

Dublin, together with the creation of flexible and innovative economic and political initiatives. These involve the creation of all-Ireland institutions such as an economic development council, a common criminal justice system and the harmonising of social and economic structures. Whether the final form is federal or unitary is to my mind less important at this stage. What matters is that we should proceed in that direction and that no group in Northern Ireland should have a veto on the jointly agreed policies of London and Dublin. In other words the guarantee means that the people of Northern Ireland will not be forced

into a united Ireland without their consent. It does not mean a veto on political developments designed to achieve that consent.

Mr Prior's latest initiative, reported on Sunday, sounds as if he may be drifting towards Labour's policy. But without a commitment to a united Ireland as the ultimate goal, he may only get a half-hearted response from Dublin — and a lot of trouble from his own party. □

*Clive Soley is Labour MP for Hammersmith.*

**NEXT WEEK:** Professor Bernard Crick will analyse the implications of the Forum Report for a fundamental reform of the British Constitution.

## DIRTY WAR PART II

# Booby traps and bank raids

**Former army intelligence officer Fred Holroyd (see above) reveals to Duncan Campbell more of the inside story of British army 'dirty tricks' in Northern Ireland**



Andrew Ward/Report

FORMER INTELLIGENCE officer Captain Fred Holroyd's revelations last week in the *New Statesman* and on Channel 4 have provoked a strong reaction from the Irish government. The Irish Ambassador to Britain, Mr Noel Dorr, said last week that 'It's simply not acceptable that there should be security forces of any other state operating within our jurisdiction'. Ambassador Dorr, who appeared with Holroyd on a breakfast television programme, pointed out that it had only been a month since Irish protests about undercover cross-border RUC activity had been lodged in London.

## Kidnap plots

On more than one occasion, Army officers in Northern Ireland have arranged illegal kidnap plots against people living in the Irish Republic. Captain Holroyd was present when Army staff officers arranged for one such kidnap team to be paid £500 from secret intelligence funds. His evidence implicates at least four Army officers in a plan illegally to kidnap suspects from the Irish Republic. Two of the targets were Eamon McGurgan and Seamus Grew both of whom lived in County Monaghan and were on the local 'top ten' list of IRA suspects.

The kidnap operations known to Holroyd took place in March 1974. In December 1982, he described the plots in detail to an investigating team from the Royal Ulster Constabulary, led by Superintendent George Caskey. Caskey's report is now being studied by the Northern Ireland Director of Public Prosecutions. Until the DPP has announced his decision, the Ministry of Defence is refusing to comment on the kidnap charges, or to allow officers to be interviewed.

Holroyd first heard from a military intelligence colleague, Sergeant Tony Poole of the Intelligence Corps, that two men from

Lisburn, both ex-boxers, had been hired to kidnap Eamonn McGurgan, and bring him across the border. The Army would arrange with a Garda (Irish Police) contact for an area around McGurgan's home in Castleblayney to be 'frozen' — i.e. left completely unpoliced — while the kidnap took place. Although the men concerned were primarily willing to do the job because of their Loyalist political sympathies, they were to be paid £500 by the Army, Holroyd learned. The kidnap victim would be hit over the head, tied up with a sack over his head and dumped at a prearranged spot on the Northern Ireland side of the border. A party of soldiers would then 'discover' the victim, and arrest him.

But the McGurgan kidnap plan went wrong. On the night the kidnapers set out, a prominent Senator in the Dail (the Dublin Parliament) was murdered in the same area. It was no longer possible for the Army's Garda contact to 'freeze' police operations. The kidnapers were, reportedly, stopped at a checkpoint by the Irish Army, and the operation failed.

Another kidnap operation was mounted about two weeks later, on 29 March 1974. The targets this time were IRA suspect Seamus Grew and Patrick McLoughlin, with whom Grew lived in the border town of Monaghan. The leader of the kidnap team hired by the Army was Jimmy O'Hara, a Lisburn Protestant and ex-boxer. Earlier this year, O'Hara confirmed to us that he and two friends had indeed been hired by an Army officer to kidnap Grew. The officer supplied maps showing Grew's house, details of his movements, official surveillance photographs and a sketch plan to show them where to dump Grew in Northern Ireland after they had kidnapped him. All these items were seized by the Garda after the three were arrested.

The three men were to receive £500 for their

trouble. O'Hara says that the Grew kidnap plot was discussed twice at secret meetings with the Army officer, the first of which was in the Woodlands Hotel, Lisburn, close to where O'Hara then lived. The second meeting took place in Craigavon Area Hospital car park — a short distance from the Army's 3rd Brigade headquarters in Lurgan, where the kidnap plot had been devised.

The Grew plot also went badly wrong. Two of the three men were seen furtively reconnoitering outside Grew's house and were arrested after neighbours called the police. The third, O'Hara himself, was arrested after he went to the police station to demand their release, having been wrongly advised by his Army contact that all the Garda would be helpful. (Indeed, an earlier kidnap plan suggested by the Army to O'Hara had involved the use of a British agent inside the Monaghan Garda, who would arrange to have Grew brought in for questioning. He would then be released at a prearranged time, and kidnapped on his way home.)

We have seen the statement which O'Hara made to the Garda after his arrest. In it he repeatedly referred to being given the job by an 'Army man' — whom he refused to identify. O'Hara and his collaborators were each sentenced to five years imprisonment in Dublin in June 1974. On appeal, their sentences were increased to seven years. The harsh sentences reflected growing Irish judicial concern about political kidnapping operations. The kidnap strategy was abandoned, at least for a time, by the Army — but may well have been revived in 1976, when Sean McKenna — the son of a Newry man whom the British government were found guilty of torturing in the first days of internment — was abducted across the border from the village of Edentubber, near Dundalk in the Republic. He was arrested in the north, having allegedly 'stumbled across the border into a patrol' — according to an official Army public relations statement.

Shortly before Jimmy O'Hara and his colleagues were apprehended in Monaghan, Captain Holroyd was working in the intelligence 'cell' at 3rd Brigade Headquarters in Lurgan. The staff in the 'cell' arranged, in his presence, to have £500 for the kidnap operation urgently collected from Army Headquarters in Lisburn. The money had to be available in Lurgan to pay the kidnapers.

The intelligence cell, which comprised the Brigade's intelligence planners and analysts, was then headed by Major David Delius, a Royal Hussars officer with a brisk public school manner. Major Delius is still in the Army, and has not been permitted by the Ministry of Defence to comment on the allegations against him. Among his colleagues involved in the kidnap plot were two other Captains, who collated intelligence on the local Catholic and Protestant communities, and Sergeant Poole, the Brigade's 'Field Intelligence NCO'.

Jimmy O'Hara still refuses to identify the Army officer who dealt with him, or the go-between who introduced them. But he has volunteered that he knows the name 'Poole'. We have also discovered that Mr O'Hara is related by marriage to Mr John Poland, a sergeant in the Armagh RUC — who had been in charge of Poole's activities on behalf of the RUC Special Branch. O'Hara will not talk

about other operations he may have carried out for the Army or RUC. But he has confirmed that there was more than one kidnap plan, and that Eamonn McGurgan, as well as Seamus Grew, 'may have been' a target.

The RUC's Caskey Report on Captain Holroyd's allegations is believed to attempt to dismiss the kidnap plot accusation. Last year, Superintendent Caskey claimed to Captain Holroyd that O'Hara had denied being paid by the Army. But during last week's *Diverse Report* (Channel 4) on the Holroyd revelations, Mr O'Hara — blacked out to prevent his face being seen — acknowledged that his orders had come from the 'English' — as he had told the Garda in 1974.

## Boobytraps

Fred Holroyd first heard about the 'Case of the self-exploding motorcyclist', as intelligence staff at the 3rd Brigade Headquarters called the lethal results of a secret Army sabotage mission, early in October 1974. Major Delius, the Brigade's explosives expert, Captain Peter Maynard, and other intelligence officers were celebrating the case by passing round a large sweet jar of white mints. They were, says Holroyd, 'like public schoolboys playing James

report on 'Future Terrorist Trends', which leaked in 1979, the Provisional IRA had begun using bombards to attack armoured vehicles in September 1974. They could have a range of up to 800 feet.)

The bombards were discovered by the British Army. Rather than allowing the secret arms cache to be seized by the Garda, however, the Brigade staff had arranged for one of their team to cross the border to examine and sabotage the bombards. He sawed off safety pins inside the rocket bodies, making them unsuitable and likely to explode on rough handling. The aim of this sabotage was another 'kill' against the IRA — an 'own goal'.

After picking up the bombards, McQuaid was (unknown to him) under surveillance. The watchers may have expected him to be killed as he loaded the rockets. But he set off towards Newry — now a live bomb on a public road; and a lethal hazard to the public as well as to himself. A roadblock was set up to intercept him, with an Army team kept well back from the area for its own safety. On reaching the roadblock, McQuaid turned and fled back towards the Republic. At that point one of the sabotaged bombards, fixed below his petrol tank, exploded.

McQuaid died about 100 yards from

explosion of one of the rockets he was carrying. The Army had in fact in effect summarily executed Eugene McQuaid without trial, recklessly putting many innocent lives at great risk.

## Sabotage and bank raids

Captain Holroyd frequently operated on behalf of SIS, the Secret Intelligence Service. Holroyd worked directly for Northern Ireland's SIS chief, whose special department at Army HQ at Lisburn is disguised as the 'Political Secretariat'. At the time, it was headed by Craig Smellie, who left in 1975 to run the SIS station in Athens.

Soon after they first met, Smellie asked Holroyd if he would be interested in robbing a bank. He did not explain why — or where — SIS might want banks robbed. Holroyd refused and could only think, then or later, of two reasons why SIS wanted banks robbed — either they were short of money in their 'unattributable' funds which they used to pay for agents and secret operations; or the Littlejohn brothers, who were then robbing banks in Eire and working for British intelligence at the same time, might have been thought to need closed SIS supervision.

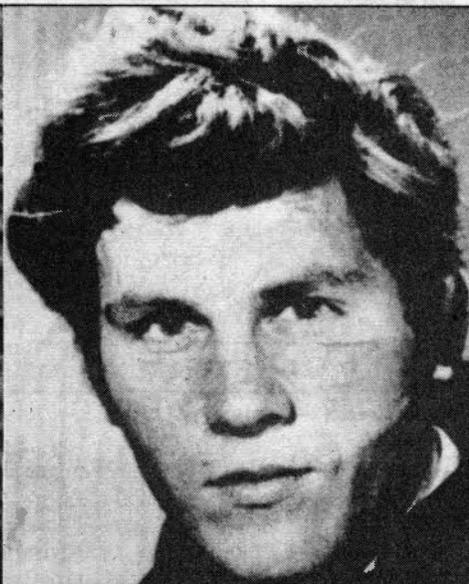
Holroyd, like other intelligence officers in the province, periodically used 'unattributable' funds for secret operations. They could be released by a few senior officers at the Northern Ireland Army HQ, including Smellie.

During 1974, Holroyd met Smellie at Lisburn about once a month. From an agent in the Provisional IRA, Holroyd and his Special Branch colleagues learned that an active local IRA man in Lurgan was planning to kill a policeman the following Sunday. Holroyd knew where the rifle and ammunition to be used were hidden — inside a graveyard to the north of the Kilwilkie housing estate in Lurgan, one of the most dangerous Catholic 'hard areas' in the county and virtually an Army 'no go' area.

Rather than removing the weapons, or arresting anyone taking them, Smellie suggested that he would arrange 'to give the chap a bit of a surprise'. He asked Holroyd to bring him the top bullets from the clip of ammunition. He would arrange for the rounds to be doctored. Holroyd and Sergeant Dearsley retrieved the rounds and took them to Smellie. Two days later, Holroyd collected the doctored rounds. They had been filled with powerful explosive, instead of normal powder. When the trigger was pulled, the would-be-killer would blow his own head off.

But this SIS plan was never put into effect. The commander of the 3rd Brigade, Brigadier Wallis-King, resented SIS operating independently in his area and forbade Holroyd to plant the doctored bullets. So Holroyd and Dearsley made a further secret trip into Kilwilkie, and sabotaged the rifle's firing mechanism. The doctored round stayed in Holroyd's office.

When Dearsley left Northern Ireland late in 1974, Fred Holroyd was asked by Smellie to take over running his agents, both north and south. Holroyd was specifically instructed to pass the information from most of these agents directly to SIS on special 'Military Intelligence Source Reports'. In a series of specially made tape recordings, Holroyd was briefed by Dearsley about his new agents, how to contact



Both photos: Pacemaker Press

**Right: Seamus Grew, an IRA suspect whom the Army planned illegally to kidnap from the Irish Republic. Left: Eugene McQuaid, the 'self-exploding motorcyclist' — effectively summarily executed by the Army**

Bond', celebrating in a 'tuck-room' atmosphere.

Forty miles away near the border at Newry, a 35 year-old man had been blown to death on 5 October. Eugene McQuaid, a mechanic from Newry, married with five children, had been riding southwards on his motorcycle when it suddenly exploded — distributing parts of the motorbike and his body across the main Dublin-Belfast road.

McQuaid was not believed either by intelligence staff or his family to have belonged to the IRA. But he was 'doing a turn' for a family friend who was in the IRA, Holroyd says. On his bike were strapped three home-made rocket launchers, known to the Army as 'bombards', and to the IRA as mobile mines. McQuaid is believed to have agreed to pick up the bombards from the Republic and bring them across the border to Newry. (According to a secret Army

Donnelly's garage, just north of the border on the main Belfast-Dublin road. An eyewitness at this spot heard the explosion and came out of a house in which he was working. McQuaid's severed head, still in a motorcycle helmet, lay at the foot of a tree, a small trickle of blood coming from his nose. Other parts of his body and bike were hanging from the tree, and scattered across the pavement and a nearby field. Army officers arrived on the scene extremely quickly, confirming Holroyd's report that the check-point had caused the motorcyclist to turn round and try to retreat across the border. One officer came up to the tree where McQuaid's head lay, and picked up a handful of guts. 'That's an end of another of you fucking bastards', he said.

The eye-witnesses evidence of the Army's grim satisfaction at the incident confirms Holroyd's recollections — as did the coroner's report, which ascribed his death to the sudden

them, and their foibles and requirements. The agents included three Gardai (Irish police), one of whom had been allocated a code-name. One of the more exotic of the agents also transferred to Holroyd was a Catholic woman from Lurgan who provided information on IRA activities in return for sexual favours from the Army. Every few weeks, on Holroyd's request, a sergeant

from the local army company would muster volunteers from the unmarried men in his unit to come and provide unusual service for Queen and Country. □

**NEXT WEEK:** *Forgery, train derailment, death threats, burglary, how the SAS really operate — and how Protestant killers have been protected from justice.*

## AGROCHEMICALS

# Blind eye to poison

**Agent Orange damages the health — and so does 245T, still on open sale here, reports Judith Cook**

FIVE YEARS after the campaign against the herbicide 245T began — and eleven reports from the government's Advisory Committee on Pesticides later — it still isn't banned in this country. Yet now, ironically, most at risk are not workers in the agricultural, horticultural and forestry industries, but the general public; for the unions involved have managed to enforce a more or less blanket ban on its use in industry.

Shortly, the Agricultural Workers Trade Group of the TGWU will be publishing an Interim Report on the survey it has undertaken into cases of alleged ill effects among workers who have used 245T. A questionnaire in the *Landworker*, followed by a revised version sent to branches and to enquirers, has brought in over 130 replies, varying in seriousness from persistent rashes and chest troubles to death from soft tissue cancers, miscarriages and severe birth abnormalities in children born to the wives of those who have used the herbicide extensively.

One typical case is worth quoting. The young man concerned was apprenticed at 16 in the horticultural department of his local authority. For five years he mixed 245T in back-pack sprays for others and for two years he sprayed it himself. During the last two years he worked he developed a persistent and unpleasant rash on his hands which his doctor was unable to either cure or even diagnose. In 1980 he began to have severe headaches and in November developed a lump on his neck that his doctor thought was a swollen gland.

Two weeks later, when he was in considerable pain, his parents persuaded the doctor to refer their son to hospital where he was admitted straight from the outpatients' department, after which tests revealed he was suffering from a rare form of cancer. He was 23. He asked the consultant if his persistent use of 245T might have triggered the cancer, but was told, after enquiries had been made, that the Ministry of Agriculture had said that it was safe. Just before he died in 1981 the media carried details of the third survey undertaken by Drs Hardell and Sandstrom in Sweden, which showed that users of phenoxy herbicides stood a six times higher chance of getting rare soft tissue cancers than ordinary people. Again he drew the doctor's attention to 245T. A few



**Killing weeds — or himself?**

weeks later he died. His parents are convinced his death was connected with 245T.

The TGWU undertook the survey because, in its December 1980 Report, the Advisory Committee had said that the Healthy and Safety Executive were undertaking a 'user survey'. This turned out not to be so, as according to the HSE, it had not proved possible to find out where 245T was being used, or by whom. However a further Report from the APC, while once again 'clearing' 245T, did say that some kind of monitoring should be undertaken. The Advisory Committee on Pesticides stands almost alone now in the world in not accepting the findings of the Swedish research.

AS THE CAMPAIGN against 245T grew its entry was formally blacked at ports — although it is obviously possible for it to get in somehow. The NUR, NUM, GMWU are among those whose members will not handle it at all, nor will the TGWU transport it. This move pioneered the concept of union action on the grounds of public health and safety and has been repeated successfully in the case of dumping nuclear waste at sea.

Now American chemical companies which produced Agent Orange, the dioxin-based

herbicide used as a defoliant in Vietnam, have set up a \$180 million fund to compensate Vietnam veterans. This settlement came on the eve of Federal court cases, which would have put forward the claims of 50,000 US, Australian & New Zealand ex-servicemen from Vietnam.

In November 1983 the last major manufacturer of 245T, Dow Chemicals, announced that it was stopping production. 'Dow Throws in the Sponge' said the *New York Times*. Dow was one of the companies being sued by the Vietnam veterans. The use of the Freedom of Information Act had elicited that Dow had been aware of the lethal qualities of the dioxin in 245T long before it was generally known. For five years of the Vietnam war, from 1965 to 1970, Dow covered up its findings. Also revealed was the fact that Dow workers handling 245T stood a 20 times higher incidence of soft tissue cancer than those in a control group. The only company now known to be making the trichloropheno based chemical is a subsidiary of Dow in New Zealand.

When he was Minister of Agriculture, Peter Walker said that 245T disappears from the ground in 24 hours. But at Seveso in Italy, the site of the last major dioxin accident, although scraped to a depth of 20 cm and with new soil dumped on top of it, is still showing a dangerously high ratio of 15 micrograms of dioxin per square metre. In Brazil, the government ordered the exhumation of 15 bodies buried alongside Highway 150. Some were grossly deformed babies, others are children and young adults who died mysteriously. All were in contact with 245T, sprayed under the brand name Tordon, used to clear vegetation from roadside verges.

Those who may have been affected by 245T may well not show symptoms for years. The unions have fully alerted their members to its hazards, but this still leaves at risk non-union labour, employed by contract sprayers, and home gardeners. While it is now accepted that full protective clothing should be used in industry if 245T is used, the home gardener can mix it in a watering can on the kitchen table.

Even within the agrochemical industry, there is a change. Individuals in the industry will say, privately, that 245T would never have been licensed had it appeared today. The industry itself now wants mandatory controls, as requested by a Royal Commission in 1979, in order to regain public confidence. Agricultural workers have only ever seen the 245T campaign as the tip of an iceberg — the nerve gas derived insecticides are just as worrying. □

## THIS ENGLAND

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□ Has informality gone too far in the Church of England? I have recently attended a baptism where the vicar produced a Thermos flask at the most solemn moment in the service with the words: 'This is not a coffee break. I am just filling the font with warm water.' — Letter in *The Times* (Anthony Barton)

□ 'When I came to England I rushed down to the site of the Globe, assuming there would be something there and of course there was just a black plaque on the side of a brewery wall.' — Sam Wanamaker quoted in *Radio Times* (J. Rafferty)