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FROM HANNAY, DAVID H

DOCDATE 25 MAR 85

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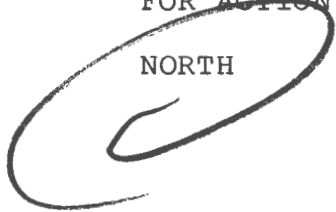
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BRITISH EMBASSY, 31550
WASHINGTON, D.C.

25 March 1985

Admiral John Poindexter
The White House
WASHINGTON DC 20500

Dear John,

When the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland called on you today he promised to let you have the factual paper we have now produced on the IRA.

I enclose a copy of this factual paper, copies of which I have also given to Bob Oakley at the State Department. As I understand the purpose of this paper, it is to provide a quarry for briefing material that you yourselves would produce. The facts in the paper are unclassified.

When you and the State Department have had a chance to study the paper, it would be useful if you could let us know how you intend to proceed.

Yours sincerely
David Hannay

D H A Hannay
Minister

DECLASSIFIED

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BY KAL NARA DATE 4/10/12

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THE PROVISIONAL IRA:

THE FACTS

I.R.

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THE PROVISIONAL IRA: THE FACTS

Key Points:

- (i) The IRA is an illegal organisation in the United Kingdom and the Republic (where it was proscribed in 1936): paragraph 5.

- (ii) The present day IRA is divided into the Provisional IRA, a wholly terrorist organisation, and the Official IRA, which renounced the use of violence in 1972. (The split occurred in 1970 : paragraph 6.

- (iii) PIRA is an extreme left-wing organisation which wishes to establish a 32-county socialist Republic and wishes therefore to overthrow the democratic systems in both parts of Ireland. Its activities are strongly opposed by the British and Irish Governments and the majority of citizens on both sides of the border: paragraphs 7-9.

- (iv) The political wing of PIRA - Sinn Fein - claims that the Provisional movement has 'an armalite rifle in one hand and a ballot paper in the other' and it constantly makes clear its support for violence: paragraph 10.

- (v) PIRA has been responsible for more deaths than any other organisation since the violent disturbances began in 1969.

Over 2,300 people have been killed (two-thirds of them civilians) - mainly by PIRA: paragraph 18.

- (vi) PIRA attacks a wide range of targets in its attempts to weaken British resolve and make Northern Ireland ungovernable, using firearms and explosives in attacks on people and property in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Great Britain and Western Europe: paragraphs 19-31.
- (vii) In order to raise funds for its campaign (and to pay its members), PIRA carries out armed robberies, blackmail, extortion and kidnappings, fraud and protection rackets. It is also behind a number of commercial enterprises: paragraphs 40-44.
- (viii) PIRA also places great reliance on supporters in the United States for money and weapons, most of this aid being routed through NORAID, which is registered in the United States as an agent of PIRA: paragraphs 45-55.
- (ix) NORAID has been consistently condemned by the Irish Government: paragraph 56.
- (x) PIRA has had contacts with the Libyan Government, the PLO and revolutionary movements in Central and South America and in Western Europe: paragraphs 57-76.
- (xi) PIRA, largely through Sinn Fein, devotes much effort

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to its propaganda campaign, which is aimed at dis-
crediting the British and Irish Governments and their
agencies: paragraphs 77-85.

THE PROVISIONAL IRA: THE FACTS

Origins

1. Since the mid-1920s, the IRA has been isolated from, and in opposition to, the mainstream Irish Republican and Nationalist tradition represented in the south by the Fine Gael and Fianna Fail parties and in the north by the SDLP.

2. The Irish Volunteers of 1913, who fought against the British in the 1916 rising, became known as the IRA following the establishment of Dail Eirann in 1919, and the bulk of its members fought on the anti-free state Government side in the Irish Civil War of 1922-23.

3. Following De Valera's decision to found Fianna Fail as a constitutional party in 1926, the IRA rapidly declined into a small group of hardliners unable to reconcile themselves to the constitutional process.

4. De Valera's first Government, formed in 1932, took increasingly strong measures against it, and in 1936, following a series of IRA murders, he declared the organisation illegal. (The IRA had been proscribed in Northern Ireland in 1922: and similar action was taken in Great Britain in 1974.)

5. Thereafter, the IRA had brief periods of resurgence shortly before and during the Second World War, and again during the border campaign of 1956-62, which was eventually called off for lack of support.

The Emergence of the Provisional IRA

6. The growth of the civil rights campaign in Northern Ireland in the late 1960's found the IRA in some disarray, since its nationalist wing was weakened by internal rivalries and disagreements. A major split occurred in 1970 when a more militant "Provisional" group set up a rival organisation because they wanted greater emphasis on a military campaign and disagreed with the "Official" IRA's decision to contest elections. The OIRA went on to declare a cessation of violence in 1972. A further split developed in 1974 when militant

members of the OIRA seceded to form the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and its military wing, the Irish National Liberation Army (see para. 86).

7. The IRA regards its Army Council as Ireland's lawful government. Its Green Book - the rule book and training manual for IRA members - says:

"... the Irish Republican Army, its leadership, is the lawful government of the Irish Republic; all other parliaments or assemblies claiming the right to speak for and to pass laws on behalf of the Irish people are illegal assemblies, puppet governments of a foreign power and willing tools of an occupying force ... [A Volunteer] should examine his political motives, bearing in mind that the Army are intent on creating a Socialist Republic ... [The Republican Movement] is against such political economic power-blocks [as] ... NATO and the Warsaw Pact ... It seeks a third, socialist alternative which transcends both [and] is in accordance with our best revolutionary traditions as a people."

8. The Green Book accurately reflects the Provisional IRA leadership's long-term aims and its Marxist inclinations, but these are well separated from their immediate aims. In practice, the primary goal of the Provisional leadership is to "expel the British from Ireland". The terrorist campaign is the main tool at their disposal and it has been described as "a war of attrition against the security forces to cause as many casualties and deaths as possible so as to

create a demand for their withdrawal". Similarly, the bombing campaign is intended to make "British financial interest in Ireland unprofitable and thereby to curtail long term investment". The second objective of the leadership is to obtain an amnesty for the so-called "political prisoners". They also demand recognition by Her Majesty's Government of the "right of the Irish people" to determine their future "as a whole". However HMG has repeatedly made clear that it would not obstruct the reunification of Ireland if that were the democratically expressed wish of the population of the North.

9. In short the "British presence" in Northern Ireland provides the Provisional IRA with a superficial justification for describing their terrorist acts as "a war of national liberation" against an "imperialist" or "colonialist occupying army". The spuriousness of this claim is, however underlined by the fact that successive Irish Governments have accepted that unity is impossible without the consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland. This consent is not likely to be forthcoming for the foreseeable future.

The Provisional IRA's political wing: Sinn Fein

10. Sinn Fein supports the terrorist violence of PIRA and sees the campaign of violence as an inseparable adjunct of its political campaign. As Danny Morrison, then Sinn Fein's publicity officer, said at the 1981 Sinn Fein annual conference:

"Will anyone here object if, with a ballot paper in
and
this hand/an Armalite in this hand, we take power
in Ireland?"

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11. Sinn Fein's support of violence is constantly reiterated. At the 1983 annual conference, the new President, Gerry Adams, said:

"I am glad of the opportunity to pay tribute to the freedom-fighters: the men and women volunteers of the IRA" (Belfast Telegraph, 14 November 1983).

12. Links between the Provisional IRA and Sinn Fein are close and their ultimate objectives are identical. As Gerry Adams has said:

"Sinn Fein and the IRA have the same objectives. The IRA is engaged in armed struggle. Sinn Fein would not only defend the IRA's right to wage armed struggle but has the job, increasingly, of popularising support". (The Guardian, London, 4 November 1982); and, the political role of Sinn Fein is merely to "broaden and popularise the struggle. For in the end the movement will have to depend on whatever armed pressure the IRA can bring". (Sunday Times, London, 8 May 1983).

13. Sinn Fein has been widely condemned by the leaders and ordinary members of the constitutional parties in both parts of Ireland. For example, in a speech to the nationalist SDLP annual conference on 28 January 1984, party leader John Hume said:

"People see the IRA cause millions of pounds worth of destruction and they are not impressed by Sinn Fein's complaints about housing conditions. They know the IRA have bombed thousands of jobs out of existence and have kept thousands of other jobs out of Northern Ireland by murdering industrialists, and they are not impressed by Sinn Fein's exploitation of the IRA's dole queues" (Daily Telegraph, London, 30 January 1984).

14. In an interview after the 1984 SDLP Conference, John Hume added:

"Sinn Fein has access to sources of funds which other political parties do not have. They kidnap people and get ransoms and there are bank robberies. That's how they finance their operations. That's how the republican movement finances its operations - and Sinn Fein is the political wing of the movement" (RTE, 29 January 1984).

15. Although Sinn Fein is a legal organisation in the Republic of Ireland, as it is in Northern Ireland, the organisation has been banned from giving party political radio or television broadcasts in the Republic on RTE because of its support for violence and the Provisional IRA. Peter Barry said of Gerry Adams after he won the West Belfast seat in the General Election of June 1983:

"There is no evidence that the men of violence are prepared to put aside their guns. Mr Adams is in the category of a gunman because he declared that he fully supported the tactics and stance of the Provisional IRA" (RTE, 12 June 1983).

16. Although Sinn Fein has enjoyed some electoral success numerically, it is still over-shadowed by the constitutional Nationalist Party, the Social and Democratic Labour Party, which totally rejects the use of violence. Furthermore, Sinn Fein has employed a number of malpractices to secure votes. Apart

from widespread intimidation, it has used personation, by which another person's vote is used; false or multiple registration on the electoral roll; and false applications for postal votes. It is estimated by independent commentators in the United Kingdom that as much as 20% of Sinn Fein's votes in recent elections may have been acquired by malpractice.

The Provisional IRA's organisation

17. As far as PIRA is concerned, the pattern of hierarchical organisation set out in its constitution is adhered to only loosely. In theory, the supreme authority is the General Army Convention which is supposed to meet every two years. In practice, the Convention is defunct and power rests with the Provisional Army Council normally elected by the Convention. The Army Council is responsible for general direction of policy and terrorist strategy. The Council, which is currently dominated by Northerners close to Gerry Adams, has the power to "conclude peace or declare war" and makes regulations regarding organisation, training, equipment and operations; its approval is required for operations against prestige or political targets, for operations on the mainland and overseas, and for any armed action within the Republic. Below the Army Council are the Commands (north and south), brigades, battalions and units. However, fears about internal security led to a major restructuring of PIRA organisation in 1977: currently there is a system of "active service units" or teams with local commanders, loosely directed and co-ordinated by either Northern Command (in Northern Ireland and the border counties) or Southern Command (in the

Republic). There are no more than about 300 PIRA activists available for operations in Northern Ireland.

The Provisional IRA's methods

18. Since the present disturbances began in 1969, over 2,300 people have been killed in Northern Ireland, two-thirds of them civilians; and over 24,000 people have been injured. (Detailed statistics are at Annex A). PIRA were responsible for the majority of these attacks, which take various forms.

19. Attacks on urban communities have been a feature of PIRA terrorism since the early 1970s. One of the worst examples occurred on 21 July 1972, a day which has come to be known as "Bloody Friday". In just one hour during the afternoon, a total of nineteen bombs exploded in various parts of Belfast. Nine people died and 130 were injured in the explosions at city centre bus stations, city centre railway stations, suburban streets, a suburban hotel, a garage, and a shopping centre.

20. Terrorist attacks on commercial premises have inflicted considerable damage. Since 1978 the Government has paid out more than £90M in compensation to the owners of businesses. Such attacks have inevitably caused job losses, often in areas of high unemployment, and Catholics as well as Protestants have suffered.

21. Attacks on social functions are another feature of the campaign. PIRA has on occasion attacked groups without apparent

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reason. For example, on the evening of 17 February 1978, over 400 people were at two social functions at the La Mon House Restaurant outside Belfast when a bomb exploded, killing 13 and injuring 30.

22. PIRA also mounts attacks on the transport system. Bus and train passengers have been killed when bombs, hidden in luggage on board or at stations, have exploded without warning. Scores of buses have been destroyed in fire-bomb attacks against their depots, or after being hijacked during civil disturbances and used as burning barricades.

23. The murder of businessmen is part of the concerted attempt to disrupt the economic life of the Province. Those killed include the managing director of Dupont in Londonderry, who was shot dead outside his home as he returned from work; the head of a Belfast jewellery firm (a leading member of the Belfast Jewish community); and the director of a travel company in the centre of Belfast. The General Manager of Grundig in Northern Ireland (who was also the West German Consul) died - possibly of a heart attack - after being kidnapped by PIRA and his body was not found for some years.

24. The murder of policemen, soldiers and prison officers represents a more direct attack on the 'establishment'. Over 700 members of the security forces (policemen and soldiers) have been killed - mainly by PIRA - since 1969. Many have been killed while off-duty.

23. In an attack on Newry Police Station in February 1985, 9 police officers were killed by PIRA. And there have been a number of incidents in which as many as 4 police officers have been killed by PIRA attacks c

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mobile patrols. The Army's greatest loss of life in a single incident occurred in August 1979. As a four-truck convoy was driving outside Warrenpoint, a town close to the border with the Irish Republic, half a ton of explosives hidden in a hay lorry at the side of the road was detonated by a radio signal sent by PIRA terrorists hiding in the Republic. Six soldiers were killed. After police, army and rescue services arrived on the scene, a further quarter-ton of explosives was set off, killing another eleven soldiers. For fifteen minutes after this blast, the terrorists directed fire at the scene, preventing medical assistance from reaching the wounded and dying. Prison officers present a relatively easy target, when they are off duty. An example is the murder of
/ a Roman Catholic officer shot by PIRA as he left St Patrick's Cathedral with his two children in February 1985.

26. The murder of judges and other members of the judiciary represents both an attack on members of the 'establishment' and on the administration of justice. Recent attacks on members of the judiciary in Northern Ireland have included an attempt on the life of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Lowry, in March 1982, and the murder of the Roman Catholic Judge William Doyle as he left Mass in January 1983. A High Court judge escaped a bomb attack in January 1984, but the daughter of a resident magistrate was killed in a PIRA attack on her father in April 1984 as the family emerged from Mass.

27. The murder of politicians and other 'prestige' targets has been restricted by the protection arrangements which they are

offered but a leading Unionist MP, Robert Bradford, was killed in November 1981 and a prominent Unionist member of the Northern Ireland Assembly, Edgar Graham, was killed in December 1983.

28. 'Disciplinary' killings and intimidation are also part of PIRA's tactics. A number of republicans have been shot or beaten to death for undertaking criminal enterprises which were not sanctioned or for 'collaborating' with the security forces. Over 1,000 have been injured in punishment shootings or beatings. PIRA's intimidatory tactics are also brought to bear on potential witnesses in criminal proceedings, those thinking of joining the public service (and in particular the security forces), and on those in a position to contribute to PIRA's funds. Their powers of intimidation extend well outside the Catholic/Nationalist community but are more easily exercised there.

Attacks outside Northern Ireland

29. In March 1973, the Provisionals began a bombing campaign in Great Britain. Bombs have been detonated in public places, designed to cause maximum injury. Some have been aimed at military personnel but most of the casualties have been civilians, including many women and young children. Many of the attacks have shown a total disregard for who might be killed. For example in 1974, 22 people were killed in Birmingham by bombs placed in two public houses. A car bomb left outside the London department store, Harrods, at the height of the pre-Christmas shopping rush in 1983, killed six people including an American citizen, and injured about 100 more. And in October 1984, a bomb planted at a crowded hotel in Brighton,

where the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers were staying, killed five people and injured over thirty. A list of incidents in Great Britain is attached at Annex B.

30. PIRA has been increasingly active in the Republic since the mid-70s. The British Ambassador and a female civil servant were killed in July 1976, and Lord Mountbatten, his grandson and a local boy were killed in August 1979 (on the same day as seventeen soldiers were killed). Since then, the number of PIRA kidnappings and bank raids has increased dramatically and several police officers and a soldier have been killed in these incidents.

31. Elsewhere, PIRA has undertaken a number of attacks on British personnel and installations. The British Ambassador in The Hague was murdered in March 1979 and the same year there were bomb attacks on the British Consulate in Marseilles and Antwerp. There have been bombing and shooting attacks in Belgium (where an unsuccessful attempt was made in December 1980 on the life of a British member of the European Commission) and in West Germany (where PIRA shot dead a British Colonel in February 1980).

The Provisional IRA's weapons

32. It is estimated that ~~PIRA needs~~ around £3 million a year to finance its campaign and a substantial part of this is needed for the procurement of arms and equipment. Throughout the 1970's, the ~~United States was the principal source of arms supply~~, PIRA acquiring MI carbines, Armalite and Garand rifles and M60 machine-

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guns among others. Although the USA remains probably the most important source of weapons for PIRA, the success of the US authorities in restricting this traffic in recent years has meant an increase in attempts to obtain weapons from Eastern Europe, the Middle East and Libya (where PIRA has attempted to obtain SAM 7 missiles for the purpose of bringing down aircraft).

33. Recent US successes include:

- October 1979. 159 weapons originating in the United States were found in Dublin docks. The shipment was traced to an accommodation address in New York belonging to Bernard McKeon, an office holder in NORCID. In June 1983, a New York court convicted McKeon of conspiracy to export firearms.
- May 1981. The US Customs Service and special agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms examined a crate found at the Aer Lingus cargo terminal at JFK airport in New York. The crate, an item of "catering equipment", was found to contain eight semi-automatic rifles and 120 rounds of ammunition.
- June 1981. A significant arms haul was made in New York. The weapons found included a 20mm cannon with shells, a flamethrower, 21 shoulder and handguns (together with 12,500 rounds of ammunition) and booby trap components. It was in connexion with the seizure of this cache that Michael Flannery, a Director of NORCID, was arrested.

- June 1982. The FBI announced that it had broken up a million-dollar arms operation by the Provisional IRA in New York. Two men, Gabriel Megahey and Andrew Duggan, were charged with conspiracy to purchase and export weapons and munitions, including five SAM missiles (at a cost of \$10,000 each), and AK15 and M26 rifles. The FBI also arrested two Irish brothers, Colum and Eamon Meehan. In May 1983 Megahey, Duggan and the Meehans were convicted by a New York court of gun-running to the Provisional IRA. In announcing the weapons haul, a senior FBI Official had said: "There is a common conception, an erroneous conception, especially in New York, that the IRA is some type of Barry FitzGerald leprechaun. I submit that these are not the tools of a leprechaun. These are ~~the tools of a terrorist and anyone who contributes to that cause~~ [the IRA] is killing people just as surely as if they pull the trigger."

- June 1982. Colm Murphy, from Northern Ireland, who claims to be a representative of the INLA, and Vincent Toner, from New York, were arrested for trying to buy a variety of weapons, including twenty M16 automatic rifles, communications equipment and SAM missiles for use against both British and Irish security forces. In June 1983, they were convicted by a court in New York.

34. During a visit to London in September 1983, the United States Commissioner of Customs, Mr William von Raab, said he had evidence

that IRA agents in the US were seeking weapons from organised crime outlets:

"It reveals their character as a criminal organisation.

Too many people see them as ideological zealots but their criminal ties are stronger than generally accepted. They are after anything that will shoot or explode."

35. The United States was the source of a large shipment of arms (93 rifles, 13 shot-guns, 16 machine pistols, 6 machine-guns, 17 pistols, 34 revolvers and 71,000 rounds of ammunition) on board the Irish fishing boat, the Marita Ann, intercepted by the Irish Navy in September 1984. One of the five men arrested on board, Martin Ferris, was both Officer Commanding PIRA Southern Command and a member of Sinn Fein's executive committee, thus demonstrating the inseparability of Sinn Fein and PIRA personnel.

The organisation has also sought alternative sources for its small arms in recent years. Limited supplies of Simonov SKS Carbines, all of Chinese manufacture and originally supplied to the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), began to appear in Northern Ireland after 1980. In March 1983, the Provisional IRA claimed that "three Russian military F1 hand grenades were thrown at Belfast's RUC Barracks by three IRA volunteers" (An Phoblacht, 17 March 1983).

36. Several attempts to import arms from non-American sources have failed. A consignment of 104 weapons and ammunition from the Omnipol arms factory in Czechoslovakia was intercepted at Amsterdam's Schipol Airport in October 1971, part of a deal

initiated by the Provisional leader David O'Connell. On 28 March 1973, an arms consignment from Libya, including 250 Soviet-made automatic rifles, was found on board the ship Claudia, intercepted by the Irish Navy off the Irish coast; Joe Cahill, who was among the six Irishmen arrested on the Claudia, was later jailed for three years.

37. In November 1977, a large consignment of arms supplied by the PLO in Lebanon, and worth approximately £250,000, was discovered on board ship in Antwerp, bound for Dublin; it included 29 Kalashnikov rifles, 29 sub-machine guns of French manufacture, 29 machine-pistols, four Bren guns, seven RPG-7 rocket launchers, 56 rockets, nearly 400lbs of plastic explosives, and assorted ammunition. The organiser of the shipment, Seamus McCollum, a long-standing member of the Provisional IRA, was sentenced in July 1978 to 10 years' imprisonment.

38. In August 1983, French police stopped a lorry about to board a ferry at Le Havre for the Republic and seized ^{an} arms cache. The consignment, destined for the Provisional IRA, contained 28 small arms and 12,000 rounds of ammunition, together with explosives, hand grenades, detonators and rifle magazines.

Provisional IRA fund-raising

39. PIRA raises funds in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Great Britain and overseas for the purchase of the weapons referred to above, payments to its personnel, the conduct of its electoral and propaganda campaigns, and the fostering of links with foreign

E.R.

terrorist groups. It is often claimed that much of PIRA's funds goes to help the families of PIRA prisoners in the United Kingdom, but in fact only a little money is used for this purpose (and Government social security arrangements ensure that there is no undue financial hardship for any families in need).

Criminal activities in Ireland

40. PIRA carries out armed robberies, blackmail, extortion, fraud and protection rackets on both sides of the Irish border. In Northern Ireland over £7 million was stolen in armed robberies between 1971 and 1982, a large proportion probably by PIRA. It is also thought that PIRA takes a large amount of the cash stolen in the Republic each year. Protection rackets grew mainly out of collections on behalf of the dependants of internees. (Internment - or detention - lasted from 1971 until 1975). According to Vincent McClosky, a member of the (mainly Roman Catholic) Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP):

"... businessmen began to be approached ... Quite soon this became a question of protection money. If people refused to hand over substantial sums, their staff were threatened and their premises damaged. The amount of money which was pouring into these organisations was so vast that rival factions within these organisations fought and killed to get their share of the loot". (Irish News, Belfast, 30 June 1975).

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The rackets have continued into the 1980s for the explicit purpose of boosting PIRA's funds, but gangland rivalries have also continued and have led to a number of shootings within the PIRA community. (The cost of 'protection' is said to vary between £400 a week for some hotels to less than £5 a day for taxis operating in some areas of Belfast.) PIRA has also conducted tax frauds, passed counterfeit cheques, and intimidated people into diverting compensation payments.

41. In September 1982, the Royal Ulster Constabulary set up a special squad aimed at breaking "Mafia-like gangsterism" in Northern Ireland. The RUC's Chief Constable said at that time "I am talking about the extortion of money from business and industry, tax exemption certificate evasion in respect of building-site workers, businesses which act as fronts for terrorist organisations, protection rackets, illegal collect-^{are} ions and all such forms of illegality. What we/faced with here is Mafia-like gangsterism of the very worst kind and all the viciousness that goes with it". Some success has been achieved but the squad's work goes on.

Commercial activities

42. Money is also raised by the sale of books, pamphlets and records through Sinn Fein. Christmas cards, harps, crosses, leather goods and other items made by convicted PIRA prisoners in the Republic and in Northern Ireland often sell at inflated prices. Many of the social clubs situated in Republican areas, particularly in Belfast, are either owned or controlled by the Provisional IRA, providing a regular source of income (especially from gaming machines).

'Welfare' activities

43. The main Provisional welfare organisation is the Dublin-based An Cumann Cabhrach, which was founded in 1953 and took over the

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work of the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund of the 1920s. At the Provisional Sinn Fein annual convention in October 1975, Tess Kearney, the Secretary of An Cumann Cabhrach, claimed that her organisation was paying out £500,000 a year to the families of about 1,000 detainees and prisoners in Northern Ireland, England and the Irish Republic.

44. In Northern Ireland, these funds are channelled through the Green Cross Committee in Belfast and similar organisations elsewhere. American donors are led to believe that their contributions play a major role in supporting prisoners' dependents, but Green Cross in fact collects most of its funds locally. Its then Chairman, James McCashin, said in 1975 that:

"... this year the Green Cross in Belfast received about \$40,000 from Dublin, while itself collecting about \$200,000 by canvassing at pubs, shops, street-corners and homes..."

American sources - NORAID

45. NORAID, the Irish Northern Aid Committee, is PIRA's main fund-raising organisation in the United States and the major source of PIRA funds from abroad. Federal investigations have also established links between NORAID officials and illegal weapon dealers in the United States.

46. NORAID was ~~founded~~ in 1970 by Michael Flannery and two other IRA veterans of the 1919-22 period. Its publicity director, Martin Galvin, a lawyer with the New York City Sanitary Department,

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claims that there are 92 chapters in 70 cities, that national membership is about 5,000 with a periphery of 30,000 and that the organisation has so far raised \$3 million. There is little doubt that NORAID has raised far more than that, through collections in bars and clubs, dances, dinners, house parties, film shows, lectures and the sale of souvenirs.

47. PIRA and Sinn Fein move money freely between their different activities, and NORAID leaders have often ~~admitted~~ that they have ~~no ultimate control over the use made by their Irish "trustees" of funds collected in the United States.~~ As the late Matthew Higgins, a director of NORAID, said:-

"We have no objection to it if they [the trustees] have money to spare. They've got to get them [weapons] from somewhere. If the overall kitty is big enough to buy weapons that's their business. We were formed for the purpose of supporting the Irish freedom movement. We still support the Provisional IRA - no ifs and buts about that..."

(New York Times, 16 December 1975)

48. More significant is the suspicion that NORAID's receipts are far larger than they admit, and that very large sums retained in the United States are used to finance arms purchase for the Provisional IRA. Owen Carron, Sinn Fein member of the Northern Ireland Assembly for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, told a visiting NORAID delegation that:-

"the need for armaments is the greatest in our struggle at the minute", and that the Republicans depend on America for "financial, moral and concrete support". He asked members of the group for their continued "concrete support".
(The Irish News, 11 August 1984).

During the same visit, a NORAID official, Richard Lawlor, said:

"I would not discourage people from sending guns here ... It's probably the moral duty of every Irish American to get them American guns to ensure democracy".
(The Irish Press, Dublin, 14 August 1984).

49. In April 1982, during a court case brought against NORAID under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the US Department of Justice stated that "since its inception NORAID has acted as the agent in this country of the Provisional wing of the Irish Republican Army, its political arm, the Sinn Fein, and their affiliates". Among the correspondence made public at the trial were letters from NORAID saying that:-

- "Our support goes exclusively to the Provisional IRA and those who are working with them" (27 October 1971).

- "Our sympathies are with the so-called 'Provisional' IRA and that branch of the Sinn Fein movement which supports them ... Our funds are channelled through Joe Cahill of

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Belfast to be used for the advancement of the campaign in Ireland". (8 March 1972.)

- "Any money you wish to donate to Northern Aid should be sent through the New York office. This is an authentic committee, chartered by the Provisional Irish Republican Army (and the only one) to collect money for their cause. We guarantee that all monies collected will be used for that purpose". (28 February 1972.)

50. The court found that NORaid had violated the provisions of the Act by failing to identify as its foreign principal "the Irish Republican Army, Provisional Wing". It found also that NORaid had not fully identified its officers and other groups acting for it; that it had not given the true address of its foreign principal; that it had not described properly its activities; and that it had not provided an accurate accounting of its receipts and disbursements. (Federal prosecutors had argued that some money was retained to make illicit weapons purchases and the amounts transmitted to Belfast and Dublin were disputable.) During the Federal investigations, Michael Flannery and two other NORaid officials invoked the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination.

51. A US Justice Department official said that for a decade the Department "has been trying to get people here who represent the IRA to tell the truth: they're raising money to create widows and orphans, and not to help widows and orphans" (US International Communication Agency, 19 August 1982). NORaid filed its first

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financial return under the Foreign Agents Registration Act in August 1984, covering the first six months of 1984.

52. Apart from sending money to PIRA, NORAID officers have been involved in a number of trials in the United States and Canada for arms offences and gun-running to the Republic. James O'Gara, given a five-year suspended sentence in 1973 for using a false identification to purchase arms, was an active NORAID official and co-chairman of the NORAID annual New York dinner-dance in 1976. Joseph Myles, sentenced to two years' jail in Toronto in June 1974 for conspiracy to export arms to the Republic, was described by police as "an executive officer of a US organisation, Northern Irish Aid" (Irish Times, Dublin, 7 June 1975). Daniel Cahalane, head of NORAID's Delaware County chapter, spent over five months in jail in 1973 for refusing to testify to a Federal Grand Jury investigating gun-running, and was convicted in June 1976 for illegally exporting arms. Neil Byrne, a NORAID member, was also convicted in June 1976 with Cahalane for gun-running. In hearing an appeal against conviction by Cahalane and Byrne, the Pennsylvania Appeal Court found that "NORAID engaged in various fund-raising activities and was also the centre of the armament purchase and transportation efforts". Francis Grady, convicted in New York on 12 March 1976 for illegally exporting arms and falsifying documents, was said in court to have formed with others a chapter of NORAID in Yonkers, New York State, in May 1970. When, in October 1979, 151 weapons originating in the United States were found in Dublin docks, the shipment was traced to an accommodation address in New York belonging to Bernard McKeon, an office holder

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in NORAID. In June 1983, a New York court convicted McKeon of conspiracy to export firearms.

53. In November 1982, after a trial in New York lasting seven weeks, Michael Flannery and four co-defendants were acquitted on charges relating to the shipment of arms to PIRA. They had been arrested in 1981 following a significant arms haul in New York, which included a 20mm cannon with shells, a flamethrower, 21 shoulder and handguns (together with 12,500 rounds of ammunition) and booby trap components. In court, the issue was whether the defendants had breached US law governing the possession of unregistered weapons and their export. The defence argued that their clients believed that they had been acting with and through a "CIA agent" and convicted arms dealer, George DeMeo, and that accordingly the accused had not violated any US law, since the US Government is exempt from the requirement to obtain permission to export weapons. The US authorities stated in court that DeMeo had nothing to do with the CIA.

54. Nevertheless, the defendants had admitted their roles in the operation and the case showed beyond further doubt that money raised by NORAID was being used to buy weapons for PIRA. Flannery admitted in open court that he had been involved for many years in the financing of arms deals on behalf of the IRA:

"I came [to the US] directly from Ireland. I was a member of the Irish Republican Army until I left Ireland. When I came here, there had been a general exodus of young Irishmen

and women from Ireland from 1924 to 1927 and I came here purposely to organise these people, so they would be a help to the militant movement, to the IRA at home, to complete the freedom of Ireland."

55. Sinn Fein's main publication, An Phoblacht/Republic News (10 February 1983), referred to Flannery as "an admitted arms supplier to the IRA". In the opening statement by the defence on behalf of another defendant, George Harrison, it was stated that:

"Mr Harrison has aided and abetted and supplied arms to the rebels in Northern Ireland for a quarter of a century."

56. Successive Dublin governments have condemned fund-raising for the Provisional IRA in the United States:

- July 1980. The then Taoiseach, Mr Charles Haughey, current leader of the Fianna Fail Party, said in Cork:

"... there is clear and conclusive evidence that NORAIID has provided support for the campaign of violence and, indeed, direct assistance to its pursuit It stands condemned and I appeal to all in America who have the interests of Ireland at heart, not to give this body any support, financial or moral."

- March 1983. The present Taoiseach, Dr Garret FitzGerald, said in an interview:

"There is nothing romantic about NORAID. It collects money for the IRA. The IRA buys guns with the money. The guns murder our people. Why would Americans want to destroy our society? we have a vicious problem on this island. We have 2,000 dead. We have 20,000 people with permanent injuries ... The onslaught is against the Irish people themselves. Ninety per cent of the victims have been Irish." (Wall Street Journal, March 1983.)

- August 1984. At the time of the arrival in the Irish Republic of the NORAID delegation, en route to Northern Ireland, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs issued a statement that:-

"The Government is deeply concerned at the activities of NORAID, which is an organisation which has made no secret of its support for the IRA. NORAID is an IRA front organisation and has been found to be such by the courts in the United States. It has been condemned on numerous occasions by successive Irish Governments. Delegations from NORAID are not welcome in Ireland and no member of the Government or any official will meet with them." (Irish News, 4 August 1984.)

- September 1984. After the seizure of arms and ammunition on the trawler Marita Ann off the Irish coast, the Irish

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Justice Minister, Michael Noonan, said he was in no doubt they had been bought with money raised by NORaid "to murder people North and South." (Daily Telegraph, London 1 October 1984.)

- December 1984. In an interview with 'Time' magazine, Dr FitzGerald said of misguided Irish-Americans who give money to NORaid:

"It is a small group of people - perhaps a few hundred thousand - who cause trouble, collecting money to buy guns to kill Irish people. Those Irish-Americans, very active on one hand and isolated on the other, seem to feel that they incarnate Irish nationalism and that we at home betray them. We have difficulty in taking that, because we in Ireland feel that we are the Irish people."

(Time, 3 December 1984.)

The Provisional IRA's links with other countries

57. Apart from NORaid in the United States, there are a number of other organisations and indeed, governments to whom PIRA can look for support. Irish Republican contacts overseas have traditionally been with the Irish expatriate communities in Britain, Australia, New Zealand and, as has already been indicated, North America. Since the beginning of the present Northern Irish troubles in 1969, however, there have been some

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attempts by PIRA and other extremist groups to forge contacts with movements elsewhere, notably in Western Europe and the Middle East.

58. Although many contacts overseas are made on a personal basis, PIRA has also developed formal arrangements through which contacts can be pursued. In October 1976 the Provisional Sinn Fein ard fheis (Annual Conference) decided to establish, under the leadership of Richard Behal, a "Foreign Affairs Bureau" which it was hoped would institutionalise contacts with overseas groups, and it invited national liberation movements to express "explicit support for the struggle". Behal, who in 1975 was described as "a sort of roving European ambassador for the Provisional Republican Movement, based in Brussels" (but who has now been replaced by Sean Halpenny as the director of the Bureau) said in Dublin in September 1980 that:

"We have got, whether we like it or not, to be linked with international struggles. The Irish struggle on its own cannot, and will never, succeed in isolation because we are no longer just fighting Britain but fighting an international conspiracy of old colonial powers who are hand in glove with Britain in trying to impose a solution upon us, which would be suitable in maintaining us in the Western imperialist camp".

(An Phoblacht/Republican News, 4 October 1980).

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59. It is significant that despite the Provisionals' Marxist pretensions, the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries have studiously avoided lending them any kind of official support. The standard Soviet line on PIRA is that they are "bourgeois individualists" and that their terrorist activities are to be condemned. Despite characteristic Soviet criticism of HMG's policy in Northern Ireland describing the British presence as "colonialist oppression", it is noteworthy that PIRA does not claim Soviet support, and its representatives (unlike the PLO for example) have never been accorded any official recognition. Likewise there is no evidence that the Soviet Union or Eastern European countries have ever supplied the PIRA with arms or any other form of material support. Weapons and ammunition produced in Eastern bloc countries - including Bulgarian RPG7 rocket launchers and Czechoslovakian firearms - have been recovered on their way to or in Northern Ireland, but it is believed that they were acquired from international terrorist sources, perhaps in the Middle East.

60. PIRA's links with Libya are more direct. A Libyan arms consignment (on board the 'Claudia') was intercepted in 1973 and it is believed that Libya gave PIRA a large sum of money in the mid-70s. Although relations seem to have cooled for a while in the latter half of the 1970's, Colonel Gadhafi said in a Times interview in 1979 that "~~we do not consider the Irish fight for freedom to be terrorism~~". Libyan radio broadcasts began to refer to "aid to Ireland" again in 1980, and the Libyan Government has since made a number of pro-PIRA statements.

61. There has been some contact between PIRA and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation: in 1977 for example, a PIRA arms shipment bought in Lebanon was intercepted in Antwerp

and a number of boxes had Al Fatah markings. The Beirut telephone number of a Palestinian arms contact was found in the diary of a leading member of PIRA when he was arrested in March 1979.

62. After the Israeli forces entered the Lebanon, PIRA/Sinn Fein criticism was directed against the United States:

"The Zionists, backed by the United States, have always declared as their aim the elimination of the Palestinians and their expression of separatism, the Palestine Liberation Organisation It is the US who blocked nearly every move by the United Nations to remove the Zionists from Lebanon... This latest onslaught against the Palestinians will neither be forgotten nor forgiven."
(An Phoblacht, 23 September 1982).

63. The Provisionals have for some time been trying to extend their contacts into South and Central America. Links with Central America through the Catholic Church have resulted in considerable sympathy among some in the Irish Republic for Nicaragua, and equally strong feelings against the Governments of El Salvador and Guatemala. Martin McGuinness, interviewed on American television in March 1983, said that "our heroes are all the people who fight for national liberation", quoting as examples the inhabitants of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Vietnam and Cuba. However, there is little evidence of anything more than verbal solidarity among revolutionaries. In March 1982 An Phoblacht

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reported that Sinn Fein had sent a message of support to the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, which it described as "an inspiration of those struggling for national liberation and to those who fight against all types of oppression throughout the world."

64. In January 1982, Provisional Sinn Fein issued a statement of solidarity with the rebels in El Salvador, which ended: "We unreservedly condemn United States support for the genocidal military junta and pledge our continued support for the struggling people of El Salvador."

65. There have also been contacts with Cuba. For example, Kieran Nugent, a former "protesting prisoner" at the Maze prison near Belfast met representatives of the Cuban Embassy in Copenhagen during a publicity tour in Denmark in April 1981. In September 1981 President Castro, speaking at the formal opening of the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in Havana, strongly attacked the United Kingdom Government's policy in Northern Ireland.

66. In most countries in Western Europe, there are now one or more "Irish solidarity" groups, usually composed of anarchists or others on the Trotskyist fringe. In recent years, PIRA and INLA have sought to extend their contacts through these groups, but some of the links (such as those in Italy and Switzerland) have so far failed to generate lasting support.

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67. One of the earliest European support groups was in West Germany. The West German-Ireland Solidarity Committee (WISK), based at Oberursel near Frankfurt-am-Main, was founded in 1972. It is associated with a number of other groups including the Ireland Kommittee West Berlin (IKW). It originally supported the Officials but now supports the Provisionals and the IRSP. It has organised a number of solidarity conferences, but has failed to make much impact.

68. By contrast, Irish support groups in France have been among the most active in Europe - partly because of France's historical links with Irish nationalism and partly because it is a convenient meeting place for Irish terrorists (there is a direct ferry connection with Rosslare and Cork). During the 1980-81 hunger strikes their activities were supplemented by those of the French Communist Party (largely for domestic political reasons) and the main Communist-led French trade union federation, the CGT. In August 1981, a Comite Solidarite Irlande was formed to "support young Irish patriots dying in Long Kesh prison", Communist and CGT members predominating. The best known of the French groups is the Comite Irlande established in 1975 and based in Paris, with branches in several towns and publishes Irlande en Lutte. One of its members, Alain Frilet a journalist, was arrested on IRA membership charges; after being given bail, he returned to Paris without standing trial.

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69. The small but vociferous support groups in The Netherlands included the Ierland Komitee Nederland (IKN), founded in mid-1975 in Breda but now inactive. Several of those who were associated with it have been arrested on explosives and similar charges.

70. There are similar groups in Belgium, some dating from the early 1970s. Most recent organisations include an Irlande Libre committee (established in Brussels in 1978 by supporters of the French publication), whose objectives were to "inform the Belgian people about Ireland and to assist Irish "resistance". A Flemish group, Werkgroep Ireland, has also been active in recent years.

71. The Provisional IRA has made common cause with a number of European separatist groups which also claim to represent minority "nationalities". In May 1974, An Phoblacht identified "30 nations" in Western Europe, in addition to the "four nations of these islands", which are struggling for "a new set of equalised relationships".

72. IRA also have long-standing contacts with Breton nationalists. In June 1972 the left-wing French weekly, Politique Hebdo, reported that a political agreement had recently been signed "somewhere in Ireland" between the Provisional IRA, the Basque ETA and the Front de Liberation de al Bretagne (FLB).

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73. Irish terrorist contacts with the Basque ETA, dating from the early 1970s, have been more intensive. The former Sinn Fein President, Rory O'Brady, travelled to the Basque region of ETA's guest, and ETA representatives have regularly attended the Sinn Fein ard fheis. Leaders of the Provisional movement have also met Basque leaders at conferences and meetings held in other countries.

74. Links with Corsican nationalists, including the Front de la Liberation Nationale de la Corse (FLNC), which was declared illegal by the French Government in January 1983, are also active. In August 1981 Sinn Fein was represented by Rory O'Brady at an international gathering in Corte. A fortnight later a Frenchman associated with Corsican nationalism, who had also attended the conference, was arrested at Cherbourg en route to Ireland and charged with illegally possessing and transporting explosives. Later in the year, representatives of the FLNC attended the Sinn Fein annual conference in Dublin.

75. The Provisionals' propaganda makes much of the presence of Sinn Fein leaders at international meetings, particularly those connected with the Third World. Participation in such conferences, however, is more often by request than by invitation, and such requests are not always granted (as the failure of the non-aligned movement to give the IRA a hearing in 1981 showed).

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76. There have also been direct contacts with Communist-controlled international front organisations.

The Provisional IRA's use of publicity and propaganda

77. PIRA's use of publicity and propaganda aim to exploit the emotions of nationalists in Ireland and overseas, and justify Provisional activity. PIRA itself makes announcements from Dublin under the name of the "Irish Republican Publicity Bureau": these are traditionally signed by "P O'Neill".

Leading Provisionals make policy pronouncements on traditional Republican occasions such as the anniversaries of the 1916 Easter Rising and of the death of Wolfe Tone (celebrated at his grave in Bodenstown, Co Kildare, in mid-June). The appearance of wanted Provisional IRA figures at "secret" Press conferences is designed to stimulate publicity even when their pronouncements are not in themselves newsworthy.

78. Sinn Fein's main publication is the weekly An Phoblacht/Republican News, published in Dublin since two separate newspapers merged in January 1979. In Northern Ireland, a number of local publications closely reflect Sinn Fein/PIRA views. Belfast's Anderstown News, for example, although owned and controlled by the Anderstown Central Civil Resistance Committee, is virtually a Provisional publication.

79. The Provisionals have published a number of pamphlets. A "little red book", Notes for Revolutionaries, was published in 1982 containing quotations by Tone, Connolly, Lenin,

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Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and Mao Tse-tung ("political power comes out of the barrel of a gun"); a second edition, published in April 1983, "made up for the obvious omission of Karl Marx from the first one" (An Phoblacht, 14 April 1983).

80. PIRA publicity for overseas audiences is usually channelled through the "Irish Republican Information Service" (IRIS). Set up in Dublin 1973, at the head office of Sinn Fein, IRIS issues information leaflets together with a 'quarterly' magazine that "reflects every aspect of the Republican struggle" and includes "extensive coverage of the military struggle in the six counties" (though the magazine is published only spasmodically).

81. In the United States, "The Irish People" is the main instrument of PIRA propaganda. The newspaper makes liberal use of direct reprints from An Phoblacht and is financed by the Irish Northern Aid Committee (NORAID). The American Irish Unity Committee, a Republican organisation having close links with NORAID, has placed television advertisements attacking British policy in Northern Ireland on two occasions.

82. Apart from these channels, the Provisionals control "civil rights" organisations which campaign for the abolition of security measures. The formation of the Irish Civil Rights Association (ICRA) in December 1972 followed an internal Provisional Sinn Fein circular which stated that Sinn Fein "must be totally involved in this project". (Irish Times, Dublin, 5 January 1973)

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83. In its campaign to arouse opposition to the security forces in Northern Ireland, PIRA exploits the inconvenience and occasional abuses which almost inevitably arise in the fight against violent criminals operating from within a civilian population. Accounts of ill-treatment have often been falsified, and almost all encounters between the Provisionals and the security forces are misrepresented in IRA propaganda. According to the former Guardian (London) correspondent in Northern Ireland:

"... almost every time an IRA man is killed there is a protest about the circumstances of his killing: usually the initial protests ('he never touched a gun in his life - he was the most gentle of human beings, wouldn't hurt a fly') evolved into the truth next day, in the death column of the Irish News, when one would read: "Seamus - aged 19, Lieutenant, 2nd Battalion, Creggan Brigade IRA, in action against British forces'" ('In Holy Terror' by Simon Winchester, Faber and Faber, 1974).

84. In An Phoblacht/Republican News there are frequent allegations of harassment by the security forces of "Republican political activists". Activities by the police or by the army are characterised as "repression"; and it is claimed that the British consider nationalist lives "expendable" and that "the Brits can decide to kill a few in order to placate the Unionists". The security forces in the Republic are subject to a similar campaign. In recent years this has

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concentrated on attempts to misrepresent the conditions in the Republic's prisons and to show that members of the Garda carry out "ill-treatment and torture during ... interrogation" (An Phoblacht, 17 March 1983).

85. PIRA propaganda has focussed on a wide range of particular issues over the years. Apart from the general allegation of discrimination by the security forces against the Nationalist/Republican Community, attacks have been made on the use of internment/detention; RUC interrogation practices; the use of non-jury courts and other features of the anti-terrorist legislation; prison conditions (including 'strip-searching'); the use of plastic baton rounds; the acceptance by the courts of evidence from former accomplices or 'converted terrorists'; and the 'licence' granted the security forces to shoot to kill. There are a large number of statutory and procedural safeguards and rarely is there any truth in any of PIRA's allegations, but where there has been legitimate cause for concern - such as over interrogation techniques or practices - remedial action has been taken. PIRA's claims can usually be rebutted clearly and effectively within the United Kingdom, but it is easier for distortions and exaggerations to be persevered with abroad.

The Irish National Liberation Army

86 INLA was formed in December 1974 at the same time as its political wing, the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP). Members of the new group had been involved previously

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in the Official IRA/Official Sinn Fein and had been campaigning without success for a renewal of the "military" campaign against the Security Forces since the ceasefire declared by OIRA in 1972. INLA is a much smaller organisation than PIRA, possessing possibly no more than fifty active terrorists, but distinguishes itself by an almost complete lack of restraint in the kind of attacks which it is prepared to contemplate. Although unable to sustain a terrorist campaign at the level achieved by PIRA, INLA has mounted several savage attacks in recent years in an effort to raise its own public profile. It claimed responsibility for the bomb which killed the Conservative MP Mr Airey Neave at the House of Commons in March 1979, and was involved in a bomb attack on a dance hall at Ballykelly in December 1982, resulting in the deaths of eleven soldiers and six civilians. A group calling itself the "Catholic Reaction Force", which was generally believed to be a cover name for INLA, carried out a shooting attack on a Protestant church hall at Darkley, Co Armagh, in November 1983 in which three people were killed.

87. INLA/IRSP has always pursued a revolutionary Marxist ideology, which has always found little favour with the electorate on the occasions when IRSP has chosen to contest elections. In any event, INLA terrorists are less politically motivated than the Provisionals and are less disciplined in their activities, which results in some members taking more interest in personal gain than in funding the organisation when armed robberies are carried out. Indeed those who join INLA rather than PIRA are probably attracted by its less rigid structure and

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looser discipline. INLA tries to maintain an internal structure along the lines of PIRA, but in practice the organisation consists of a number of locally-based groups which can be persuaded to coordinate their efforts only very occasionally. Much depends on the leadership's effectiveness: Dominic McGLINCHEY, for example, was able to direct and control the activity of most of INLA's units for a limited period, but since his capture in March 1984, INLA has encountered serious problems, attributable mainly to internal quarrelling. The organisation has also had some difficulty in obtaining sufficient weapons and explosives with which to attack the security forces.

89. INLA's principal characteristic is its unpredictability. While in theory less effective than PIRA, it is able on certain occasions to co-ordinate its efforts into vicious and apparently senseless attacks, of a kind which PIRA might not perhaps contemplate but which succeed overnight in raising the political temperature in the Province to a level which a regular series of less spectacular incidents could not achieve.

SECURITY STATISTICS

	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Deaths:															
Army/UDR	48	129	66	35	20	29	29	21	48	16	23	28	15	19	
RUC/RUC(R)	11	17	13	15	11	23	14	10	14	9	21	12	18	9	
Civilians	115	321	171	166	216	245	69	50	51	50	57	57	44	36	
TOTAL	174	467	250	216	247	297	112	81	113	75	101	97	77	64	
Injuries:															
Army/UDR	390	578	548	483	167	264	188	135	153	77	140	98	88	86	
RUC/RUC(R)	315	485	291	235	263	303	183	302	165	194	332	99	142	267	
Civilians	1,838	3,813	1,812	1,680	2,044	2,162	1,027	548	557	530	878	328	280	513	
TOTAL	2,543	4,876	2,651	2,398	2,474	2,729	1,398	985	875	801	1,350	525	510	866	
Shooting Incidents															
	1,756	10,628	5,018	3,206	1,803	1,908	1,081	755	728	642	815	382	289	230	
Explosions Neutralisation															
	1,022	1,382	978	685	399	766	366	455	422	280	398	219	266	193	
	493	471	542	428	236	426	169	178	142	120	131	113	101	55	
Finds:															
Firearms	717	1,264	1,595	1,260	825	837	590	400	301	203	409	317	214	197	
Ammunition (RDS)	157,944	183,410	187,399	147,202	73,604	70,306	52,091	43,512	46,280	28,078	47,127	41,452	35,047	27,211	
Explosives (lbs)	2,748	41,488	38,418	26,120	11,565	21,714	3,809	2,108	1,996	1,810	7,536	5,066	3,762	8,535	
Charges:															
Murder		13	71	77	138	120	131	60	45	63	48	50	75	41	
Attempted Murder		16	85	76	88	121	135	79	39	59	72	96	60	68	
Firearms Offences	N/A	242	631	545	460	353	301	225	177	112	155	173	150	155	
Explosives Offences		86	236	161	100	215	146	79	40	39	39	41	48	21	
Theft		111	186	239	314	188	203	151	159	128	158	130	119	94	
Other		63	205	276	97	279	392	249	210	149	446	196	155	149	
TOTAL	N/A	531	1,414	1,374	1,197	1,276	1,308	843	670	550	918	686	607	528	

MAJOR INCIDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

1972

February A PIRA car bomb outside Aldershot Officers' Mess
killed 7 and injured 19.

1973

March PIRA car bombs in the City of London and Westminster
injured 244 (and 1 man died of a heart attack
attributed to the blast).

September A bomb disposal expert was killed by a PIRA bomb
in Birmingham.

December PIRA bombs in London - outside a Government Building
in Westminster, in a Post Office, outside a prison,
in three streets, and in a public house - injured
about 70.

1974

January PIRA bombs exploded at Madame Tussaud's in London,
in a Chelsea Street, and at an exhibition centre,
injuring many.

February A PIRA bomb on a coach carrying soldiers and their
families in Yorkshire killed 12, including civilians;
and a bomb exploded at the National Defence College
injuring 10.

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May A PIRA bomb exploded at Heathrow, causing a number of injuries.

June PIRA bombs exploded at the Tower of London (killing one person and injuring 42) and at Westminster Hall where 6 were injured.

October Two public houses used by soldiers in Guildford, Surrey were blown up by PIRA killing 5 and injuring 67.

November A PIRA bomb near Army barracks at Woolwich in London killed 2 and injured 35, and bombs in two public houses in Birmingham killed 21 and injured 184.

1975

February A London policeman was killed by a PIRA gunman with a bomb.

August A public house used by soldiers in Caterham, Surrey was bombed, and 33 were injured.

September There were several PIRA bomb attacks on hotels (including the Hilton) and restaurants in London between September and November, and 5 were killed and over 100 injured.

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October A leading cancer expert was killed in London by a
PIRA bomb intended for an MP.

November (Ross McWhirter, editor of the "Guinness Book of Records")
A prominent writer and opponent of PIRA/was shot dead at
his home in London.

1976

February A large PIRA bomb at a London underground station was
defused.

March A PIRA bomb exploded at an exhibition in London
killing one person and injuring 85.

March A PIRA bomb exploded on a London underground train
and the driver was shot dead when he chased the PIRA
member responsible.

1977

January 13 PIRA bombs were placed in the Oxford Street shopp-
ing area in London: widespread damage was caused
and some injuries.

1978

December 13 PIRA devices were planted in London, Bristol,
Coventry, Liverpool, Manchester and Southampton,
causing extensive damage and injuring 11 people.

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1979

January Overnight PIRA bombs exploded at Greenwich in London and in Essex, causing damage to a gas installation and a fuel storage tank.

March An INLA bomb killed Mr Airey Neave MP at the House of Commons.

June A PIRA letter bomb injured 5 at a post office in Birmingham.

Aug

Lord Mountbatten + 2 others killed (in the Republic)

1980

December PIRA bombs damaged an Army depot and a gas installation in London.

1981

January A PIRA bomb caused injuries and damage at an RAF station on the outskirts of London.

October A PIRA bomb under the car of a Royal Marine General in London blew off one of his legs, and a police explosives expert was killed disarming a PIRA bomb at a snack bar in London.

October A remote-controlled PIRA nail-bomb killed 2 and injured 39 outside an Army barracks in London.

November A PIRA bomb wrecked part of the home of the Attorney General in London, and a device in a London street injured 2 women.

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1982

July

Two PIRA bomb attacks on Horseguards (riding through tourists) and an Army band (playing in the park) killed 11 soldiers and injured more than 60, many of them civilians.

1983

December

A PIRA bomb outside Harrods store in London killed 6 (including one American) and injured more than 90 and another bomb injured 4 near Woolwich Barracks.

1984

October

A PIRA bomb at a hotel in Brighton where the Conservative Party was holding its annual conference killed 5, including an MP and three wives of party members.