



***START of file***

Continued on  
"E" Part of file.

Faint, illegible text from the reverse side of the paper, appearing as bleed-through.

DR. MAUSERG U

SEEN BY  
TAD BEACH



Faint, illegible text from the reverse side of the paper, appearing as bleed-through.

McCauley

to oldbags are ew...  
a ni hraq ruo pnyelq  
bluw nairlw ornsneds  
dra ecitauj tuods gnird  
"bnslern ni ezaeq

Faint, illegible text from the reverse side of the paper, appearing as bleed-through.

For  
the  
council

NO 25

References  
to  
the  
book  
p 20  
numbered (1), (2), (3)

Hot Press 22-3-90

# The Time For Talking Is Now



Shane P. O'Doherty

## Martin McGuinness interviewed by Shane Paul O'Doherty

Perhaps, in part, encouraged by the diversity of revolutionary changes around the world in recent months, people in various quarters closer to home have begun to talk encouragingly about a possible breakthrough in Northern Ireland that might bring the long-running military conflict to a close.

But what, realistically, are the chances of an IRA ceasefire? And what kind of pre-conditions are required before all sides can get around the table and talk? As one of the most senior figures in Sinn Féin, Martin McGuinness is well-placed to articulate the latest position of the Republican movement. Here he is interviewed by Shane Paul O'Doherty, someone who has also had considerable experience of life on the frontline in Northern Ireland. A former active service member of the IRA who served time in prison and subsequently renounced the use of physical force, he now studies in Trinity College, Dublin and works as a freelance journalist.

.....

**SHANE O'DOHERTY:** To your knowledge, has the economic bombing campaign in Derry City centre ended?

**MARTIN MCGUINNESS:** Well, for some years now there hasn't been an economic bombing campaign going on in the Derry area, or for that matter throughout the Six Counties and I think it's true to say, although I can't speak for the IRA, that there has obviously been consideration by the IRA of the tactic of bombing. Obviously there would be a recognition by Republicans that a lot of civilians lost their lives in bombings in the early '70s, in fairly heavily populated city and town centres. I think that the IRA has dramatically reduced its attacks on targets of that nature for the primary reason of reducing the number of civilian casualties, so I can't see a situation where the IRA would go back to that kind of tactic.

**Are you aware of pressure from the nationalist community, or the entire community, for a ceasefire?**

No. I'm not aware of any pressure. No pressure has been put on me to use whatever influence I have within the Republican Movement to call for a ceasefire, although I do believe that the SDLP leadership quite regularly articulates the demand that there be a ceasefire. I just wonder at times how representative that is of grassroots SDLP thinking, because I honestly believe there would be horror within the nationalist community if, tomorrow morning, the IRA decided to, as Peter Brooke suggests, surrender its weaponry and give up the armed struggle. I think that most nationalists would accept that if that were to happen that within a very short period of time we would very quickly return to a thinly disguised Unionist rule at Stormont with a few token positions for the SDLP, and I don't think that would be universally welcomed within the nationalist community.

**Are you aware of any specific Sinn Féin cumman, or individuals, pressuring for a permanent ceasefire?**

No, I am not aware of it, but I would not be surprised if there were individuals or possibly one or two cummains who may hold that opinion.

**Would you defend the right of individuals or groups within Sinn Féin to hold the view that there should be a permanent ceasefire?**

I would defend the right of any person within Sinn Féin to hold a view about anything, but I think a very important element in people holding opinions about issues of that nature, is that, if they wish to initiate a debate, that that debate must take place within the movement and not in the media. But I would defend the right of anyone in the movement to have an opinion about anything.

**But specifically about a permanent ceasefire?**

Yes, about anything, I mean I think that if a person is involved in the Republican Movement and is prepared to give of their time and their energy and to endure all the hardship that that entails, then that person is entitled to articulate what he or she believes without fear of there being a witch-hunt or a campaign against them. I would have absolutely no part whatsoever in witch-hunts.

**What were you trying to achieve in your statement aimed at Peter Brooke, the Northern Ireland Secretary?**

Within the movement we regarded with some significance the statement made by Peter Brooke after his one hundred days in office, where he recognised the hardship endured over the past twenty years by the Republican Movement and by Republicans, and commented that the British Government would be flexible and would be imaginative if there was an end to armed struggle. It was my opinion and the opinion of some other people within the movement that Mr. Brooke was attempting to create — in fact he did create — a mood, or a feeling, that this was a man who had a greater knowledge or understanding of the situation than any previous British Secretary of State. About an hour before I went to Dunloy for



Martin McGuinness

the commemoration he was interviewed on the BBC's "On The Record" programme and he repeated his comments that the British government would be imaginative if the armed struggle was to end. So, I decided, after hearing his repeat of the one hundred days statement that I should ask him what imaginative steps he was talking about, letting him know that we in the Republican Movement were interested in knowing what he was talking about and that there was a responsibility on him to tell us either publicly or privately what he was thinking.

Coupled with that, we have been trying for some time to initiate a debate within the Conservative Party about where they are going in relation to the Six Counties. Now obviously I see Margaret Thatcher as a major stumbling block to the initiation of such a debate, but I also recognise that Margaret Thatcher's days are numbered. It's quite likely that in the next election the British Electorate will change the Government and, even if they don't, it's also quite likely that the Conservative Party will change their leader. So, my comments are pitched at those people — who I believe are there in the Conservative Party, and the present British Government's approach to the Six Counties.

**What would you regard as imaginative steps by the British Government?**

Well, I think that some imaginative things have happened in the past twenty years. The British Labour Party has changed its

position in relation to the Six Counties — they are now stating that they believe the best long-term prospect for peace is the re-unification of Ireland; that, coupled with the fact that opinion poll after opinion poll held in England clearly shows that the majority of the British public, if given an opportunity to vote in a referendum, would vote for British soldiers to be withdrawn and for the re-unification of Ireland — I think that those are fairly major developments. Now obviously, I would like to see the British Government being as imaginative as the Labour Party have been, and recognising that there is no long-term future for a British Government in any part of Ireland.

**But can you be more specific?**

I would like to see the British Government declare its intention at some time in the future to leave Ireland. Now, I'm not talking about next week or next month or the next flight out of Aldergrove Airport. I'm talking about people seriously sitting down, re-examining their whole thinking in relation to the Six Counties and deciding which solution holds the best long-term prospect for a permanent peaceful settlement — I passionately believe that the best long-term prospect for peace in the Six Counties is the removal of the British presence. I believe that the British Government has the responsibility to take the imaginative step of standing up and telling the Unionists that they have taken the decision that, at some time in the future, they are leaving Ireland. They have already declared their intention to leave Hong Kong and I think that the British Government could — and would — get away with telling those people that their days as Kings of the Castle are over, that they have no more right to privileges than anyone else on this island and that they have a responsibility to sit down with Charles Haughey, John Hume, Gerry Adams and anyone else who has a role to play in the building of a new Ireland — those are the imaginative steps I would like to see, and I think, I passionately believe that there is a prospect in the future for that to happen.

**Who is going to contain a millionaire, frightened Unionists if the British Government declares its intent to withdraw?**

Well, I think that if the British Government declares its intention to withdraw from the Six Counties, that the vast majority of Unionists, who are generally sensible and hard-headed people, would accept that the British Government was serious and I think that the vast majority of those people would recognise that they would have no other option but to accept that they had to carve out a deal for themselves within a thirty-two county Republic.

**What about the UDA and the UVF?**

I don't doubt that there would be groups of people represented by the likes of the UDA and UVF who would be thrown into a quandary for a start about such a declaration because if the British Government stated their intention to leave Ireland then they would be faced with a situation that the only possible thing that they would be fighting for would be the establishment of a small Six County Orange State, which probably wouldn't even have support within the Official Unionist Party and I think that, within a very short period of time, the vast majority of opposition would dissipate and would go away. I totally disagree with those people who would try to portray such a development as being unlikely to succeed. I think that the chances of success are very great indeed, but they're only great if there is a determined approach by the British Government to declare its intention to withdraw and to confront those people within Unionism, who I think would be a minority, who would attempt to pursue some sort of a Six County Orange State through Military Force.

**If the IRA has been able to maintain a military campaign for the best part of twenty years against the British Army's efforts and the RUC's efforts and the UDR's efforts, how would the UVF and UDA be contained?**

I believe politically, once the British declare their intention to leave, the whole reason for the make-up of these groups and the people who involve themselves in these groups, is gone because they exist, as they tell us often, to maintain the link with Britain. If the link is broken by Britain, and if the Official Unionists and Democratic Unionists and Loyalist Paramilitaries are faced with an irreversible march towards Britain leaving the Six Counties, I am absolutely convinced that the vast majority of Unionists will be prepared to sit down with other strands of political opinion on this island and work out a new future in a thirty-two county context. It's a nonsense for people to suggest that Loyalist Paramilitaries would be a

major force within a thirty-two county Irish Republic, or could put up enough resistance to cause major problems for those people who are trying to bring about such an objective.

What about those Loyalist Paramilitaries, many of whom I know, who want to see the establishment of an Israeli-style State across three counties or two counties?

I think there would be very little support for such a demand. I think it's a totally unrealistic prospect. I mean it's easy for these people to produce all sorts of different scenarios about a three-county State or an Independent Republic of East Belfast when the British have not declared their intention to leave. A British Government declaring its intention to leave strikes a major psychological blow at the heart of Unionism in the Six Counties and such a statement, I believe, would change the whole complexion of the Six County political scene.

A Sinn Féin person at the recent Ard Fheis made a reference to talks with Protestants/Unionists. Would you give me some information on these talks?

There have, on a number of occasions in the past twenty years, been discussions between people who describe themselves as being Protestants or Unionists and members of the Republican Movement. I cannot give you their names, because to do so would put their lives in danger but I personally have met Unionist Councillors. I've met Protestant Clergymen. I've met people who, it's probably wrong to say it, but, off the record, I've met (deleted) here in Derry, right? We are prepared to meet anyone, at anytime, about anything, without preconditions.

Has Sinn Féin, or members of the Republican Movement, met any of these Unionists in the past three or four months?

Yes.  
Would you speak to the UBA and the UVF?  
We would speak to anyone.

Would you offer talks to the UDA and UVF?

No, we wouldn't offer talks — but what we are saying is that if people are genuinely willing to meet us to discuss what we think and what we're about, then we are quite prepared to meet them at any time, and that we would not refuse an offer of talks from any political party or grouping which has an influence on this island.

So, you would be prepared to talk to the UDA, UVF?

Yes.

And you would be prepared to talk to the DUP and the OUP?

Yes. We will talk to anyone, at anytime, about anything, without preconditions.

Would you guarantee the security of persons from the UDA or UVF, or DUP or OUP, who came to talk to you?

I personally have been part of a Republican delegation which has met Loyalist Paramilitaries, and they put themselves at our disposal, with a guarantee, which they knew would be honoured, that no harm would come to them, and they met us in Ireland and there was no difficulty whatsoever about it.

So, could the Republican Movement, in talks with the UDA or UVF, give a guarantee of their personal safety?

I don't think that Loyalists would be in any doubt whatsoever, once the Republican Movement gives its word. Under no circumstances would the Republican Movement be involved in any underhand dealings to jeopardise the lives of anyone who wished to talk to them, and it wouldn't matter who that person was.

Even Brigade Staff UDA or UVF?

It doesn't matter who they are. It doesn't matter who they are.

The Republican Movement would be prepared to offer a White Flag...

Our position is that we are prepared to talk to anyone, at anytime, about anything, and that means anyone, and that means anytime, and that means about anything. And that includes everybody who is interested in talking to us, should that be a Protestant Clergyman, a Unionist Councillor, a member of the DUP, the Hierarchy of the DUP, Official Unionist Councillor, Official Unionist M.P., Hierarchy of the Official Unionists, UDA, UVF, Red Hand Commandos, British Government, British Army, UDR, whatever...

Gerry Adams made a comment in relation to it, being necessary to form a Pan-Nationalist Front, which is presumed by people to mean a coalition of Sinn Féin, The Roman Catholic Church and Charles Haughey's Government, whereas a lot of Socialists and radical politicians throughout Ireland would regard this Pan-Nationalist Front as a sell-out of radical reforms in politics in a New Ireland.

Well, I don't think Gerry Adams could be accused of becoming involved in any Front which would prevent radical reforms of the social inequalities which are presently in existence in the twenty-six counties. I think what Gerry Adams is talking about is people within the Nationalist Community acknowledging that partition is wrong, and asserting that the best possible solution for peace in Ireland is the eventual reunification of Ireland. And I think that what he is doing is urging all the influential elements within the Nationalist community, namely the political parties in the twenty six counties, the SDLP and the Catholic Church that they have a responsibility to put pressure on the British Government to withdraw from the Six Counties. We believe that the only hope for peace in Ireland is to try the only solution which has not yet been tried. Everything else has been tried and has failed and, short-term measures like establishing a thinly-disguised Unionist Government at Stormont with a few token SDLP people thrown in, is also going to fail. What we are saying is

One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. I don't believe that what is happening in Ireland is a terrorist war.



that the problem must be tackled fundamentally, that people take pragmatic and radical decisions in relation to how the problem can be solved, and I am absolutely satisfied in my mind that when a British Government takes that decision, that there will be peace in Ireland within a very short period of time indeed.

If leading Unionists and Loyalist Paramilitaries wished to talk seriously to Sinn Féin in the near future, wouldn't it be very difficult for them to talk while violence was still going on?

They have talked in the past while the armed struggle was going on.

Can you give years, or some instances?

On a number of occasions over the past eighteen years, representatives of the Protestant Tradition, representatives of the Unionists — whether as representatives of their party or not — met with the Republican Movement.

Did any members or representatives of the UVF or UDA talk to the IRA while there was violence still going on?

Yes, yes. Both Loyalist Paramilitaries, members of the Unionist parties and Protestant Clergymen have all, while the armed struggle continued, met with representatives of the Republican Movement.

Have there been any recent contacts between the Republican Movement and the British Government?

No, there haven't.

Would you like to see contact between the Republican Movement and the British Government?

Yes, I would.

Official, even unofficial, to begin with?

I don't care what way it's done, I just know that there needs to be contact between all the Parties to the conflict in an attempt to resolve the conflict. If people are not communicating with one another and discussing what they believe and where they've been and where they're at now and where they're going in the future, then it makes the prospect of resolving the conflict all that much harder. I do believe that a debate will start within the Conservative Party in relation to the North and if Mr. Brooke is going to be party to such a debate, I think he would be much better equipped going into such a debate knowing exactly what people like me think.

Would you like to see some contacts between the Republican Movement and the Irish Government?

Yes, I would. I actually think that that's the next stage of my statements in relation to what Brooke said. I think that there is a responsibility on all the parties to the conflict, and I include in that the Dublin Government and the political parties in the twenty six counties, to get off this moral high ground that they think they're on in relation to their attitude to violence because they're meeting, every day of the week, with people who support violence: they meet regularly with British Ministers who have 30,000 armed troops on our streets, people who have had our children killed with plastic bullets, people who raid our estates street by street, and who impose the most unbelievable misery and hardship on the Nationalist people of the six counties — they have a responsibility to meet with us, of course they have.

In the past Churchmen and perhaps Quakers or others, were go-betweeners who helped to set up these talks. Do you think that there's a role for these people at the moment?

Well, I don't know honestly about the mechanism — all I know is that it needs to happen. I haven't given a great deal of consideration to how you can actually bring that about. I think what's needed before we even consider going into that stage of it is that people need to indicate their willingness to enter into discussions. I think that's important.

What about the fact that groups are breaking away from the IRA within the prisons, that large numbers of lifers are leaving the paramilitary wings within the prisons, and that there has been a huge release of lifers for the first time in many years, — do these factors, and the sort of war-weariness that seems to be affecting many prisoners, put pressure on the Republican Movement to talk or seek talks?

Well, obviously we welcome the release of prisoners at all times. I mean, the people who have been at the forefront of the struggle for freedom for national rights have been the prisoners, and they probably more than any other group have suffered unbelievable hardships and their families along with them, and we have no difficulty in welcoming the release of any prisoner. Obviously, there are people within the political scene who believe that the release of prisoners is a weapon to be used against the Republican Movement. Fr. Faul has openly admitted that he sees the release of prisoners and the use of prisoners' families as being a major weapon to be used by the British Government against the Republican struggle. But, I mean, the majority of prisoners who are released, even though they have served very long periods in prison, the vast majority of these people have come out and still have the same desire for freedom, still believe that the situation politically is still so bad in 1990 that there has to be radical change in relation to how the problems are resolved so that there won't be any more prisoners... I mean that's what we are trying to bring about. I want to bring about a situation where there are no more prisoners, where there are no more British Soldiers killed, where there are no more RUC men, UDR men, IRA men or women, killed in this conflict, because despite what is said about the Republican Movement we are not untouched by the suffering of all those people. We recognise and understand the tears of a British Soldier's mother — I mean, I saw one on Sunday on an ITV programme whose son was killed at Mayo-bridge — I am touched by the fact that that woman has suffered a grievous loss in her life, and she has suffered in relation to her son being killed in my country. I don't want her son or anybody else's son to be killed in my country.

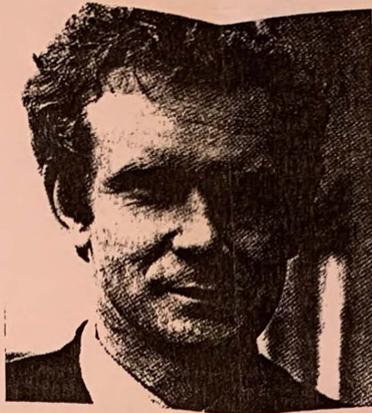
Martin, you see yourself as a justice seeker, or in some sense a freedom seeker. How do you personally feel about the fact that the movement you are associated with has a list of Human Rights violations behind it? Do you not think that the tactic of violence, which has caused these Human Rights' violations, is a wrong tactic or a failed tactic?

The armed struggle — or if you want to use other terminology, violence — is a symptom of a greater problem. The problem is the fact that Ireland has been partitioned against the overwhelming wishes of the people of Ireland and also the people of Britain and, I don't think anything is gained by people getting into the politics of the last atrocity which has been discussed so many times — you done this, and you done that, but sure you done the other thing. I mean, that doesn't resolve the problem although if I was being honest, and I am being honest, I would have to say that it does sadden me that young Irish men and women, feel forced to involve themselves in something which I believe is alien to us all, the killing of another human being. I think that the vast majority of Republicans that I know are sincerely and honestly saddened by the fact that a young Englishman or an RUC man or UDR man loses his life and the family is left to grieve that person.

I do think that the use of armed struggle, the use of violence to achieve a political end, in the back of everybody's mind creates problems for your own sensibilities and your own feeling of peace in your life. I mean, everybody wants peace in their life. I want peace in my life. But the problem is that what is preventing me, and I believe the vast majority of Irish' people from having peace in their lives is the fact that there is an unnatural division of the country which has brought about an unnatural division of the people along the lines of Protestant and Catholic. And I passionately believe that the divisions which are there can and will be broken down in a post-British withdrawal situation. I'm absolutely and totally convinced of that.

But how do you, from a Civil Rights background, cope with the Human Rights violations of, specifically, the Republican Movement, the IRA?

"We are capable of playing our part in a scenario which would bring about justice and peace in Ireland."



Well, I mean everybody in their own mind has to work out the reasons why they support certain things. My position is that I believe the armed struggle can be justified, even though I don't like it. I don't like the fact that Irishmen and women have to resort to force of arms. But I believe that strategy holds out the hope of a British Government at some time in the future being so embarrassed and so ridiculed throughout the world by their inability to resolve a problem — which should be more resolvable than the problems which are now being resolved in Eastern Europe, and which hopefully in the coming months and years will be resolved in South Africa — that they have to take positive radical action. What I am appealing to the British public for, and appealing to the British Conservative Party for, is to modernise their thinking in relation to Ireland, to look at the attempts which are being made throughout the world to resolve the world's hotspots. And I am also saying that we in the Republican Movement are making a sincere offer now that we are prepared to play our part in the peace process.

How do you feel about Yasser Arafat's public pronouncement on terrorism?

One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter. I don't believe that what is happening in Ireland is a terrorist war. I believe that what is happening in Ireland — even though elements of it are totally unnatural — it is a natural consequence of an occupying army walking through the streets of the Bogside, and the Creggan and Ballymurphy, denying the rights of Irish people to have their freedom and upholding so much injustice. I mean the injustice that abounds in the six county state is just unbelievable and, if this is being published in *Hot Press*, I think that there is a grave responsibility on the people of Dublin and on the people of the rest of the twenty-six counties to shake themselves in relation to the six counties and have a look at what is going on here — because I believe that a united Ireland, a thirty-two county Irish Republic would be a far more prosperous, peaceful place for people to live in. I think that the Irish people would be far better equipped to tackle the problems of poverty and homelessness which are all around this country from Cork to Limerick to Galway to Derry to Belfast, right back down to Wexford.

What about the many Irish people who cannot relate to the Republican Movement primarily because of the Human Rights violations of the IRA?

I think that that is understandable, I can understand that. But what puzzles me about those people is that they are not even more annoyed about the reason why that violence is taking place, why they don't get annoyed about partition, why they don't stand up and demand that the British Government remove itself from this part of Ireland and I actually think that's a major flaw in their case — the likes of David Norris and others who beat their breasts in a holier-than-thou approach, as if we're the untouchables, and they've the God-given right to pronounce on everything. I don't think they even have any comprehension of what life is like in Ballymurphy, in West Belfast, or in the Bogside or in Creggan, or of the suffering that those people have endured.

Do you think that the Republican Movement is mature enough to deliver a permanent ceasefire if one is called for?

Well, it's important to stress that Republicans are only interested in an honourable settlement of the problem. The overwhelming majority of Republicans who suffer war-torn weariness, who suffer an unbelievably heavy trip in relation to this whole struggle — I mean, mothers have lost their sons, and we have walked behind their coffins and many of our friends have gone to their graves and, no doubt, before this is all over, some of us may go to our graves as well — this movement, this struggle, does lay a very heavy trip on people, but I think that people, by the same token, can stand back and say, "well, it would need to be worth it in the end". Or probably a better way to describe it is that we in this movement — and our opponents should realise this — have reached the point of no return. We cannot return to what existed here in the past. Our own dignity won't allow us. It's as simple as that. This movement has reached the point of no return, and in spite of all that is laid in front of me in a personal sense, in terms of the possibility of assassination by Loyalists or by British undercover squads, that's a road I have to go down, because I know at the end of the day lies freedom for our people.

How would you respond, Martin, to the view that the Republican Movement can't deliver on a permanent ceasefire because of the allegation that it's making huge money from rackets, that it's gone legitimate, and owns many businesses in Derry and Belfast — that it is in the words of a Churchman or two of an SDLP person or two, a major Mafia organisation now and that it needs to continue because of the huge amount of money which is involved?

Well, the only way that I could answer that is to invite them to my home. I live in a Council house owned by the housing executive in the Brandywell area of Derry. The people who have supported my involvement in the struggle for many years, namely ordinary people on the streets of Derry, I think, can work out for themselves whether or not I personally am involved in racketeering. When I stood in the assembly elections, the people overwhelmingly supported my election and people don't vote for Mafia bosses or Godfathers or gangsters. I would also point out that of the many cases that have been taken in the six counties by the RUC against racketeers, they've all involved UDA, UVF people, the Official IRA, the INLA, IPLO people. I would challenge anybody to mention the name of one member of this movement, which I am part of, who has been even charged or convicted with anything remotely to do with racketeering or gangsterism. I live a very humble life. The vast majority of the people I associate with also lead very humble lives, finding it extremely difficult on occasions to put shoes on their children's feet or clothes on their backs, just like anybody else. What I would say to the ordinary people is, come to Derry, come to the Bogside, come to Creggan and ask people am I a racketeer. Ask them to go to Belfast and tell them to talk to the people of West Belfast who voted for Gerry Adams. Ask them do they believe Gerry Adams is a racketeer, and the answer they will get is 'no'.

What about allegations that surrounded the assassination of Jim Craig, that he had met and dealt with IRA people over rackets in Belfast?

I don't believe that at all, to be quite honest. I would not accept that. What evidence is there to even suggest that that was the case? I would be very surprised if that was the case, and quite honestly I don't believe it.

Finally, if you had the opportunity to speak privately to Peter Brooke now what would you say to him?

I would say the same thing that the Republican delegation which met William Whitelaw in 1972 said, that the partition of Ireland is wrong, that the presence of large numbers of British troops in our country is an abomination, that it's the primary source of all the trouble which exists here and that they are living in the past if they believe that the Republican struggle will just some day peter out as a result of the kind of Mickey Mouse initiatives which they are taking in the six counties. I would also say I believe that Margaret Thatcher is a major stumbling block to progress in the North because she is so vituperatively anti-Republican and has so much hatred for the Republican Movement. I would say that I believe that there are people in the Conservative Party, whether they care to admit it or not, who would be prepared to adopt a less hysterical approach than previous British administrations and that they should sit back and analyse everything that we are saying, and that they should remember that we are prepared to be part of a peace process in the six counties, that we are not the mindless headcases that they sometimes portray us as being, that we are capable of playing our part in a scenario which would bring about justice and peace in Ireland. But we would also say, more importantly than anything else, that we believe that Britain should now declare its intention to leave the six counties.

But people who are interested in seeing talks which would resolve the conflict permanently, to everyone's satisfaction — could these people not be given a signal by the IRA that it's willing to deal and deal honestly, through the IRA offering an imaginative gift to the British people, say, a temporary cessation for three or six months of 'mainland' bombings or European operations. Surely a cessation of attacks on part-time UDR men would be a very important signal that the IRA was genuine in its willingness to desist?

But the IRA have done that. The IRA did that in 1972. The IRA did that in 1975. And in 1976. And the British Government used that situation for its own military purposes so I think that there would be major opposition within the Republican Movement towards such a step. It's an unrealistic request, to be quite honest — because if we are prepared to go into discussions with the British Government and with anyone else, in effect we are saying quite openly to a Government which has thirty thousand troops in our country, which is responsible for the use of plastic bullets, for raiding houses, interrogating people, beating them up in interrogation centres — we are saying to them we're not setting any preconditions, we're not asking them to stop house-searches in Creggan, even though we would like it to happen. If we're not setting those preconditions, why should they?

DATE  
REHEARSAL STUDIOS

2 Granby Row Dublin 1  
(Just off Parnell Square)

SPACIOUS COMFORTABLE  
REHEARSAL ROOMS  
AT EXCELLENT RATES

Tel: 734046 anytime

FERRY & COACH TO  
**LONDON**  
BRISTOL  
READING  
LUTON  
BIRMINGHAM  
LEEDS  
LIVERPOOL  
MANCHESTER

From  
**£19**

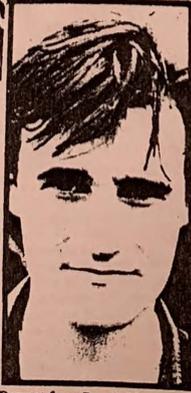
**SLATTERY'S**  
travel agency  
1 Russell St, Tralee  
Tel. 066, 21611

**MUSIC NEWS  
EXTRA**

THE SERIES of early evening gigs at Dublin's Waterfront venue continue to go from strength to strength.

In addition to the continuing series of late-night concerts, the venue plays host to an earlier show at 9pm every Friday and Saturday nights and promises the cream of Irish talent over the coming weeks.

The programme for the next fortnight is as follows: Ella Mental and O.T.T. on Fri March 9th, Inside Cairo and Rex & Dino on Sat 10th, The Outpatients and Blowfeld on Fri 16th and The Stars Of Heaven on Sat 17th.



Dermot from Rex & Dino



The Golden Horde

TENNENTS LAGER have just announced details of their 1990 Tennents Live! music package.

One of the most successful and innovative music initiatives to be undertaken in this country, Tennents Live! has staged eight nationwide tours and to date, has over 170 nights of music under its belt.

Plans for the coming months include 'The 10 Ents Tour' which brings together The Golden Horde, Blue Angels and Dr. Millar And The Cute Hoors on a ten night tour of universities and colleges, kicking off on April 18th.

Tennents Live! will also be extending the hugely popular Midnight At The Olympia series and a late night gig will take place every second Friday night in CJ's of Galway, starting on March 23rd with Hank Halfhead And The Rambling Turkeys. Tennents will also sponsor the entire live programme for this year's Galway Arts Festival.

Also in the package is a four night tour by Dublin outfit, The Coletranes, and Scottish combo, Blam Blam YC (see next issue for full details).

All this and Tennents Live! will also involve itself in tours and one-off gigs by individual bands. *Hot Press* will announce full details of further initiatives as soon as they come to hand.



Ard-Oifig. Teach Chaoimhín de Barra,  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell,  
Baile Atha Cliath 1.  
Éire-Ireland-Irlande.  
Teileafón: 01-726932.  
Fax: 231723

21 3 1990

A chara,

Please find enclosed a copy of the Report "Collusion" .  
The Report deals with British Crown Force collusion in  
113 killings by loyalists over the past ten years.

Your Government should immediately halt security  
collaboration with, and in particular the passing of intel-  
ligence information to the British Crown Forces.

Is mise,

P.P.S.

Tommy Hartley,  
Ard Rannáil

Gerry Adams MP

51/55 Bothar na bhfal

No 25

Ona McCarty,  
As desired.

D 22  
3  
190.

# COLLUSION

*An investigation into British crown forces  
collusion with loyalist death squads*

## INTRODUCTION

Over the last twenty years loyalist gunmen have murdered over seven hundred people in attacks on the nationalist community. Many of these killings were carried out in nationalist areas which were heavily patrolled by members of the crown forces. Yet these killers appeared to have freedom of movement in and out of nationalist areas giving rise to the belief that the gunmen were acting on information about the movement of crown forces.

By early 1980 with "Ulsterisation" firmly established the number of random attacks on nationalist areas dramatically dropped to be replaced by a more selective form of assassination campaign carried out by Pro-British death squads.

This selective assassination campaign was based on high grade intelligence which obviously came from official intelligence sources. The fact that such intelligence material was being regularly passed from the official British forces to loyalist death squads was common knowledge within the nationalist community but attempts have been made to disguise the level and extent of such collusion and co-operation. One such method adopted by the RUC has been to describe the vast majority of killings by loyalist groups as 'random', 'indiscriminate' or 'motiveless'.

The controversy which developed in the wake of the UFF murder of Loughlin Maginn in August last year blew the lid of loyalist/crown force collusion. The Stevens investigation which followed has clearly gone nowhere. The RUC conspiracy of silence has ensured that the only people charged have been those receiving leaked intelligence material, rather than those responsible for leaking the information.

The full extent of Crown force involvement in the loyalist murder campaign has never been adequately examined. Given the failure of the Stevens Investigation, I commissioned an investigation into 111 killings by Pro-British loyalist death squads over the past 10 years. I simultaneously invited the Stevens team to examine the crown force collusion in these cases. A further two murders which have occurred since: those of Sam Marshall in Lurgan, and Eamonn Quinn in the Clonard area of West Belfast, were also included in this investigation. The investigation was conducted within the context of limited access to the necessary information. Even given this restriction, the results of the survey are startling.

In 70, (62%) of the 113 cases it was concluded that collusion was a likely factor.

Of these;

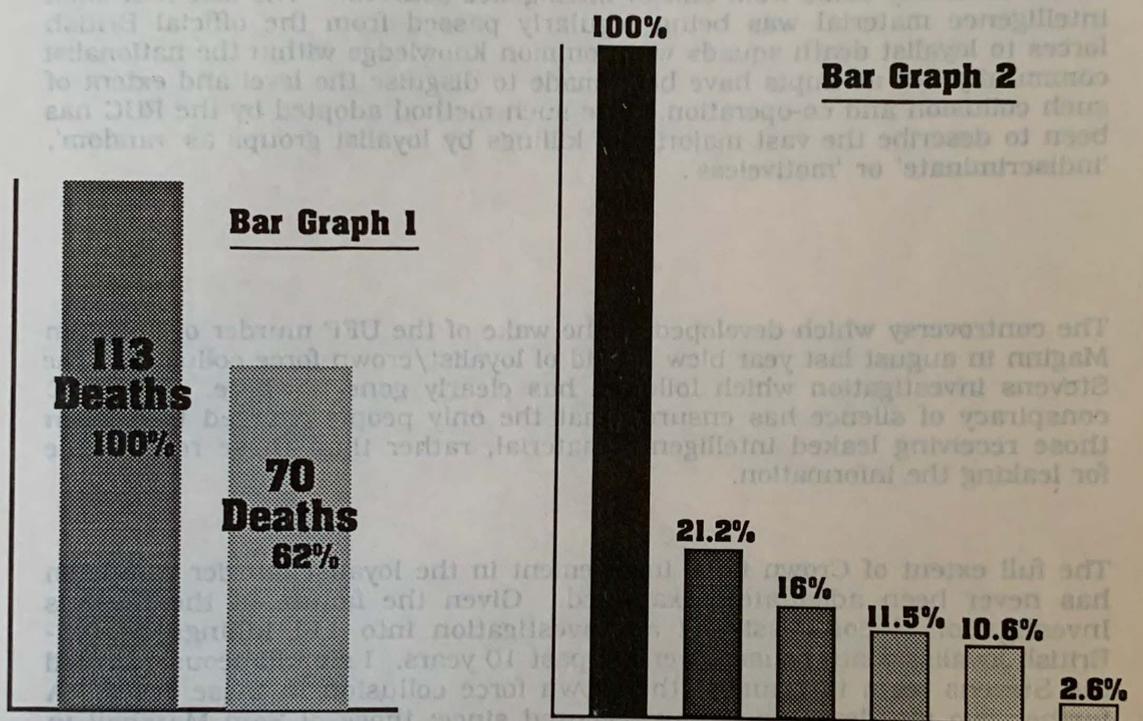
24, (21.2%), were murdered by loyalists who wrongly believed them to be Republicans and who were acting on precise information which in many cases appears to have come from British intelligence files.

18, (16%) of the killings were carried out directly by members of the crown forces or by gangs which included members of the crown forces.

13, (11.5%) others appear to have been murdered in mistake for Republicans who had been targeted as a result of leaked intelligence material.

12, (10.6%) were active Republicans killed by gangs also acting on very precise information which in many cases could only have been obtained from British intelligence files.

The other 3, (2.6%) were murdered by Michael Stone in Milltown Cemetry, apparently acting on the basis of prior knowledge that British force activity around the cemetary would be low.



BAR GRAPH 1 SHOWING COLLUSION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL (70 OF 113)

BAR GRAPH 2 SHOWING PERCENTAGES OF COLLUSION CASES.

In the remaining 43 (38%) killings no obvious evidence of collusion or crown force participation was found, but it is quite possible that in some of these cases also there was a crown force involvement, direct or indirect.

Many of those killed in what has been generally characterised as a series of random assassination turn out, on closer examination, to be the victims of an organised murder campaign against people targetted as a result of co-operation between the official British forces and pro-British loyalist death squads..

Republican activists have died as a result of such collusion. But the vast majority of those murdered in this way have been innocent nationalists killed because the RUC, the UDR or British Army have been holding intelligence files on them.

British intelligence hold intelligence files on thousands of nationalists, most of them totally uninvolved in political activity. Recent events reveal the ease with which loyalists gain access to these files. Innocent people are dying as a result.

The RUC are clearly incapable of investigating their own involvement in these murders. The Stevens Inquiry has failed to breach the pro loyalist conspiracy within the British crown forces.

The results of the investigation outlined below demonstrates that there is a clear need for a full and open re-investigation of each of these 113 killings.

Statements of admission for sectarian assassinations are listed below where available. The names used in these claims are UFF

(Ulster Freedom Fighters), a flag of convenience for the UDA (Ulster Defence Association), a legal Protestant paramilitary organisation. UVF, (Ulster Volunteer Force), an outlawed loyalist grouping, and PAF (Protestant Action Force), an occasional flag of convenience for the UVF.

Victims of assassinations carried out directly by members of the British forces (British Army, UDR and RUC), or carried out by loyalists gangs which contained members of the British forces.

### **TOTAL 18 (16%)**

#### **1980**

4 June John Turnley Shot dead near his home at Carnlough, Co antrim. UDR soldiers David Lyons and Sgt Matthew Martin with another UDR soldier were arrested in October 1980 along with the UVF gang responsible for Mr Turnley's killing and that of Rodney McCormick in August 1980. Both UDR members had separate trials for firearms offences.

24 Aug Rodney McCormick Shot dead at his home in Larne

#### **1981**

9 aug Liam Canning Shot dead by indiscriminate gunfire into Ardoyne. UFF claimed responsibility. On 11 January 1983 UDR member, Brian Roberts was found guilty of the killing and given a life sentence.

Republican activists have died as a result of such collusion. But the vast majority of those murdered in this way have been innocent nationalists killed because of their political beliefs.

**19 sept Eugene Mulholland** Shot dead as he walked along the Ormeau Rd. It was a UVF gang which was responsible for Mr Mullholand's death. They also killed: Mary McKay, Gerry O'Neill, Josphe Donegan, Patrick Murphy, and most probably killed Eamonn Quinn. A UDR member Frederick Neill from East Belfast was also a member of this UVF gang. He received a life sentence for driving the car used to kill Mr Mulholland.

**1982**  
**8 Oct Eamon Quinn** A student from Downpatrick, he was found shot dead in a flat in Damascus St, Ormeau Road.

**15 Oct Mary McKay** Shot dead in her home (in bed) in the Markets area.

**14 Nov Thomas McNulty** Shot dead with the same weapon as that used to kill Mary McKay.

**1982**  
**30 Sept Gerry O'Neill** Shot dead at a garage where he worked on Ormeau Rd.

**25 Oct Joseph Donegan** Kidnapped 22 Oct. Found badly mutilated in an entry off the Shankill Road.

**25 Oct Peter Corrigan** Shot dead by PAF in Armagh while coming from a labour exchange. In Jan 85 UDR man Geoffrey Edwards was given a life sentence for the killing of Mr Corrigan and also found guilty of a number of other attacks, including the attack on the home of Seamus Grew on 8 Sept 1982.

**16 Nov Patrick Murphy** shot dead in his shop in the Cregagh area of East Belfast.

**1983**  
**3 Apr John McConville** From Lurgan, died after being attacked and beaten by 2 UDR members. In Jan 84, 2 UDR members were found guilty of manslaughter.

- 8 Nov Adrian Carroll Shot dead outside his home in Armagh by PAF. In Dec 1983 7 UDR members were charged with the killing. Three of the UDR men were later released through lack of evidence. In July 86 four UDR members were sentenced to life imprisonment for the killing.
- 12 Dec Tony Dawson Shot dead in the Short Strand area by a gunman in a car. RUC man Thomas Andrews received a life sentence in Sept 85.
- 1984  
8 april Martin Love Shot dead near his home in Enniskillen by UFF. UDR man Robert Kenny and regular British soldier Mark Edward Trotter received life sentences for the killing. Kenny received a further sentence for collecting and passing on information.
- 1988  
25 Jan Jack Kielty A business man shot dead in Dundrum. UFF claim. In March 1989 a former UDR man and an ex royal marine received life sentences for their roles in the killings. Two serving UDR members received recorded and suspended sentences for possessing the weapons belonging to the UFF gang responsible for Mr Kielty's death.
- 1989  
24 June Liam McKee Shot dead in his home in Lisburn by UFF. Taxi man was charged with killing, two of his co-accused on other charges are UDR members
- 25 Aug Loughlin Maginn Shot dead in his home in Rathfriland by UFF who claimed he was an IRA Volunteer. This was denied by his family. UFF then released RUC documents to corroborate their claim. Two UDR men later arrested and charged in connection with the killing.

**total 18**

Republicans killed as a result of collusion between the British forces and loyalist death squads. In every one of the following cases, the murder squads responsible had precise information on their victims including layout of houses, movements and names of associates.

**TOTAL 12 (10.6%)**

**1980**

- 26 July Miriam Daly (IRSP) Shot dead in her home in Andersonstown, Belfast.
- 15 Oct Ronnie Bunting IRSP Both shot dead in Mr Bunting's home on Glen Road, Belfast.
- Noel Little IRSP

**1981**

- 23 Feb James Burns IRA Shot dead in his home in West Belfast. Mr Burns was a former internee.

**1983**

- 5 Dec Joseph Craven INLA Shot dead on his way home from a labour exchange near his Bawnmore home. PAF claim. He had been in Castlereagh shortly before his death and was told he would be 'taken care of'. Mr Craven had been subject to regular harrassment from RUC. He had been in Castlereagh on a number of occasions when the RUC made it clear that they would set him up for assassination.

**1984**

- 16 Nov Paddy Brady Sinn Fein member and a milk man, Mr Brady was shot dead as he arrived for work on the Boucher Road, Belfast. Michael Stone was convicted for killing and claimed to have seen files on some of his victims.

**1984**

- 23 Nov Thomas McLoughlin Shot dead by PAF as he walked home from labour exchange in Newtownabbey. PAF claim. Mr McLoughlin was held for questioning in Castlereagh the week before and had been threatened.

**1987**

- 2 April Lawrence Marley IRA Shot dead in his home in ardoyne by UVF.

1988  
25 July

Brendan Davison IRA

Shot dead in home in Markets area by UVF men dressed in RUC uniforms.

1989  
14 Feb

John davey  
Sinn Fein Cllr

Shot dead near his home at Gulladuff, south Derry by UVF. The circumstances of his death appeared to suggest that he had been stopped at a roadblock. Recent arrests in Derry revealed a loyalist intelligence dossier. The name and personal details of Mr Davey were found together with a montage of other photographs and information.

4 April

Gerry Casey IRA

Shot dead in his home in Rasharkin, Co antrim. Eight men involved all dressed in boiler suits. After Mr Casey's death it was revealed that he had been threatened while in Castlereagh. Gerry Casey's name was among those recently discovered to be in the possession of loyalists in Derry.

1990

7 March

Sam Marshall

A leading republican shot dead after leaving Lurgan RUC barracks where he had to report as a condition of bail at a time arranged between him and the RUC. The death squad clearly had access to this information.

**total 12**

Victims killed by loyalist death squads who wrongly believed them to be active republicans, in most cases as a result of inaccurate intelligence files passed to loyalists from the British forces.

**TOTAL 24 (21.2%)**

1980

2 April

Carl Joseph McParland

Shot dead on the Springfield Rd. He had been out on bail on a charge of IRA membership. IRA denied he was a member.

1981

- 12 Oct Robert James Ewing Shot dead in his home in the Deerpark Road, Belfast. UFF claim.
- 29 Oct David Nocher A member of the Workers Party, from Whitehouse, north Belfast. He was shot while cleaning windows on Mill Road. Mr Nocher had been convicted for possession of weapons in 1975.
- 24 Nov Stephen Murphy Died in hospital ten days after being shot while answering a knock on his door in Oldpark area of North Belfast. Other members of the family had been interned.
- 1983**
- 26 May Trevor Close Died from gunshot wounds while at his work as a milkman. Former internee, he was constantly harassed by RUC.
- 1984**
- 31 Oct Harry Muldoon A black taxi driver, he was shot in his home near Ardoyne by UFF gunmen who sledgehammered their way into his home.
- 1985**
- 8 Nov Kevin McPolin From Katesbridge in South Down. Shot dead in his car on a building site in Lisburn. Michael Stone was convicted for this killing. UFF claim.
- 1986**
- 26 Aug Paddy McAllister From Rodney area of West Belfast, a black taxi driver, he was shot dead in his home. UFF claim.
- 16 Oct Terry Mullan and Catherine Mullan Terry and his mother were shot dead at their farmhouse home outside Ballynahinch.
- 1987**
- 25 May Dermot Hackett Shot outside Omagh in an ambush on his bread van. UFF claim. Michael Stone was found guilty of this murder and said he saw Mr Hackett's file. Following this murder a raid on the home of Eddie Sayers, UDA inner council, uncovered RUC

- and Gardai files. Dermott Hackett had been subjected to constant harrassment by the British forces in the area.
- 2 July** **Eddie Campbell** Taxi driver shot dead at the Horseshoe Bend in North Belfast
- 23 Aug** **Mickey Power** Taxi driver, he was shot dead near his Dunmurry home by UFF who wrongly claimed he was IRA member. Former internee.
- 9 Oct** **Francis Notarantonio** Black taxi driver shot dead in bed in his home in the Ballymurphy area of West Belfast. Former internee, but at the time of his death he had not been involved in republican activities for over a decade.
- 15 Jan** **William Kane** Shot dead in his home in the New Lodge area. Dr Cathal Daly called for special training of RUC officers working in sensitive areas because Mr Kane had experienced RUC harrassment. At the trial in Jan 1990, of the gang responsible for the Avenue Bar killings and William Kane, it was reported that one of the gang met a member of the 'security forces' who handed over intelligence documents on suspected republicans.
- 10 May** **Terry McDaid** Shot dead at his home in the Newington area, North Belfast. on 26 May 1989 UDR green-finch, Joanne Girvan, and regular British soldier, Cameron Hastie, both from girdwood barracks, were charged with passing on British Army intelligence documents to loyalists.
- 6 July** **Hugh Terence Delaney** Shot dead in the street in Dromore while waiting for a lift to work. In Nov 1988 Hazel Branker, UDR green-finch was jailed for 6 months for supplying the UDA with information she obtained while working on UDR's vehicle checking computer.

23 Sept Gerard slane Shot dead in his home off Springfield Road, West Belfast. Report in AP/RN 24 Nov 1988 revealed that an RUC picture of Mr Slane had appeared in a UDA magazine. The family denied that Mr Slane was a member of any organisation. Loyalists then printed the photograph to prove they were not wrong.

**1989**

18 Jan Ian Catney Shot dead in his mother's shop in the Smithfield area. UVF claim.

9 feb Tony Fusco Shot dead at Smithfield market as he waited for a lift. UVF c claim.

17 Mar Niall Davis AI civil servant, shot dead in his home in Glengormley by UVF gunmen who used sledge hammers to get into the house. Mr Davis was buried in Carnmoney and his grave was desecrated and UVF painted on his headstone.

12 Feb Pat Finucane Shot dead in his home in North Belfast. After his death it was revealed that clients of Mr Finucane's were told by RUC interrogators that he would be killed by loyalists.

23 July John Devine Shot dead in his home in Fallswater St, West Belfast.

29 Nov Liam Ryan Shot dead in his bar in Ardboe Co Tyrone.

Victims shot dead in mistake for republicans who had been targetted as a likely result of collusion.

**TOTAL 13 (11.5%)**

**1979**

Sept Gerry Lennon Shot dead in Levey's fruit shop on the Antrim Road,

- probably in mistake for a republican who also worked in the shop.
- 1980**  
**31 Dec** Sean Cairns Shot dead in his home in the Falls area. RUC believe he was mistaken for a leading republican from the same area.
- 1980**  
**29 Feb** Brendan McLaughlin Shot dead in Clonard St in an attempt on Sinn Fein member Joe Austin. At the trial of those responsible for the shooting it was revealed that the information on Mr Austin's movements came from a reserve RUC man who worked in the nearby Mackies engineering plant.
- 1982**  
**11 May** Francis Toner Shot dead in the fruit shop on the antrim road where he worked. The shop owner was also injured in this attack, the second on the shop.
- 1987**  
**8 Sept** Patrick Hamill Shot dead in his home off the Springfield Road. A former resident of the house is believed to have been the intended victim.
- 1988**  
**15 Mar** Charlie McGrillen Shot dead at his work at Dunnes Stores off the Ormeau Road, Belfast. UFF claim. 24 hours earlier the UDA warned it was stepping up its offensive against the IRA. (On 7 July 1988 Patrick Fitzpatrick was shot and wounded collecting people in his car from the same store. He was recently informed that his details were in the hands of loyalists)
- 19 Mar** David Branniff Shot dead in his home in Ardoyne, North Belfast. UVF claim.
- 15 May** Stephen Gaghan Damien Devlin Paul McBride All shot dead in a gun attack on the Avenue Bar, Central Belfast by UVF who intended murdering a number of republicans who they believed would be in the bar.

24 Nov Phelim McNally Shot dead in an attack on his brother's house near Coagh, Co Tyrone. His brother, a Sinn Fein Cllr, claimed that the UDR had involvement in the killing.

1989  
29 Nov Michael Devlin Shot dead with Liam Ryan in a bar in Ardboe.

1990  
11 Mar Eamonn Quinn Shot dead by UFF who had entered the Clonard area of West Belfast with the intention of killing republicans preparing for a commemoration ceremony.

**total 13**

1988  
16 Mar Kevin brady IRA  
John Murray  
Tommy McErlean These three killings were carried out by Michael Stone at the funerals of the three republicans killed in Gibraltar. Stone had previously killed on behalf of the UFF and on the basis of information passed from the British forces. The circumstances of the attack in Milltown suggest that he again had access to British intelligence information and knew, for example, that there would be an unusually light British Army/RUC presence at the funerals.

**TOTAL 70**

In most of the above cases the killing was described by the RUC press office as 'random', 'indiscriminate' or 'motiveless'. Our examination of the circumstances surrounding the above 70 cases, which amounts to 62% of the total, leads us to conclude that there was a strong probability of crown force collusion/co-operation in each one.

The killings listed below are those in which we found no obvious evidence of crown force collusion, but one must bear in mind that we have limited access to the information necessary for a full investigation of each case. There are certainly some cases in which the victim was very definitely targetted, for some reason, by the murderers. Others are very clearly random sectarian assassinations of catholics, or of people believed to be catholics.

Given the extent of tangible evidence of crown force/loyalist co-operation in the murder campaign, it would be wrong to simply label the following killings as random or indiscriminate. Each one, with a very few exceptions, requires full and open re-investigation.

**TOTAL 43 (38%)**

**1980**

- 4 Jan Alex Reid Beaten to death and dumped in the Shankill area, Belfast.
- 2 Feb William McAteer Shot dead in a street off the Ormeau Road.
- 14 Feb John Morrow Shot dead in a street off the Ormeau Road.

**1981**

- 27 Mar Paul Blake Shot dead by travelling gunmen in Ardoyne, North Belfast.
- 16 May Patrick Joseph Martin Shot dead in his bed in a carefully planned attack on his home in Abbeydale St, North Belfast. The killers used axes to cut telephone wires.
- 8 Oct Laurence Kennedy CLLR Shot dead in the hallway of a social club in Ardoyne in a burst of indiscriminate gunfire. Former internee.

**1982**

- 17 Nov Paedar Fagan Shot dead by travelling gunmen in Lurgan.
- 15 Aug Gerard Hughes Found badly burned on Oldpark Road, North Belfast. Died soon afterwards in hospital.
- 26 Aug Francis McCluskey Shot dead in Ligonell while on his way to work. UFF claim
- 20 Nov Michael Fay From ballygowan, was found shot dead in the boot of a car in Dundonald area of east Belfast. PAF claim.

**1983**

- 24 Nov Daniel Rouse Beaten to death in an attack as he walked home in Craigavon.

**1984**

- 27 Jan Daniel McIntyre Shot dead near his home in Tagnevin, Lurgan. UFF claim.
- 12 April Peggy White Mother of eight children, she was killed in a bomb attack on her home in Ormeau Road, Belfast. An RUC man was also killed.

- 9 July Tony McAtarsney Shot dead in a carpark near Millfield, Belfast by UVF.
- 7 Sept Michael Devine Shot dead in his home in Douglas Bridge, Strabane. He was living in a mobile home in a field belonging to Tommy McNamee when Trevor Key, a neighbour, who is believed to have UVF connections, entered the house armed with a shotgun. Mr Devine was told to kneel and beg for mercy before being shot in front of his wife. Key fired shots after Mrs Devine as she fled from the house. Key is serving a life sentence for the murder.
- 1986  
14 Jan Leo Scullion Shot dead in a social club where he worked as a night watchman in Ligonell, North Belfast.
- 31 Jan Martin Quinn Shot dead in bed at his home in Bawnmore, North Belfast. His mother was also assaulted.
- 15 Mar John O'Neill Found dead in the Ballysillan area of North Belfast. He had been badly beaten.
- 7 May Margaret Caulfield A protestant woman married to a catholic. Loyalists broke into the house in the Ballysillan area and began beating the couple. Mrs Caulfield was shot dead before the UVF gang left.
- 7 May Gary McCartan Shot dead in his own home in Ormeau Road, Belfast by UVF.
- 11 July Brian Leonard Died in hospital from gunshot wounds he received the previous day at his work place, a building site on the Shankill Road, Belfast. PAF claim.
- 16 July Colm McCallin Died in hospital from gunshot wounds he received on 14 July outside his home in Ligonell, north Belfast. PAF claim.
- 19 July Martin Duffy A taxi driver Mr. Duffy was shot dead by PAF when he went to answer a call in north Belfast.

- 16 Sept Raymond Mooney Shot dead in the grounds of Holy Cross Church in Ardoyne, north Belfast.
- 17 Sept Joseph Webb Shot dead in his Smithfield shop where he worked daily UVF claim
- 9 Dec Paul Bradley Beaten to death in a Lisburn bar by members of the UDA.
- 5 June Danny O'Connor Shot dead outside his home, Springfield Road, West Belfast.
- 30 June John Keelan Shot dead in his home, by UVF, Ballysillan, North Belfast.
- 21 Sept Jim Meighan Shot dead at his girlfriends' house by UVF, Ballysillan, North Belfast.
- 9 Nov Adam Lambert Protestant youth shot dead by loyalists on West Belfast building site. ( Mistaken for Catholic ).
- 16 Nov Tommy McAuley Died in hospital five days after being shot at his North Belfast cafe. McAuley had received a letter from the Loyalist Prisoners Action Committee in the week before his killing. He also received threats because he wouldn't pay protection money to Loyalists.
- 6 Mar Kevin Mulligan Short Strand died of wounds inflicted in a UFF gun attack.
- 7 April Thomas Kelly Short Strand died of knife wounds inflicted in a loyalist attack in a Belfast bar.
- 12 June Billy Totten Shot dead at a friends' house in North Belfast.
- 8 Aug Sean Morris Peter Dolan Shot dead by traveling gunmen in Ardoyne.
- 18 Aug Michael Laverty County Tyrone. Shot dead working on houses in North Belfast.
- 1989.**
- 25 Jan David Doran A Protestant shot dead on a

		Lisburn building site. ( Mistaken for Catholic).	16 Sept
20 Feb	Patrick Feeney	Shot dead at his work as a night watchman, by UVF. Donaghcloney, Co Down. He worked only one night a week.	17 Sept
10 Mar	Jim McCartney	Shot dead while doing Security guard at a bar Springfield Road, Belfast.	9 Dec
15 May	Malachy Trainor	Shot dead on building site Rathcoole, North Belfast.	5 June
2 Sept	Paddy McKenna	Shot dead by traveling gunman. North Belfast.	30 June
1990.			
7 Jan	Martin Byrne	Taxi man shot dead by PAF in Lurgan. Taxi was phoned out on bogus call.	21 Sept
			9 Nov
			16 Nov
			6 Mar
			7 April
			12 June
			8 Aug
			18 Aug
			1990
			25 Jan

RECEIVED 2 1 MAR 1990



Teileafón 726932/733441/726100  
FAX 733074

Ard-Oifig, Teach Chaoimhín de Barra,  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell,  
Baile Átha Cliath 1.  
Éire-Ireland-Irlande.

## PRESS RELEASE

West Belfast MP Garry Adams will be hosting a Press Conference tomorrow, Thursday, 22 March, at 11am in Conway Mill.

At the press conference, Mr Adams will release the findings of an independent investigation into British Crown Force collusion in 113 killings by loyalists over the past 10 years.

The findings of the investigation, which Mr Adams describes as "a damning indictment of British co-operation with Loyalist death squads", show that:

In 62% of the killings (70 of the 113) there was strong evidence of crown force involvement:

In 18 of these cases (16%) the killings were carried out directly by members of the British Forces, or by gangs which included members of the British Forces.

In 12 cases the victims have been active republicans, but these are a minority, representing 10.6% of the total.

The vast majority of those killed as a result of collusion have been innocent people killed by Loyalist either acting on inaccurate intelligence material (24 cases representing 21.2%), or in mistake for republicans, (13 cases representing 11.5%).

The full report will be available at the Press conference.



Teileafón 726932/733441/726100

FAX 733074

Ard-Oifig, Teach Chaoimhín de Barra,

44 Cearnóg Pharnell,

Baile Átha Cliath 1.

Éire-Ireland-Irlande.

*PRESS RELEASE*

*COLLUSION*

From Gerry Adams MP

Date 14/03/90

Embargo 11am Thursday 22 March 1990

The West Belfast MP Gerry Adams has said that the British Forces have been involved, directly or through the supplying of information, in the majority of loyalist killings over the last 10 years.

Speaking to a press conference today at which he revealed the findings of an investigation into 113 loyalist murders which have occurred in the last 10 years the West Belfast MP said:

"It is a matter of common knowledge within the nationalist community that information gathered by the British Crown Forces regularly and easily finds its way into the hands of loyalist death squads. Despite this, the full extent of Crown Force involvement in the loyalist murder campaign has never been adequately examined. Instead, the RUC have attempted to categorise the vast majority of killings carried out by loyalists over the past 10 years as random or indiscriminate.

"The controversy which developed in the wake of the UFF murder of Loughlin McGinn in August last year blew the lid of Loyalist/Crown Force collusion. The Stevens investigation which followed has clearly gone nowhere.

"The RUC conspiracy of silence has ensured that, with just two exceptions, the only people charged have been those receiving leaked intelligence material, rather than those members of the British Forces responsible for leaking the information.



Teileafón 726932/733441/726100

FAX 733074

Ard-Oifig, Teach Chaoimhín de Barra,

44 Cearnóg Pharnell,

Baile Átha Cliath 1.

Éire-Ireland-Irlande.

"Last month I commissioned an investigation into 111 murders carried out by Loyalist over the past 10 years (and two further killings which have occurred since).

"The results are a damning indictment of British co-operation with Loyalist death squads.

"The findings of this report suggest that, rather than being a series of random sectarian attacks, the majority of these killings are part of a clearly discernible campaign of selective political assassination directed against nationalists.

"The two most important aspects of the investigation are:

1 That in 62% of these killings there is strong evidence of crown force involvement.

2 The vast majority of those killed have been uninvolved people.

"The investigation concluded that in 70 of the 113 killings examined (62%) there was strong evidence of Crown Force involvement, ranging from active participation, to the passing of intelligence information on the victim.

"In 18 cases (16%) the killings were carried out directly by members of the British Forces, or by gangs which included members of the British Forces.

"In some cases the victims have indeed been active republicans, but these are a minority, 12 in total, representing 10.6%.

"The vast majority of those killed as a result of collusion have been innocent people killed by Loyalist either acting on inaccurate intelligence material (24 cases representing 21.2%), or in mistake for republicans, (13 cases representing 11.5%).



Teileafón 726932/733441/726100  
FAX 733074

R-98 TUE 11 49 BELFAST REPUBLICAN OFFICE 04

Ard-Offis, Teach Chaoimhín de Barra,  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell,  
Baile Átha Cliath 1.  
Éire-Ireland-Irlande.

"British intelligence holds files on thousands of nationalists, most of them totally uninvolved in political activity. Recent events reveal the ease with which loyalists gain access to these files and, as this investigation indicates, innocent people are dying as a result.

"Given this situation, there must be an immediate halt to 26 county security collaboration with, and in particular the passing of intelligence information to, the British crown forces. I have therefore already sent a copy of this report to Charles Haughey. There must also be an immediate, open and independent investigation into all the circumstances relating to these 113 killings."

Copy from S26373

To: 1. Mr. Kirwan, to see - 2. Mr. Morgan  
From: B. McCarthy

Re: Aboriginal remains in College of Surgeons

Tasmanian  
Aboriginal  
Centre  
re: 1/4

A letter dated 5th March to the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre invited him to attend a handing over ceremony for the remains at the Australian Embassy on 16 March. The Embassy had no knowledge of any such ceremony which in the light of the removal of the remains from the College of Surgeons is not anxious to see to the extensive publicity which has already been given to this whole matter.

B9 8/3/90

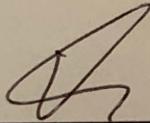
In 1984 the then Government took a decision that they would not meet deputations that included members of PSF unless they publicly disassociated themselves from the IRA campaign. The decision was taken on foot of a memorandum from the Minister for Justice which drew attention to the practical difficulties of extending this decision to correspondence from Sinn Féin representatives addressed to Government Departments but this category of correspondence was distinguished from that addressed to Ministers or their private offices - the inference was that there should be no reply to the latter correspondence. According to our records, the issue has only arisen on one occasion since then - representations from a SF Councillor in 1985 to the Minister for Communications - the matter was left with the Minister to decide. It is a question of judgement whether, in the event of correspondence of this nature being published, one is left in a better position by not replying than if they replied. The issue about which Mr. Adams writes is not of major political significance but I would tend to favour not replying to him.

Present position on Aboriginal Head

I have been told, in confidence, by the Australian Embassy that the remains are being sent to London today and the intention is that they would be handed over there to representatives of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre. If this cannot be arranged they will be sent to the Australian National Museum initially and then handed over to the Aborigines.

In a letter dated 6th March to the Taoiseach, the Aboriginal Centre invited him to attend a handing over ceremony for the remains at the Australian Embassy on 16 March. The Embassy had no knowledge of any such ceremony which in the light of the removal of the remains from Ireland, does not now arise. Following the decision of the College of Surgeons to give back the remains, the Embassy are not anxious to add to the extensive publicity which has already been given to this whole issue, and thereby embarrass the College even further. This seems to be an eminently sensible approach.

A reply to Mr. Mansell's letter is also submitted.



---

7 March, 1990.

Filed on S26373

9 Márta, 1990.

Mr. G. Adams, M.P.,  
51/53 Falls Road,  
Belfast BT12 4PD.

A Chara,

I refer to your letter of 21st February to the Taoiseach concerning the aboriginal remains in the Royal College of Surgeons.

It is understood that this matter has now been resolved and the remains are being returned to Australia.

Mise, le meas,

**DONAGH HOUGHAN**

Rúnaí Príobháideach  
an Taoisigh.

IDM900/WP4



Ard-Oifig. Teach Chaoimhín de Barra,  
44 Ceapnóg Pharnell,  
Baile Átha Cliath 1.  
Éire-Ireland-Irlande.  
Teileafón: 01-726932.  
Fax: 231723

Mr. Charles Haughey,  
Leinster House,  
Dublin.

51/53 Falls Road,  
Belfast BT12 4PD,  
Co. Antrim.

21st February, 1990.

A chara,

I would ask you to give your immediate attention to the request, by Australian Aborigines Michael Mansell, Rikki Shields and Bob Weatherall, that the Aboriginal head in the Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin, be returned to Australia for burial.

I believe that the refusal to do so, over a five year period, demonstrates a total insensitivity to the spiritual values of the aboriginal people of Australia. This is being interpreted as racist by those people.

I trust that you will devote the time necessary to the redress of this matter.

Is mise le meas,

*G. Adams*

G. Adams M.P.  
President of Sinn Féin.

SEANAD ÉIREANN

~~Jm~~

Fógraí Tairisceana

Notices of Motions

"That Seanad Éireann notes the Report on Press Freedom and Libel by Professor Kevin Boyle and Mrs Marie McGonagle, commissioned by the National Newspapers of Ireland, and calls for a full parliamentary debate on this subject."

- Senators Maurice Manning, Avril Doyle

"That Seanad Éireann condemns the decision of Dublin Corporation to allow Sinn Féin to use the Mansion House for their Ard-Fheis."

- Senators Helen Keogh, Martin Cullen, John Dardis, John A. Murphy.

3 Feabhra 1990

~~to be sent,~~  
Do file re Sinn Féin.  
Jm  
6/2/90

Next Wednesday  
for meeting

---

Deputations from various  
boards, committees, all  
board members [N.S.F.  
members]

— Housing

— Roads

— N.A. House Purchase  
Scheme

Review of Gov. matters

Note: Council indicated that he would  
ask to Mr. State Council about this, for

Jh 10/1/90  
Sec. to Govt.  
S.H. 11.1.90

***END of file***