The continued closure of routes, makes it possible for the British security forces on the Northern side, and also for our forces on the Southern side, to organise their resources more effectively by concentrating them on those roads which remain open. As you know, many of the closed roads, are little more than muddy boreens and de scarcely suitable for high speed dashes across the border. They can be used however for transport of materiel in farm vehicles or, increasingly, in four wheel drive vehicles.
- The security people on either side have another reason for wishing to concentrate the flow of traffic which is that it is possible to build up a better intelligence bank by so doing, especially now that there is considerable use of computers on the Northern side and also on our own side at least in regard to vehicle licence plates.

From all of this, you will see that a joint Garda/RUC assessment of the implications of reopening each particular road will be very unlikely to get us anywhere, unless the Gardai themselves were persuaded to make an exception at least in one or two places.

The case we have decided to concentrate on is Lackey Bridge. This has one disadvantage, namely, that the area around Clones continues to be a focus of paramilitary activity (indeed, the recent McElwaine incident is an example) and no doubt it will be argued by the Northern side that reopening of the bridge would give renewed opportunities to terrorists. On the other hand, we expect that in the case of kiltyclogher which is now 'quiet', the opposing argument would be that reopening would lead to a resumption of paramilitary acitivity! We feel our argument should be that the closure of Lackey Bridge has not brought paramilitary activity in the surrounding areas to a halt, and iss reopening would not have such serious consequences as to outway the importance of the reopening to local people.
on Tweifh

In the case of Lackey, however, we have had rather less negative noises from the British in the past and indeed, on our side, the local Garda superintendent at least is in favour of reopening. We therefore intend to press ahead on Lackey Bridge, arguing that the adverse economic consequences and the irritation factore ortway the security considerations. In response to the likely British demand for the establishment of a permanent vehicle check-point on the Southern side (as well as their own on the Northern side) we are hoping either to get agreement on this jointly from Justice and Defence or, alternatively, to persuade our side as well as the British that increased mobile check-pointing can accomplish the same purpose more effectively.

In considering the matter, we have also of course considered the likely unionist reaction and the probability that the British will insist that any reopening of border roads would be put down to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and would greatly upset unionist opinion. Granted that we are sensitive to this point, we are nonetheless not prepared to accept that no movement at all can take place on these grounds. We believe that the reopening of even one border road would have a heartening effect on nationalists living along the border who have seen dramatically increased security cooperation with no quid pro quo in recent months. In this respect, the possible damage to local intelligence gathering by the Gardai and even to their safety is something sharply in our minds. This has not been helped by the trumpetting of security cooperation by British Ministers particularly when, as in the case of the lead story in the last issue of the Sunday Telegraph, it is suggested that the Gardai helped to set up McElwaine for an ambush by undercover SAS men.

This letter is primarily to keep you informed and to let you know our thinking at the present time. Of course, if you have any comments to make we will be glad to have them.

Yours sincerely,

Eamon 0 Tuathail.

July 1986.


Mr. Alan Dukes,
Minister for Justice,
72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2 .

Dear Alan,

You are no doubt avare of the continuing problems which are experienced in border areas arising from the closure of cross-border roads and bridges by the British security forces in Northern rreland. I have always opposed the principle of road closures and I have gone on record in the Dáil many times to spell out clearly wy policy in this respect. I have over the past three and a half years raised the issue with British Ministers but without success. Security conside ations are advanced as the reason why it is not possible to make any concessions.

Following the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement I had the question of the reopening of cross-burder roads raised in the context of the Anglo-Jxish Conferonce last December. The British response in Jamary this year suggested that the matter could best be progrossed by a comprehensive joint review by the Garda/RUC on the implications of reopening each particular road.

Before pursuing the British suggestion we believed it would be desimale to have the vievs of the Garda authorities and we accordingly requested their observations on the five most pressing instances where the ropening of woss-border roads is being sought, i.c., Tackey bridge, Cashol fyicge, Dolans Iane, Achalane bridue and loitsin H. Sdge. Rosponses fran the local Gazda officers mere mogative in all wscs with if paytira?



I have considered very carefully the security issues involved vis-a-vis the political necessity of the reopening of at least some of these roads. I am very strongly of the view that tomal security consicerations should not override the political requirements as a matter of course, and I an anxious to pross the British authorities again on the matter. Before 1 car du this, I feel that it will be necessary to get your suppozt and also the Minister for Defence so that in a coordinated approich Ve ensure that this problem is not looked at purely as a security issue.

The Garda authorities have not given explicit reasons for their views. The three main security arguments advanced in the past are:

- The reopening of a route could lead to paramilitary activity (including possible loyalist activity) aiong it and even to the resumption of paramilitery organisation and local influence in neighbouring centres.

The continued closure of routes, makes it possible for the British security forces on the Northern side, and also for our forces on the Southern side, to organise their resources more effectively by concentrating then on those roads which remain open.

- The security forces on either side of the border wish to concentrate the flow of traffic to build up a better intelligence bank by so doing, especially now that there is considerable use of computers on the Northern side and also on our own side at least in regard to vehicle licence plates.

For operational reasons I can appreciate the reluctance on the part of the Army or the Gardaí to recomend the reopening of any particular cross-botder road. I an also conscious that were ve to pross the Eritish side to agroe to the reopening of a particular border crossing there might be a demand for the placing of a permanent vehicle checkpoint at the location with the consequential domand on nompower and other xesources which might then arise. In that event I hope it would be possible to persuade the British that security heasures on our side of the border, with or without a permanont vehicle checkpoint, can acconyinsh the sane purpose more effectively. I have felt for sone eine that the political importance of demonstrating to the local commity the effectiveness of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in a-ksoving the reestablishmont of some coss-border links far Q Wes the imod ate operational security considerations. I. inte, I vonld afguc hat snch a domonstration would have a staphar inpact on modsur and loug torn socurity because of Zha can val of a pafor loral siovece which ionds to cause



In considering the matter, I have also taken eccount of the likely unionist reaction and the probability that any reopering of border roads would upset unionist opinion. Though i am sensitive to this point, I am nonetheless not prepared to accept that no movement at all can take place on these grounds. I believe that the reopening of even a fev border roeds would have a heartening effect on nationalists living along the border who have seen dramatically increased security cooperation with no obvious quid pro guo from the British side in recent months.

There are 260 border crossings, over a 100 of these are now subject to closure orders. On that scale, a few reopenings is not an excessive demand to the British authorities. I would add that far from re-opening roads, the british plan to make the first new closure for some time at Clady, Co. Tyrone which, as local Gardaí themselves have pointed out, will cause a severe negative reaction (part of the local comunity will be cut off from the local Catholic Church). I have asked the British side to re-consider and I would hope that the Garda authorities, who have indicated "no security objection", vill emphasise the negative consequences in any contacts with the RUC.

I would ask you to reexamine the whole question in this light. It would be particularly helpful if you could point to even a few border crossings where you feel we could concentrate our efforts in persuading the British side for movement on this issue. I am writing on similar lines to the Minister for Defence and I would be grateful to have your response as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Peter Bary, Minister for Foreign Affairs.


[^0]:    Mr Declan O'Donovan
    Anglo/Irish Section Department of Foreign Affairs Dublin 2

