



An Chartlann Náisiúnta
National Archives

Reference Code: 2021/47/85

Creator(s): Department of Foreign Affairs

Accession Conditions: Open

Copyright: National Archives, Ireland.
May only be reproduced with
the written permission of the
Director of the National
Archives.



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;

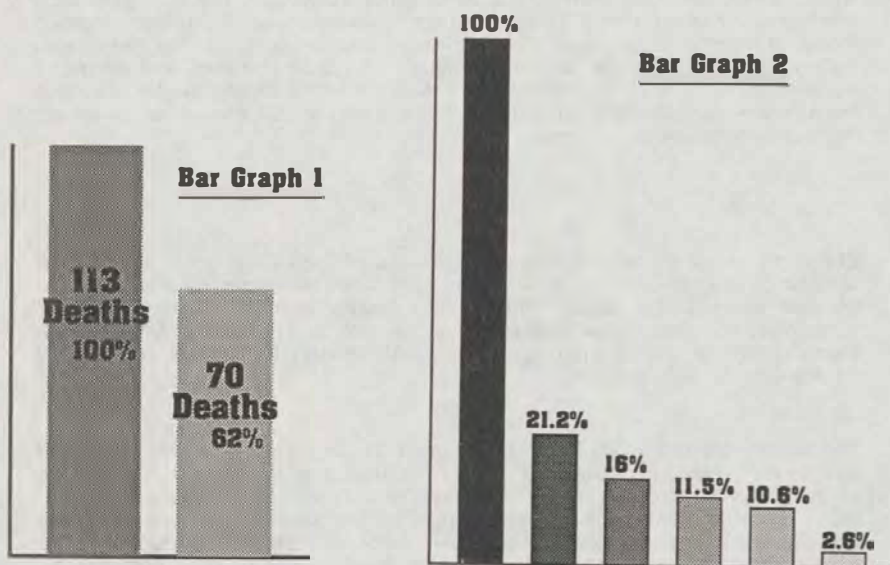
24, (21.2%), were murdered by loyalists who wrongly believed them to be Republicans and who were acting on precise information which in many cases appears to have come from British intelligence files.

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 Freedomn 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.

19 sept	Eugene Mulholland	Shot dead as he walked along the Ormeau Rd. It was a UVF gang which was responsible for Mr Mullholland'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

e

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 Noel Little IRSP	Both shot dead in Mr Bunting's home on Glen Road, Belfast.

1981

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

1983

5 Dec J	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.
--------	-------------	---

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.

total12

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 harrassed by RUC.
1984		
31 Oct	Harry Muldoon	A black taxi driver, he was shot in his home near ardoyne by UVF 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 Catherine Mullan	Terry and his mother were shot dead at their farmhouse home outside ballynahinch.
1987		
25 May	Dermot Hacket	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 Hacket's file. Following this murder a raid on the home of Eddie Sayers, UDA inner council, uncovered RUC

		and Gardai files. Dermott Hacket 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 Bally murphy area of West Belfast. Former internee, but at the time of his deat 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 greenfinch, 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 greenfinch 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.
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 targeted, 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. |
| 17 Nov | Paedar Fagan | Shot dead by travelling gunmen in Lurgan. |

1982

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------|---|
| 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 the 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 M. 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).
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.
10 Mar	Jim McCartney	Shot dead while doing Security guard at a bar Springfield Road, Belfast.
15 May	Malachy Trainor	Shot dead on building site Rathcoole, North Belfast.
2 Sept	Paddy McKenna	Shot dead by traveling gunman. North Belfast.
1990.		
7 Jan	Martin Byrne	Taxi man shot dead by PAF in Lurgan. Taxi was phoned out on bogus call.