

**THE PATH TO PEACE**

**BY  
GERRY ADAMS**

**June 14, 1995**

## THE NEXT STEP

Last month in Washington, DC, Patrick Mayhew and I had a useful meeting. Apart from the matters we discussed, the meeting itself was important because as part of our engagement with the British, Sinn Fein has been seeking assurances that the British government is committed to inclusive peace talks with all parties being given equality of treatment. The Washington meeting was an important step. The next step is all-party talks and negotiations, led by both governments, at which everyone is at the table and everything is on the table. I saw my engagement with Patrick Mayhew, and the meetings between Michael Ancram and Martin McGuinness, as movement in that direction.

When I returned to Ireland I wrote to Patrick Mayhew, commending him for his part in our meeting and seeking another meeting to build on the Washington engagement. He refused my request and although he later spoke ambiguously about not ruling out a future meeting his refusal to meet again at this time brings us all to a possible and major difficulty in the peace process. This is the British government's insistence that there cannot be all party talks unless the IRA surrenders its weapons. To quote Patrick Mayhew's letter: *"the plain fact is that there will be no substantive political talks which will include Sinn Fein without progress on the issue not least because other parties will not take part in them."*

### Substantive All-Party Peace Talks

This brings us to a crux. How can the peace process progress into a peace settlement if there are not multi-lateral talks or if the British government refuses to play a leadership role, along with Dublin, in initiating these talks?

The entire logic of a peace process is that through substantive all-party peace talks we arrive at a peace settlement which removes the causes of conflict and takes the guns, forever, from Irish politics.

All-party peace talks should be initiated as a matter of urgency and within an agreed timeframe. They need to address three broad areas:

- (a) Political and constitutional change.
- (b) the democratization of the situation.
- (c) the demilitarization of the situation.

No issue should be made a precondition for further movement towards a negotiated peace settlement. Dialogue and inclusive negotiations based on democratic principles are the only viable means of securing a lasting peace settlement.

### British Position Threatens Process

The British government cannot be allowed to dictate the terms of this accommodation nor can it be allowed to determine who can or cannot participate in the negotiations leading to such an agreement. The peace process does not belong to the British government. It belongs to the Irish

people. To all Irish people. Nor can the British government be allowed to control the peace process itself, its pace, participants, terms of reference, the structure of the negotiations or terms for a settlement. The record of the British government in bringing peace to Ireland is regrettably deficient. It is a record of failure. By and large it has been the Irish people who have paid the price for that failure.

Having stalled the commencement of all-party peace talks over the 10 months of the IRA cessation the British are now erecting an absolute precondition to further movement in the peace process.

All those committed to finding a peace settlement are concerned that the British government is demanding the surrender of IRA weapons as a precondition to all-party peace talks on the future of Ireland. The logic of that position, if adhered to, is that there will be no inclusive peace talks and no democratic settlement.

### **Bad Faith Negotiations**

The demand for the surrender of IRA weapons as a precondition to negotiation was never mentioned by the London government before August 31, 1994. In fact, the British were engaged in intensive contact and dialogue with Sinn Fein for two years prior to the IRA cessation and never at any time was the issue of decommissioning raised. In my view, had a surrender of IRA weapons been imposed as a precondition to peace negotiations prior to the cessation, it is possible that there would have been no IRA cessation on September 1st last year.

The British government is clearly acting in bad faith and is renegeing on its commitments to all-party negotiations given publicly prior to August 31, 1994.

### **The Sinn Fein Position**

Sinn Fein is not the IRA. Sinn Fein does not have any weapons to decommission, a reality accepted by the British government in the course of our dialogue. Sinn Fein presents our views on the sole basis of our electoral mandate. We will approach the negotiating table on the same basis.

As democrats we believe that a democratic and lasting settlement must be based on the fundamental right of the Irish people to national self-determination. As Irish republicans we are committed to ending British rule in our country. We will bring this commitment to the negotiating table. We accept also that there are those who have a different view, a view which they will take to the negotiating table. We are wholly committed to a process of democratic and peaceful negotiations and to the agreed political settlement among the Irish people which will emerge from those negotiations.

*"We are at the beginning of a new era in which we are totally committed to democratic and peaceful methods of resolving our political problems. We reiterate that our objective is an equitable and lasting agreement that can command the allegiance of all."*

The Irish government has accepted this position and has acted upon it. So too has the US administration, which, at its highest level, has engaged in political dialogue with Sinn Fein. The British government alone adheres to impossible preconditions to all-party dialogue.

Sinn Fein is totally committed to the permanent and effective removal of all guns from Irish politics. We have consistently underlined our desire to see a democratic settlement and a complete demilitarization of the situation - that is the removal of repressive legislation, the release of all political prisoners, and the removal of all guns - British, unionist, loyalist and republican from Irish politics.

The British government has said that: *"The holding of illegal arms and the use of violence and threats have no place in a peaceful, democratic society."* We agree. The six county state, however, is not and since its creation has never been, a *"peaceful, democratic society."* Since its creation 72 years ago, the governance of the six-county statelet has been a matter of crisis-management. This has always been dependent on the existence and exercise of repressive legislation, coercion and discrimination. This lies at the heart of conflict and divisions, both in Ireland, and between Britain and Ireland.

### **Surrender Call Unrealistic and Dangerous**

Against a backdrop of conflict and violence, often directed randomly at nationalists and Catholics, the precondition of a surrender of IRA weapons is unrealistic. It is necessary to create the conditions in which those with weapons will decommission them.

The depth of insecurity felt by nationalists should not be underestimated. It arises from the history of the six county statelet from its creation up to the present day; and from a continuing and understandable fear of further attack by official and unofficial British, unionist and loyalist forces alike.

Nor is there any room or place in the peace process for the victory/surrender ethos which the demand for a surrender of IRA weapons represents. This would have a demoralizing effect on many nationalists and, potentially, a profound and damaging effect on the peace process itself.

These are the human realities, the real politik, which have been understood and accepted in other conflict situations. There is no international precedent and certainly no historical precedent in Ireland for the handing over of weapons. The important thing is to build on the opportunity which has been created; to advance the situation to the point where all guns are not simply silent but obsolete.

### **Symbolic Gesture?**

It has been argued that the British government is simply asking for a symbolic gesture. But it is a gesture which would symbolize an IRA surrender. This is hardly a reasonable or justifiable demand, particularly in light of the British government's reluctant and begrudging response to the new situation.

It would be even more unacceptable and reprehensible if the British government were allowed to hold up progress towards a lasting peace settlement over a demand for a symbolic gesture.

Of course the British government is not simply interested in a gesture. It is, in reality, demanding the start of a surrender process as a precondition to all-party talks. It is, in reality, attempting to achieve by stealth what it could not achieve in 25 years of military conflict.

The British are treating arms in isolation from all else and are trying to impose a one item agenda. The Tanaiste Dick Spring, speaking in Washington on March 1, 1995, pointed out that: *"if we make the attitude that nothing will happen unless there is a surrender or decommissioning of arms then I think that is a formula for disaster."*

But why is this issue so important to the British in the context of a disciplined and complete IRA cessation?

The British government, or at least the politically dominant elements within it, remain locked in the victory/defeat mind set. They wish to deflect and dilute the national and international support for a democratic and negotiated settlement by creating an unnecessary and divisive argument over IRA weapons. They hope to divert the progressive and democratic dynamic for a negotiated settlement into a side road, a cul-de-sac, in the hope that pressure will go onto the IRA, when what is important is that IRA weapons are already silent. They may, in fact, wish to cause divisions and fractures within the IRA itself in an attempt to undermine the strength of the republican position. In short they wish to maintain the status quo.

In pursuing this agenda, the British have, as ever, used the convenient cover of the unionists. In doing so they are encouraging rather than discouraging, unionist intransigence. The unionists cannot be given a veto over negotiations leading to an agreed accommodation on this island. Such a veto is undemocratic. It must be said, however, that the unionist people are both pragmatic and intelligent. I am confident that they will not allow their representatives to simply opt out of negotiations on issues which fundamentally affect their future. The Washington conference, for example, demonstrated that, if they cannot prevent such inclusive debate and discussion, the unionists will become involved. The unionist resistance to negotiations, which is perfectly understandable, is a flag of convenience for the British government. The British government must be persuaded to move to all-party peace talks.

### Modalities

The practical aspects of decommissioning are, of course, an entirely separate matter from all of this. These are matters on which agreement would be required once we create the conditions in which those with weapons will decommission them.

In this context we have discussed with and examined closely the British government views on the modalities of a decommissioning process. This may be an effective or acceptable approach to the practical aspects of this issue. Indeed it is conceivable that other formulas may be advanced. The modalities of decommissioning are practical matters which can be resolved in conditions of justice and democracy which make peace a reality.

The most important thing is, therefore to create these conditions. At that point the 'how' and 'what' and 'where' and 'when' become relatively simple, practical matters on which agreement can be quickly reached.

It is also important to note that there are a large number of armed groups, British, loyalist, as well as republican, involved in this conflict and there are many consequences of it:

- \* there are approximately 16,000 members of the British Army still involved in military operations in the six counties;
  - \* there are massive military encampments throughout the six-county statelet; an intensive campaign of recruitment for the RIR, the renamed UDR, is being conducted;
  - \* there are 13,000 heavily armed members of the RUC, a paramilitary force which has acted as the armed wing of unionism and which is totally unacceptable to the nationalist community and whose existence Patrick Mayhew has endorsed into the foreseeable future;
  - \* there are an approximately 120,000 licensed weapons, most of them in the hands of the unionist community;
  - \* there are large stockpiles of weapons in the possession of loyalist paramilitaries, brought into the country through the combined efforts of Unionist politicians, loyalist death-squads and British intelligence;
  - \* there is also a plethora of repressive laws, which the British government retains and which must be repealed as part of a process of demilitarization and democratization.
- \* And the British government has made no move to deal with the reality that there are hundreds of political prisoners held in British jails. All the political prisoners need to be released. In the interim, the day to day hardships for prisoners and their families need to be improved and most immediately Irish political held in England need to be transferred back to Ireland.

These are all issues which Sinn Fein, if so minded, could, like the British government, create preconditions around, in order to deliberately block forward movement. We have not.

It is wholly inconsistent to focus entirely on one aspect of a militarized society while ignoring or ruling out movement on other aspects of the conflict; and, more importantly, blocking progress towards a negotiated settlement which is the only way to effectively and permanently remove the cause of the conflict.

The British government is, in effect, demanding the surrender of the IRA. This is a demand which cannot be delivered on and which, if it is maintained, can only serve to undermine confidence in the peace process itself. It represents a psychology of war. What is required in this new climate is a psychology of peace.

The IRA has already taken an enormous step and sustained it over 10 months - a step far beyond any mere gesture. The British government has not matched the magnitude nor the courage of this decision, nor has it lived up to the rhetoric of John Major, Patrick Mayhew, or Peter Brooke.

All aspects of militarization are the symptoms of the political failures of the past. They need to be addressed and resolved as part of a political settlement if we are to have a lasting peace. The consequences of the conflict, of course, need to be dealt with, both as part of the peace process itself and as part of a wider healing process of national reconciliation. But the clear priority is to address and resolve the causes of conflict - the failed political policies and structures which led to conflict and to the militarization which we are now seeking to redress.

### Using Our Influence

Twenty five years of British political and military strategies did not defeat the IRA. Sinn Fein cannot, and will not involve itself in futile exercise to bring about an IRA surrender. Any such attempt by Sinn Fein to do so would undermine our political influence and ability to advance the situation. Sinn Fein cannot deliver an IRA surrender. That is the reality.

Everyone has an influence over this situation. The collective application of that influence through serious and comprehensive negotiations, can transform the political climate and put an end to the failures of the past.

Sinn Fein's position on this matter is transparent. We wish to use our influence on all matters, in a positive way and with the aim of advancing the peace process. How we use our influence and how much influence we have is a matter of judgment for us.

The British government also has an influence, in fact the major influence, in the present situation. The Irish government and all political parties with the exception of the unionists have called for substantive negotiations to begin. The British government is refusing to take this essential step and is preventing progress towards an agreed and lasting political settlement.

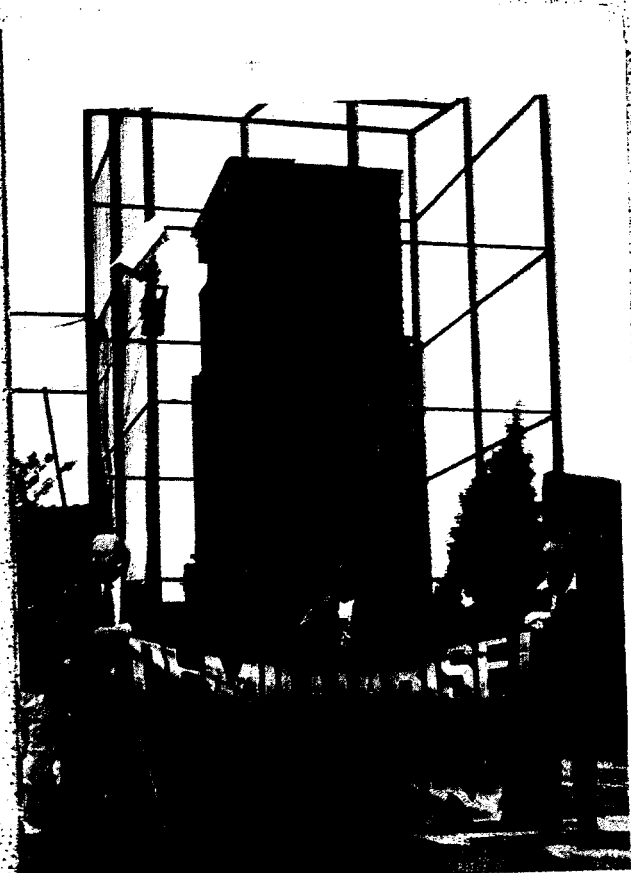
Peace is not simply the absence of conflict. Rather it is the existence of conditions in which the causes of conflict have been eradicated and where justice, equality and democracy prevail; where agreed political structures and institutions are a substitute for political conflict; where diversity is recognized and democratically accommodated. This task can only be accomplished through all party peace talks.

At this stage of the peace process - two years after John Hume and I initiated the process; and almost three years since London re-opened contact with Sinn Fein and now ten months into the IRA cessation we should be discussing these matters. It is the widely held view right across the community that we should be building on the momentous opportunity which has been created through the efforts of many who were prepared to take risks for peace.

By now we should be negotiating our future, striving for agreement, seeking a new accord.

**Instead we are stuck in a rut with progress blocked off by an obstacle created by the British government.**

**It is the duty of everyone concerned to find a way of resolving this difficulty. The obstacle must be removed. Failure to move beyond this point will jeopardize the entire peace process. This must not be allowed to happen. Failure cannot be allowed to breed greater failure.**



# **The British Military Garrison in Ireland**

*SINN FÉIN PEACE ACTION MONITOR  
SEPTEMBER 1st 1994*

OUTLINED here is a structural overview of the current levels of overt British militarisation in north eastern Ireland. Since the IRA initiative of August 31st 1994, deployment of British troops and the militarised state police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), has continued unabated.

The British military garrison in Ireland is comprised of personnel from the regular British Army regiments, the locally recruited Royal Irish Regiment (RIR) and the RUC.

Queens University lecturer Mike Tomlinson (*Irish Times*, 1 May 1993) estimated that 1994 troop levels would have risen to the extent where there is one British Army/RUC member for every 3.7 Catholic males between the ages of 16 and 44.

All matters pertaining to the military occupation of the Six Counties are directly controlled by a British cabinet committee. This committee is chaired by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and is comprised of representatives from the British intelligence services, Northern Ireland civil service, and the heads of the British Army and the RUC.

Estimating the full costs to the British government of its garrison in Ireland is a difficult exercise. However, one estimate commonly accepted is from *Costs of War and Dividends of Peace*, published by West Belfast Economic Forum. It produced a 25-year (1989-94) total cost figure of £18.205 billion (August 1994).

This includes army costs of £5.669 billion, compensation payments of £1.593 billion and prison/RUC costs of £10.943 billion.



## RUC: OPERATIONAL COMMAND STRUCTURE

THE RUC has a total of 161 installations throughout the Six Counties. Their operational division and use of installations replicates that of the British Army although both forces have numerous bases within their sole control. The entire RUC operation is overseen by a Headquarters Command Structure, designated 'S' Division. Below this there are three Regional

Commands divided into 12 Divisional Commands and 38 Subdivisional Commands. Specialist and maintenance units are spread across many of the bases in the North.

### Scenes of Crimes Office (SOCO)

This department comprises photographers, fingerprint and forensic specialists and topographers. Civilian staff work alongside RUC personnel. Within Belfast, this staff has personnel seconded to every barracks. The work of the department is administered out of Tennent Street (36), Queen Street (10) and Mountpottinger (13). All other SOCOs operate from Divisional Commands across the Six Counties.

### Headquarters Mobile Support Units (HMSU)

HMSUs operate under the direct control of the Head of Special Branch. Any Divisional Command in the Six Counties can request that HMSUs be assigned to their operational area. The HMSUs are based primarily at Knock HQ (1) and Lisnasharragh (2). They are also based in: Rural East (South Region Command) at Gough (67), Drumadd (164) and Mahon Road (81); and in Rural West (North Region Command) at Eglinton (128), Strand Road (124) and Strabane (132).

### Divisional Mobile Support Units (DMSU)

DMSUs operate under the control of headquarters in the respective 12 Divisional Command areas. In Belfast Region they have a central command located at Musgrave Street (9). All DMSUs receive additional training from RUC/British Army specialists at the Operations Training Unit based in Palace Barracks (167). Back-up for DMSUs is provided from within the RUC Reserve some of whom are formed into Shadow DMSUs.

### Transport Radio

#### & Telecommunications Workshops

The RUC have several workshops located across the Six Counties. These formerly operated out of Gough Barracks (67) and Lislea Drive in Belfast, but due to demand they opened new workshops at Maryfield, Enniskillen (103), Derry and South Antrim, and latterly within Antrim Road Barracks (26), Belfast.

### Communications

The RUC operates seven hilltop repeater stations across the Six Counties, which are availed of by all the RUC's departments and units, as well as other government departments such as the Fire Authority, the Roads Executive, the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Forestry.

### The Police Authority

The Police Authority which is situated at River House, High Street, Belfast, employs a total workforce estimated at over 3,000. Only 630 of these are employed directly by the

Authority. The rest are recruited by the Northern Ireland Civil Service and seconded to the Authority.

### RUC NUMBERS, SEPTEMBER 1994

	Male	Female	Total
Full-time	7,645	832	8,477
Reserve (Full-time)	3,076	135	3,211
Reserve (Part-time)	973	424	1,397
Total	11,694	1,391	13,085

### RUC HEADQUARTERS ('S' DIVISION)

1. RUC HEADQUARTERS, Knock, Belfast: This base houses the following departments and specialist units:

The Chief Constable's Office;

RUC Press Office;

HQ Staff;

and administrative staffs for:

E4A squads;

Special Support Units (SSU);

Headquarters Mobile Support Units (HMSU);

Crime Department;

Special Military Intelligence Units (SMIU) which are all coordinated and controlled by the Head of Special Branch (HSB) who liaises directly with the Director and Co-ordinator of Intelligence for Northern Ireland (DCOINI) based in 'The Department', Parliament Buildings, Stormont. These units' structure replicates that of the British Army's operational brigade areas and the RUC's Regional Command areas right down to Subdivisional Command level.

2. LISNASHARRAGH, Montgomery Road, Belfast: HMSU squads and a number of headquarters administrative staffs as well as the RUC Driving School and the Office of Traffic Control are based here.

3. ORMISTON, Hawthornden Road, Belfast: Houses the Complaints and Force Discipline section of headquarters administrative staff.

4. CONNSWATER, Newtownards Road, Belfast: The RUC Training Centre and Cadet Academic College is situated here.

5. GARNERVILLE, Garnerville Road, Belfast: Headquarters force control centre and the RUC Training Department are based here. The offices of the Police Federation are also located in Garnerville.

6. SPRUCEFIELD, Central Stores, Belfast: The RUC Central Stores were located at Sprucefield which is still operational but is due to transfer to Carrickfergus when Seapark (7) comes fully on stream.

7. SEAPARK, Carrickfergus: RUC Central Stores are currently transferring to this location.

### REGIONAL COMMANDS

The three Regional Commands have within them a number of

Divisions, which are further divided into Subdivisional Command areas. These have a number of barracks under their charge and direction. The following are the three regions:

Belfast Region comprising 'A', 'B', 'D' and 'E' Divisions;  
Rural East (South Region) comprising 'G', 'H', 'J' and 'P' Divisions;  
Rural West (North Region) comprising 'K', 'L', 'N' and 'O' Divisions.

### Belfast Region

8. ALEXANDER ROAD, Castlereagh: The Belfast Region Headquarters (BRHQ) operates from here.

### 'A' DIVISION, (EAST BELFAST)

9. MUSGRAVE STREET: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.

10. QUEEN STREET: Barracks in Musgrave Street Subdivision.

11. DONEGALL PASS: Subdivisional Command.

12. BALLYNAFEIGH: Barracks in Donegall Pass Subdivision.

13. MOUNTPOTTINGER: Subdivisional Command.

14. WILLOWFIELD: Barracks in Mountpottinger Subdivision.

15. DUNMURRAY: Subdivisional Command.

16. LISBURN ROAD: Barracks in Dunmurray Subdivision.

### 'B' DIVISION, (WEST BELFAST)

17. GROSVENOR ROAD: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.

18. SPRINGFIELD ROAD: Barracks in Grosvenor Road Subdivision.

19. SPRINGFIELD PARADE: Barracks in Grosvenor Road Subdivision.

20. NEW BARNSELY: Barracks in Grosvenor Road Subdivision.

21. WOODBOURNE: Subdivisional Command.

22. ANDERSONSTOWN: Barracks in Woodbourne Subdivision.

23. LISBURN: Subdivisional Command.

24. HILLSBOROUGH: Barracks in Lisburn Subdivision.

25. SPRUCEFIELD: Barracks in Lisburn Subdivision.

### 'D' DIVISION, (NORTH BELFAST)

26. ANTRIM ROAD: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.

27. OLD PARK: Barracks in Antrim Road Subdivision.

28. NEWTOWNABBEY: Subdivisional Command.

29. BALLYCLARE: Barracks in Newtownabbey Subdivision.

30. GLENGORMLEY: Barracks in Newtownabbey Subdivision.

31. NORTH QUEEN STREET: Subdivisional Command.

32. YORK ROAD: Barracks in North Queen Street Subdivision.

33. GREENCASTLE: Barracks in North Queen Street Subdivision.

34. CARRICKFERGUS: Subdivisional Command.

35. WHITEHEAD: Barracks in Carrickfergus Subdivision.

36. TENNENT STREET: Subdivisional Command.

37. ANTRIM: Subdivisional Command.

38. CRUMLIN: Barracks in Antrim Subdivision.

39. RANDALSTOWN: Barracks in Antrim Subdivision.

40. TEMPLEPATRICK: Barracks in Antrim Subdivision.

41. TOOMEBRIDGE: Barracks in Antrim Subdivision.

### 'E' DIVISION, (South Belfast)

42. STRANDTOWN: Division and Subdivisional Command.

43. DUNDONALD: Barracks in Strandtown Subdivision.

44. CASTLEREAGH: Subdivisional Command.

45. CARRYDUFF: Barracks in Castlereagh Subdivision.

- 46. BANGOR: Subdivisional Command.
  - 47. HELEN'S BAY: Barracks in Bangor Subdivision.
  - 48. HOLLYWOOD: Barracks in Bangor Subdivision.
  - 49. STORMONT: Subdivisional Command.
  - 50. BROOKLYN: Barracks in Stormont Subdivision.
  - 51. KNOCKMAGONEY: Barracks in Stormont Subdivision.
- Other barracks in Stormont Subdivision: Lisnasharragh (2), Ormiston (3) Gamerville (5).

**Rural East (South) Region**

**'G' DIVISION,**

**(NEWTOWNS)**

- 52. NEWTOWNS: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.
- 53. COMBER: Barracks in Newtownards Subdivision.
- 54. DONAGHDEE: Barracks in Newtownards Subdivision.
- 55. PORTAFERRY: Barracks in Newtownards Subdivision.
- 56. GREYABBIE: Barracks in Newtownards Subdivision.
- 57. DOWNPATRICK: Subdivisional Command.
- 58. BALLYMAGNICH: Barracks in Downpatrick Subdivision.
- 59. CROSSGAR: Barracks in Downpatrick Subdivision.
- 60. KILYLEAGH: Barracks in Downpatrick Subdivision.
- 61. ARDGLASS: Barracks in Downpatrick Subdivision.
- 62. SAINTFIELD: Barracks in Downpatrick Newtownards Subdivision.
- 63. NEWCASTLE: Subdivisional Command.
- 64. CASTLEWELLAN: Barracks in Newcastle Subdivision.
- 65. KILKEEL: Barracks in Newcastle Subdivision.

**'H' DIVISION,**

**(ARMAGH)**

- 66. ARMAGH: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.
- 67. GOUGH: Barracks in Armagh Subdivision.
- 68. KEADY: Barracks in Armagh Subdivision.
- 69. MARKETHILL: Barracks in Armagh Subdivision.
- 70. LOUGHGALL: Barracks in Armagh Subdivision.
- 71. MIDDLETOWN: Barracks in Armagh Subdivision.
- 72. TANDRAGEE: Barracks in Armagh Subdivision.
- 73. NEWRY: Subdivisional Command.
- 74. EDWARD STREET, NEWRY: Barracks in Newry Subdivision.
- 75. DUBLIN ROAD, NEWRY: Barracks in Newry Subdivision.
- 76. BESSBROOK: Barracks in Newry Subdivision.
- 77. CROSSMAGLEN: Barracks in Newry Subdivision.
- 78. FORKHILL: Barracks in Newry Subdivision.
- 79. NEWTOWNHAMILTON: Barracks in Newry Subdivision.
- 80. WARRENPOINT: Barracks in Newry Subdivision.

**'J' DIVISION,**

**(PORTADOWN)**

- 81. MAHON ROAD: Divisional Command and barracks in Portadown Subdivision.
  - 82. PORTADOWN: Subdivisional Command.
  - 83. LURGAN: Subdivisional Command.
  - 84. MOIRA: Barracks in Lurgan Subdivision.
  - 85. CRAIGAVON: Barracks in Lurgan Subdivision.
  - 86. BANBRIDGE: Subdivisional Command.
  - 87. DROMORE: Barracks in Banbridge Subdivision.
  - 88. DROMORA: Barracks in Banbridge Subdivision.
  - 89. GILFORD: Barracks in Banbridge Subdivision.
  - 90. RATHFRILAND: Barracks in Banbridge Subdivision.
- 'K' DIVISION,**  
**(COOKSTOWN)**
- 91. COOKSTOWN: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.

- 92. COAGH: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 93. MONEYMORE: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 94. POMEROY: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 95. STEWARTSTOWN: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 96. DUNGANWON: Subdivisional Command.
- 97. AUGHACLOY: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 98. BALLYGAWLEY: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 99. BENBURB: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 100. CALEDON: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 101. COALISLAND: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.
- 102. MOY: Barracks in Cookstown Subdivision.

**Rural West (North) Region**

**'L' DIVISION,**

**(ENNISKILLEN)**

- 103. ENNISKILLEN: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.
- 104. KESH: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 105. IRVINESTOWN: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 106. BELLEEK: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 107. BELCOO: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 108. KINAWLEY: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 109. DERRYGONNELLY: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 110. BALLINMALLARD: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 111. LISBELLAW: Barracks in Enniskillen Subdivision.
- 112. LISNASKEA: Subdivisional Command.
- 113. NEWTOWNBUTLER: Barracks in Lisnaskea Subdivision.
- 114. ROSSLEA: Barracks in Lisnaskea Subdivision.
- 115. TEMPO: Barracks in Lisnaskea Subdivision.
- 116. CLOGHER: Barracks in Lisnaskea Subdivision.
- 117. FIVEMILETOWN: Barracks in Lisnaskea Subdivision.
- 118. OMAGH: Subdivisional Command.
- 119. BERAGH: Barracks in Omagh Subdivision.
- 120. DROMORE: Barracks in Omagh Subdivision.
- 121. NEWTOWNSTEWART: Barracks in Omagh Subdivision.
- 122. FINTONA: Barracks in Omagh Subdivision.
- 123. CARRICKMORE: Barracks in Omagh Subdivision.

**'N' DIVISION,**

**(DERRY)**

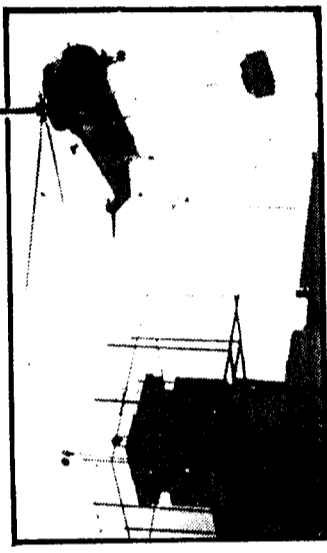
- 124. STRAND ROAD: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.
  - 125. SHANTALLOW: Barracks in Strand Road Subdivision.
  - 126. ROSEMOUNT: Barracks in Strand Road Subdivision.
  - 127. WATERSIDE: Subdivisional Command.
  - 128. EGLINTON: Barracks in Waterside Subdivision.
  - 129. CLAUDY: Barracks in Waterside Subdivision.
  - 130. BROWNING DRIVE: Barracks in Waterside Subdivision.
  - 131. MAYDOWN: Barracks in Waterside Subdivision.
  - 132. STRABANE: Subdivisional Command.
  - 133. PLUMBRIDGE: Barracks in Strabane Subdivision.
  - 134. DONNEMAGH: Barracks in Strabane Subdivision.
  - 135. CASTLEBERG: Barracks in Strabane Subdivision.
  - 136. SION MILLS: Barracks in Strabane Subdivision.
- 'O' DIVISION,**  
**(COLERAINE)**
- 137. COLERAINE: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.
  - 138. PORTRUSH: Barracks in Coleraine Subdivisional Command.
  - 139. PORTSTEWART: Barracks in Coleraine Subdivisional Command.
  - 140. GARVAGH: Barracks in Coleraine Subdivisional Command.
  - 141. KILREA: Barracks in Coleraine Subdivisional Command.
  - 142. CASTLEROCK: Barracks in Coleraine Subdivisional Command.

- 143. LIMAVADY: Subdivisional Command.
- 144. DUNGIVEN: Barracks in Limavady Subdivisional Command.
- 145. MAGHERAFELT: Subdivisional Command.
- 146. MAGHERA: Barracks in Magherafelt Subdivisional Command.
- 147. CASTLEDOWNSON: Barracks in Magherafelt Subdivisional Command.
- 148. DRAPERSTOWN: Barracks in Magherafelt Subdivisional Command.
- 149. BELLAGHY: Barracks in Magherafelt Subdivisional Command.

**'P' DIVISION,**

**(BALLYMENA)**

- 150. BALLYMENA: Divisional and Subdivisional Command.
- 151. PORTLENONE: Barracks in Ballymena Subdivisional Command.
- 152. CULLYBACKY: Barracks in Ballymena Subdivisional Command.
- 153. KELLS: Barracks in Ballymena Subdivisional Command.
- 154. BROUGHSHANE: Barracks in Ballymena Subdivisional Command.
- 155. LARNE: Subdivisional Command.
- 156. GLENAM: Barracks in Larne Subdivisional Command.
- 157. BALLYMONEY: Subdivisional Command.
- 158. BALLYCASTLE: Barracks in Ballymoney Subdivisional Command.
- 159. BUSHMILLS: Barracks in Ballymoney Subdivisional Command.
- 160. CLOUGHMILLS: Barracks in Ballymoney Subdivisional Command.
- 161. CUSHENDALL: Barracks in Ballymoney Subdivisional Command.



Springfield Parade (19): Several acres of land dividing the Springfield Park and Springmartin estates have been requisitioned in preparation for the construction of what may prove to be the largest RUC barracks in Belfast, which is to replace the older Springfield Parade Barracks when it is decommissioned.

Lisburn (23): A huge new state-of-the-art fortress is planned for Lisburn with land requisitioning already completed.



**THE BRITISH ARMY: COMMAND STRUCTURES & MILITARY INSTALLATIONS**

THE BRITISH ARMY has a total of 135 fixed military installations/structures throughout the Six Counties. Accurate figures are difficult to calculate and are deliberately disguised, but according to official British sources, the current overt strength stands at 19,000. The official British breakdown of these forces is as follows:

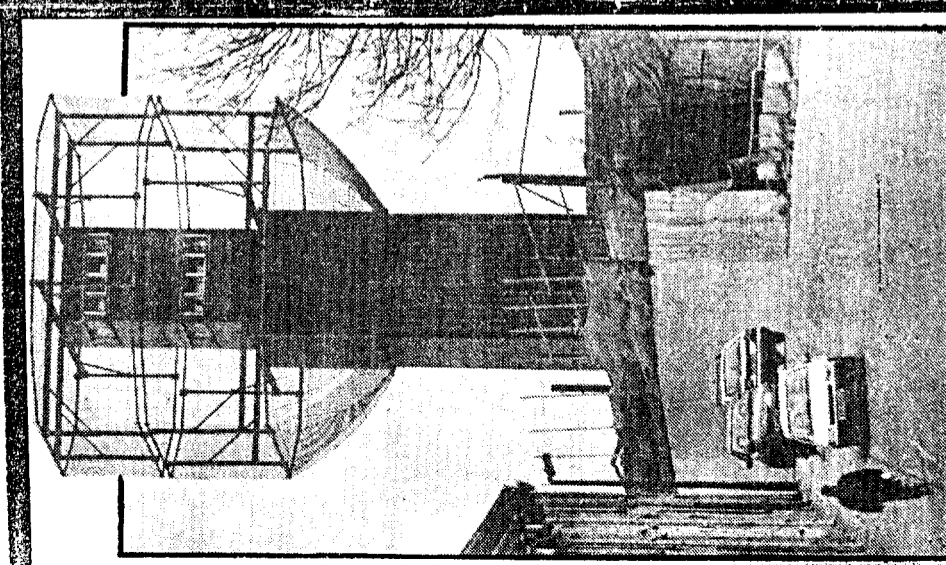
- Royal Air Force 1,200
- Royal Navy 250
- RIR 5,500
- RIR (Part-time) 3,000
- Others 12,050
- Total 19,000

The British Army, comprising regular English, Scottish and Welsh regiments and the locally-recruited

**FORTIFICATION WORK ONGOING OR PLANNED**

THERE IS continual upgrading and reinforcement work being carried out on most military bases/installations across the Six Counties. A number of RUC barracks are undergoing reconstruction/fortification work at present and other barracks have been earmarked for such work to begin within days. A number of new barracks have also been planned.

Lisburn Road Barracks (16): Is being rebuilt and is set to become three to four times the size of the original barracks. Grosvenor Road Barracks (17): Has been undergoing renovation and extension work for the past year. Additional fortifications and an extra have been erected to date. New Barnsley Barracks (20): Perimeter and exterior security are being reinforced and up-graded.



● 126 Rosemount Barracks, Derry

For further information contact Sinn Féin Peace Action Monitor through any of the following offices:  
**Sinn Féin Head Office:** 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Aítha Cíath 1, Ph. 8726100/8726932.  
**Sinn Féin Six-County Office:** 51/55 Falls Road, Béal Feirste BT12. Ph. 611729.  
**Sinn Féin Belfast:** 147 Andersonstown Road, Béal Feirste BT11. Ph. 301719.  
**Sinn Féin Derry:** Cable Street, Doire. Ph. 368926.  
**Republican Press Centre:** 51/55 Falls Road, Béal Feirste BT12. Ph. 230261.  
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**An Phoblacht/Republican News**  
 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Ph. 8733611/8733839. Fax: 8733074.  
 51/55 Falls Road, Belfast BT12. Ph. 624421. Fax: 622112

RIR, maintains a massive garrison across the Six Counties.  
 A British garrison has been in place in the Six Counties since the enforced partition of the island in 1921. It has regularly been reinforced to stand at its current level of circa 19,000 soldiers. Its operational division of the Six Counties is mirrored by the RUC command structure.

**BRITISH ARMY HEADQUARTERS**

162. **THIEPVAL BARRACKS, Lisburn:** This barracks houses the British Army Headquarters;  
 Office of the General Officer Commanding Land Forces (GOC);  
 107 Ulster Brigade Territorial Army HQ;  
 Belfast Regional Command;  
 39th Brigade, British Army HQ;  
 British Army Press Office.

Other various covert units and departments of the British Army, including the SAS, various signals regiments and Special Military Intelligence Units are also administratively located within Thiepval Barracks.

**REGIONAL COMMANDS**

For operational purposes, the Six Counties is divided into three Regional Command Areas:  
 Belfast Regional Command: Thiepval Barracks Lisburn (162)

North Area Regional Command: Ebrington Barracks, Derry (163).  
 South Area Regional Command: Drumadd Barracks, Armagh (164).

These command areas correspond to the RUC Regional Command Areas of: Belfast Region; Rural East; Rural West. The British Army maintains a full operational presence in all of these and in the other Divisional and Subdivisional Commands, which are all in effect heavily-fortified military bases.

Besides these joint operational bases, the British Army maintains a series of garrison and operational bases within their sole control.

**BRITISH ARMY BARRACKS**

- 163. EBRINGTON BARRACKS, Derry: HQ 8th Brigade, British Army.
- 164. DRUMADD BARRACKS, Armagh: HQ 3rd Brigade, British Army.
- 165. ABERCORN BARRACKS, Ballykinnear, County Down.
- 166. LISANELLY BARRACKS, Omagh, County Tyrone.
- 167. PALACE BARRACKS, Hollywood, County Down.
- 168. ST PATRICK'S BARRACKS, Ballymena, County Antrim.
- 169. ALEXANDER BARRACKS, Aldergrove, County Antrim.
- 170. MAHON BARRACKS, Portadown, County Armagh.
- 171. SHACKLETON BARRACKS, Derry.
- 172. BISHOP & GATE (MASONIC HALL) BARRACKS, Derry.
- 173. NORTH HOWARD STREET BARRACKS, Belfast.
- 174. FORT JERICHO, Belfast.

- 175. GRYWOGG BARRACKS, Belfast.
- 176. MUSGRAVE BARRACKS, Belfast.

**BRITISH ARMY GARRISON CAMPS**

- 177. BALLYKINLAR CAMP, County Down.
- 178. MAGILLIGAN CAMP, County Derry.
- 179. KINNEGAR CAMP, Hollywood, County Down.
- 180. LONG KESH CAMP, Lisburn.
- 181. MOSCOW CAMP, Belfast.

**ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT BARRACKS**

Many of these bases, although ostensibly belonging to specific regiments, are nonetheless used by units from different commands and by covert units of the British Army, including signals regiments and the Special Air Service (SAS).

- 182. JOINT OPERATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Magheravale Road, Lisburn.
- 183. ROYAL IRISH RANGERS REGIMENTAL HQ, Memorial Building, Waring Street, Belfast.
- 184. ROYAL IRISH RANGERS REGIMENTAL OFFICE, Sovereign House, the Mall, Armagh.
- 185. HOME HQ 5TH INNSAILING DRAGOON GUARDS AND ROYAL IRISH HUSSARS, Hydebank, Belfast.
- 186. STEEPLE ROAD BARRACKS, Antrim.
- 187. MAGHERAFELT RIR BARRACKS, County Derry.
- 188. ANDERSON CENTRE, Ballykinnear.
- 189. SAINT ANGELO BARRACKS, Enniskillen.
- 190. SAINT LUCIA BARRACKS, Omagh, County Tyrone.
- 191. MALONE BARRACKS, Windsor Park, Belfast.
- 192. COOKSTOWN BARRACKS.

**TERRITORIAL ARMY BASES**

Many installations designated Territorial Army are in effect fully-operational bases for regular British Army regiments.

- 193. 'D' SQUADRON, THE ROYAL YEOMANRY TA CENTRE, Dunmore Park, Belfast.
- 194. 102TH ULSTER AIR DEFENCE REGIMENT, TA CENTRE, Crawfordsburn Road, Newbawnards.
- 195. 40TH ULSTER SIGNAL REGIMENT TA CENTRE, Clonaver Park, Belfast.
- 196. 69TH SIGNAL SQUADRON, Clooney Park, Derry.
- 197. 4TH VOLUNTEER BATTALION RIR TA CENTRE, Portadown, County Armagh.
- 198. 152TH ULSTER AMBULANCE REGIMENT/ROYAL CORPS OF TRANSPORT TA CENTRE, Sunnyside Street, Belfast.
- 199. 204TH GENERAL HOSPITAL ROYAL ARMY MEDICAL CORPS TA CENTRE, Fairmount, Antrim Road, Belfast.
- 200. 23RD SECURITY COMPANY TA CENTRE, Abbotscroft, Newfownabbey, County Antrim.
- 201. QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OFFICER TRAINING CORPS, Tyrone House, Malone Road, Belfast.

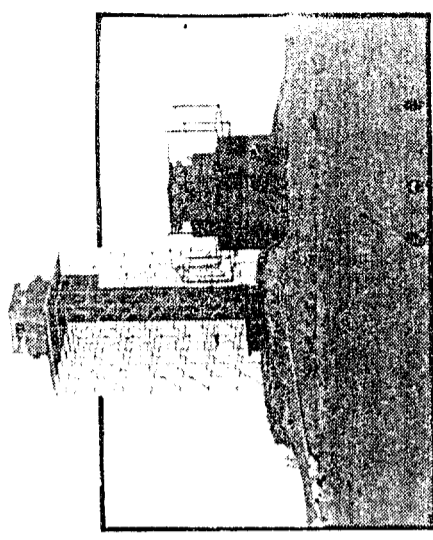
**BRITISH ARMY CADET FORCE (ACF) BASES**

- 202. HQ ACF, Falloway Street, Comber.
- 203. 1ST CADET BATTALION RIR, CAW CAMP, Derry.

**BRITISH ARMY SURVEILLANCE TOWERS/BASES ON CIVILIAN PROPERTY**

- 204. BROADWAY TOWER, Belfast.
- 205. DAVIS TOWER, Belfast.

- 206. TEMPLAR HOUSE, Belfast.
- 207. WARD 19, Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast.



**PURPOSE-BUILT BRITISH ARMY SURVEILLANCE TOWERS**

From 1985 onwards the British Army have built a wall of surveillance towers with attached bunker and garrison facilities which dominate the South Armagh landscape. These are serviced by helicopter and also provide a patrol and ground-control function for the British Army.

- 208. CRIEVEKERAN.
- 209. DRUMUCKNAVALL.
- 210. GLASSDRUMMOND.
- 211. FOXHALL MOUNTAIN.
- 212. SLEVEBRACK.
- 213. CAMLOUGH.
- 214. CROSSLIEVE(DROMINTEE).
- 215. FAUGHILL MOUNTAIN.
- 216, 217. SLEVENABALA (2 POSTS).
- 218. FATHOM MOUNTAIN.
- 219. LISLEA.
- 220. STURGEON MOUNTAIN.
- 221. BELLEENS.

**PURPOSE-BUILT PERMANENT CHECKPOINTS**

Outside of South Armagh, the border is ringed with massive fortified military bases which serve as permanent vehicle checkpoints. These bases also have an operational role in terms of patrolling the border area.

- 222. LETTERKENNY ROAD, Derry.
- 223. CASHQUIN, Derry.
- 224. CULMORE ROAD, Derry.
- 225. CAMELS HUMP, Strabane, County Tyrone.
- 226. CLADY VILLAGE, County Tyrone.
- 227. AUGHNACLOY, County Tyrone.
- 228. CLOGHOGUE, County Armagh.
- 229. MIDDLETOWN, County Armagh.
- 230. KULLYVILLY, County Fermanagh.
- 231. ANNAGHMARTIN, County Fermanagh.
- 232. MAGHERAVEELY, County Fermanagh.
- 233. KILTURK, County Fermanagh.

- 234. WATTLEBRIDGE, County Fermanagh.
- 235. KINAWLEY VILLAGE, County Fermanagh.
- 236. SWANLINGAR, County Fermanagh.
- 237. BOA ISLAND, County Fermanagh.
- 238. COOKSTOWN CENTRE.
- 239. COOKSTOWN ROAD.
- 240. KILLYMEELE ROAD, Dungannon: Attached to Killyman Barracks.



#### BLOCKED AND CRATERED

**BORDER ROAD CROSSINGS**  
 Since the early 1970s, the British Army has blown up and blocked scores of roads linking natural cross-border communities. This policy in conjunction with the siting of permanent fortified border checkpoints and purpose-built British Army surveillance bases has effectively turned the entire border region into a militarised corridor. Listed below are the main blocked roads.

- 241. CONEY ROAD, Derry.
- 242. RACECOURSE ROAD, Derry.
- 243. BALLYNAGART ROAD, Derry.
- 244. ELAUGH ROAD, Derry.
- 245. GROARTY ROAD, Derry.
- 246. SIDE ROAD OFF GROARTY ROAD, Derry.
- 247. ROAD TO MILLBROOK BRIDGE, Derry.
- 248. ROAD TO GLEN BRIDGE, Derry.
- 249. ROAD TO HOLLYWELL HILL, Derry.
- 250. UPPER GALLIAGH ROAD, Derry.
- 251. ROAD OFF UPPER GALLIAGH ROAD, Derry.
- 252. LENAMORE ROAD, Derry.
- 253. BUNGRANA ROAD, Derry.
- 254. CUSHQUIN ROAD, Derry.
- 255. BOGAY ROAD, Derry.
- 256. GORTRUSH ROAD, Derry.
- 257. CREEVAGH ROAD, Derry.
- 258. KILLEA ROAD, Derry.
- 259. MUCK ROAD, Derry.
- 260. MILLTOWN ROAD, Derry.
- 261. DRUMBAN ROAD, Tyrone.
- 262. TULLYMOAN ROAD, Tyrone.
- 263. LISDOO ROAD, Tyrone.

- 264. MAXWELL'S CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 265. CRAIG'S CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 266. LURGANBUOY ROAD, Tyrone.
- 267. FREUGHLOUGH ROAD, Tyrone.
- 268. CASSEY BORDER, Tyrone.
- 269. GREEN ROAD, Tyrone.
- 270. PULLYERMAN ROAD, Tyrone.
- 271. CARN BORDER CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 272. CRONLAGHY ROAD, Tyrone.
- 273. LAGHTMORRIS ROAD, Tyrone.
- 274. GARVAGHLANE ROAD, Tyrone.
- 275. LAGHTFOGGY ROAD, Tyrone.
- 276. RED BRIDGE, Tyrone.
- 277. MEENREACH BRIDGE, Tyrone.
- 278. CROAGH BRIDGE, Tyrone.
- 279. SRUANGARVE BRIDGE, Tyrone.
- 280. CORGARY ROAD, Tyrone.
- 281. TULMASHANE CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 282. TIEVNAMEENTA CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 283. SEGRONAN CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 284. CLOGHER CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 285. DRUMSKINNY CROSSING, Fermanagh.
- 286. INISLIN CROSSING, Fermanagh.
- 287. LURGANBOY BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 288. BOOLAWATER ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 289. CURRAGHMORE ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 290. TAWNAWANNY ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 291. LETTERBRIDGE ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 292. TULLYVOGY ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 293. CROAGHSHARRY ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 294. ROWANTREE HILL CROSSING, Fermanagh.
- 295. MANGER BEG CROSSING, Fermanagh.
- 296. LOUGHSIDE CROSSING, Lough Melvin, Fermanagh.
- 297. DOOARD BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 298. KILCOO ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 299. CASHEL CROSSROADS, Fermanagh.
- 300. AGHAVANNY CROSSING, Fermanagh.
- 301. STUMPY CROSSING, Fermanagh.
- 302. FARRELLY'S CROSSING, Fermanagh.
- 303. McAULEY'S ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 304. AGHALANE BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 305. LEGAKELLY ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 306. CLONFAD, Fermanagh.
- 307. CLONKEE, Fermanagh.
- 308. LETTRIM BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 309. CLONALTY, Fermanagh.
- 310. CLONAGUM, Fermanagh.
- 311. COLEMAN ISLAND, Fermanagh.
- 312. MONILLY, Fermanagh.
- 313. KNOCKBALLAMORE, Fermanagh.
- 314. LACKY BRIDGE, (by-pass lane) Fermanagh.
- 315. LACKY BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 316. DROMARD, Fermanagh.
- 317. CARRAVETRAGH, Fermanagh.
- 318. ANNACHULLION ONE, Fermanagh.
- 319. ANNACHULLION TWO, Fermanagh.
- 320. AGHAFIN, Fermanagh.
- 321. MULLINAHINCH, Fermanagh.
- 322. CLOUGH (CLONES) ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 323. CLOUGH (INISHAMON) ROAD, Fermanagh.
- 324. REELAN, Fermanagh.
- 325. REELAN ROCK, Fermanagh.

- 326. ROUGHILL, Fermanagh.
- 327. DERRYVOLLLEN BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 328. CORAGUNT BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 329. CORAGUNT, Fermanagh.
- 330. MULLAGHEAD, Fermanagh.
- 331. MICKEY'S BRIDGE, Fermanagh.
- 332. PEADAR FRANCIS' CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 333. JAMES CONNOLLY CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 334. GREAGH/McCRYSTAL'S CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 335. McMIEEL'S CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 336. MATT THE BAKER/HANGMAN'S TREE CROSSING, Tyrone.
- 337. SLOAN'S BRIDGE, Tyrone.
- 338. BALLAGH BRIDGE, Tyrone.
- 339. KNOCKAGINNY BRIDGE, Tyrone.
- 340. CALEDON BRIDGE, Tyrone.

#### PERMANENT BARRIERS IN URBAN AREAS

In addition to sealed border roads, the British Army/RUC have erected security barriers/blockages at every significant population centre within the Six Counties. These barriers/blockages are located in a total of 20 towns and cities (NIO figure). For purposes of clarity, these barriers which number several hundred are not specifically located on the map accompanying this paper.

#### INTELLIGENCE & GCHQ SUB-STATIONS

**341. LADAS DRIVE, Castlereagh, Belfast:** The RIR and M15 run an intelligence centre at this location. It also houses the main interrogation centre for the Six Counties. The intelligence centre was set up after the Hillsborough Agreement in 1985 to facilitate an intelligence role for the then UDR (now RIR).

**342. ISLAND HILL, Comber:** Functions as a GCHQ (eavesdropping) sub-base.

**343. GILNAHIRK, Belfast:** Functions as a GCHQ (eavesdropping) sub-base.

**344. TORR HEAD, Ballycastle:** British Army radio communications facility.

#### ROYAL AIR FORCE BASES

RAF flight staff operate at a large number of heliport facilities which are incorporated into operational British bases across the Six Counties.

**345. RAF ALDERGROVE:** The RAF's main operational base in the Six Counties. It sits adjacent to Alexander Barracks (169). A second RAF base currently in the process of decommissioning is RAF Bishopscourt.

#### ROYAL NAVY INSTALLATIONS

**346. OXFORD ISLAND RADAR BASE:** The main communications and radar facility for the Royal Navy. The Royal Navy also has facilities at several bases in the Derry, Antrim and Down areas.

**347. CARLINGFORD LOUGH:** The Royal Navy's permanent offshore battleship emplacement.

#### JUDICIAL FORTIFICATIONS

The British Army has erected fortifications of varying size, from barriers and observation posts to permanent barracks, at all judicial buildings in the Six Counties.

**348. CHISHESTER STREET, Belfast High Court:** British Army barracks.

# The British Military Garrison in Ireland

SINN FEIN PEACE ACTION MONITOR  
 SEPTEMBER 1st 1994

OUTLINED here is a structural overview of the current levels of overt British militarisation in north eastern Ireland. Since the IRA initiative of August 31st 1994, deployment of British troops and the militarised state police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), has continued unabated.