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22 November, 1993.

Mr. Frank Murray, Secretary to the Government, Department of the Taoiseach.

Dear Frank,

You mentioned to me that the Taoiseach had asked you to find out from me who had access to the document land O'Reilly of the Irish Press. In response I am forwarding you herewith a copy of an internal note addressed to me by Assistant Secretary Sean O hUiginn on Friday last, 19 November, which sets out the position. A copy of his note was given to the Tánaiste.

There is one qualification to make to the information in this note. I understand that Mr. Fergus Finlay, Special Adviser to the Tanaiste, had had an opportunity to read through the document but did not himself get his own copy until Friday last, the day the report actually appeared.

I understood from our telephone conversation that you are aware of what was said by Emily O'Reilly on Radio Ulster on Saturday last about the circumstances of the leak. In case you have not already received the transcript I am enclosing a copy herewith (see pages 2 and 3).

Yours sincerely,

Malan

Noel Dorr Secretary

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Secretary,

- The document leaked in today's Irish Press is the latest version (2 November) of a draft which was being prepared for consideration by the Government on foot of the commitment made at the September meeting of the Anglo-Irish Conference to prepare a joint paper for Strand Three purposes.
- 2. All work on this draft was done on her own word processor by my personal private secretary, next door to my office, and would not be accessible to any other machine, even within the Division. The Division's word processing system in turn is separate from that of the Department as a whole.
- 3. The original and subsequent drafts would have been circulated according to secure routine procedures (either handed over in person or in carefully sealed envelopes marked "secret" by our own messenger) to the following Tanaiste; Mr. N. Dorr; Mr. F. Murray; Mr. T. people: Dalton: Dr. M. Mansergh; Mr. F. Finlay. Within the Anglo-Irish Division, knowledge of the text would be confined to myself, Mr. D. Donoghue and Mr. P. Hennessy (Counsellors). The text of 2 November would in no event have gone outside this circle and my recollection, subject to confirmation, is that it was not circulated to Mr. Murray or Mr. Dalton, since the amendemnts were not major and the indications were that the Government was not proceeding with submission for some time. No copy was sent to the Anglo-Irish Secretariat, the draft being shown in Dublin to Mr. O' Donovan. No further work on the text, or circulation of it, was done, pending decision by the Government that a text should be submitted and, secondly, instructions on the actual text.
- The text was therefore kept within a tight circle and was not discussed in any shape or form with the British, who



have been pressing for a response to their paper. Suspicion that the leak might have come from a British source (in the interest of shifting the focus to Strand Three of the Talks at the expense of the peace process between the Taoiseach' and Mr. Major) is, I think, unlikely in this case, since it would amount to an open admission that they were "hacking" my word processor. This would be contrary to everything we know about the lengths they go to protect intelligence methods. I feel a malicious leak, by some disgruntled officer to spite the Department, is also most unlikely, since knowledge of the document was so very limited that a casual encounter with it can be ruled out, and an understanding of its political sensitivity also argues against a casual leak.

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5. It would be contrary both to the discipline of the civil service and my personal experience of the extent to which that discipline has been rigorously observed in all my time in Anglo-Irish Division, for any officer to engage in a blatant and unauthorised intrusion into the political arena such as this leak represents. I would be very confident that on completion of whatever investigation the Tánaiste decides, the leak will not be found to have a civil service source.

Seán O hUiginn 19 November, 1993