

ODUNROGVWHLQ

SURIHVVRU .DQVWHLQHU

(PRWLRQ DQG 0HPRU\ RI WKH +RORFDX\

6XUYLYLQJ ZKDW ZDV DUJXDEO\ WKH JUHDWHVW DFW
+RORFDXVW HQWLWOHV RQH WKH RSSRUWXQLW\ WR
KRUURU ,Q WKH DIWHUPDWK RI WKH +RORFDXVW DC
ERWK VXUYLYRUV DQG SHUSHWUDWRUV KDV VXUIDFH
GHWHUPLQHG ZKDW PRGHUQ SRSXODU FXOWXUH UHP
(PRWLRQ REYDRXWWDQQRQH LQ WKH DFFRXQWV RI W
FRQVLGHUHG ZKHQ GLVFXVVLQJ WKH KLVWRULFDO V
PXUGHU RI VL[PLOOLRQ (XURSHDQ -HZV E\ WKH 7KL
RI WKRXJKWV DWIGGEHOLHHH\LDQJH\BQG VHQVLELOLW\ R
FHUWDLQ HYHQW RU LQGLYLGXDO ,Q WHUPV RI WKH
SUHYDOHQW LQ WKH VXUYLYRUV¶ WDOHV RI WKHLU I
LQ WHUPV RI QGLM\UGH\W\Q \$V VFKRODUV RIWHQ SRL
VWURQJ VHQWLPHQWV DQG WUDQVPLWV DQG UHLQIF
GHSWK REVHUYDWLRQ RI YDULRXV IRUPV RI PHGLD V
HPRWLRQ DQG WKH ODFN WKHUHRI DV D UHSHFUVV
WHVWLPRQLHV RI WKRVH ZKR VXUYLYHG LWV WULDO
UROH LQ GHWHUPLQLQJ KLVWRULFDO NQRZOHGJH RI

,Q DQDO\]LQJ WKH VWRULHV ZKLFKS V XQYGEYRQH\RI W
SHUSHWUDWRUV KDYH SXW IRUWK DV KLVWRULFDO H
RQH PXVW SRVH WKH TXHVWLRQ ZKHUH GRHV IDFV
VXEMHFW EHJLQ" ,W LV FULWLFDO WR DDS\\$MURQRW\W\K
QRW DOO KLVWRULFDO DFFRXQWV RI WKH +RORFDX\ ZLWK HPRWLRQDO LQSXW DQG D PXOWLOD\HUHG LQW
DUWLFOH ³0HPRU\ 'LVWRUWLRQ DQG D\W\XW\W\K\W
WKH GLVWRUWLRQ RI PHPRU\ LV WKH IDXOW RI KLVW
HYLGHQFH ZKLFK DJUHHV ZLWK WKH WHVWLPRQ\ RI V
µGLVWRUWLRQ¶ UHODWHG WR PHPRU\ «LV QRW VR PX
GLVWRUWLRQ IURP WKH ODFN RI FRQJUXLW\ EHWZHH
H[SHFWDWLRQ«DQG WKH LQVWLWXWLRQDO UHSUHVH
\$W VRPH SRLQW VFKRODUV PXVW LQWHUSUHW D ILO
VHDUFK\RQJ\WWKH OD\HUV RI LPSRUWDQW IDFVW DQG

ILQG WKH PRVW LPSRUWDQW NQRZOHGJH EXULHG GH
IDFW IURP HPRWLRQ")DPHG +RORFDXVW KLVWRULDQ
37RZDUG D 5HFHLWKB +RORFDXVRW ' DVNV

,V LW SRVVLEOH WR ZULWH D KLVWRU\ WKDW LQFOX
PHPRU\ EXW ZKLFK OHDYHV LW HVVHQWLDOO\ LQWD
VHFWLRQ , VXJJHVW DIWHU 3DWKHU\ L+X WRMR QRWKK
FDQ UHFRYHU PHPRU\ EXW UDWKHU ZKDW PHPRU\

&OHDUO\ WKLV LV DQ LVVXH ZLWK ZKLFK VFKRODUV
WKLV SDSHU ZLOO VKRZ WKDW WWWHLWZTRKLWLBHSRVVLE

7KH PHWKRG RORJLFDO DSSURDFK XQGHUWDNHQ LQ
LQ ZKLFK PHPRU\ DQG IDFW KDYH PHUJHG WRJHWKH
KDYH WURXEON GHWHUPLQLQJ KRZ KLVWRULFDO NQF
WHVWLPRQLHV \$ SULPH H[DPSOH RI WKLV HPRWLRQ
WKH +RORFDXVW LV 3ULPR /HYL\IV GLVFXVVLRQ RI D
FDPS +HQUL WR /HYL\IV GLVFRQWHQW UDUH\ H[KI

SRUWUD\V WKH VH PHQ ZLWK D PLVVL RQ WR XSKROG
FDXVH 3RVVLEO\ WKH ILOP\ V PRVW HPRWLRQDO VH,
LV WKH YLHZLQJ RI WKH OLEHUDWLRQ RI WKH LQWHU
HQWLWUH FRXUWURRP PRVW IRU WKH ILUVW WLPH YL
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RXW«7KH ODVW GD\ KDG EHHQ WKH PRVW PXUGHURX
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+LV DFFRXQW RI WIKLHJ KGM DW\XVRR Q\ IDJ KW\DLQ ERXQG IF
FDPS LV FKL\OHOHQ\WOR\O\IHFHWG E\ WKH SHUVRQDO H
ODFN RI HPRWLRQ H[KLELWHG LQ WKLV LQVWDQFH D
WHVWLPRQ\ DQG EHJV WKH TXHVWLRQ RI ZKHWKHU
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*RG LV D O\WK %UHQHQH

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V

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DQ\ DFWLRQ UHJDUGLQJ KLVWRULFDO HYLGHQFH RI
EH UDVK QRW WR UHVHDUFK WKH VRXUFH RI WKH DF
VXFK DV WKH 8Q\EDW H\GK\B\W\B\VRHQ\+PRROPR\ B\DXVW OHPRULD

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ERRN GHWDLOV WKH HYHQWV OHDGLQJ XS WR WKH LQ
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, Q WKH ILUVW GHFDG\ HDMW\ RUQ WRK HP\ \B\ UWRKH WK\\$HS-HZ
ZDV DOVR DSSDUHQW LQ WKH UHODWLRQVKLSV 6XUY
FRPPXQLW\ «1HYHUWKHOHV 7KH WULDO RI \$GRQ
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<DG9¶6KHP DQG 8QLWHG 6WDWHV +RORFDXVW 0HPRU
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%LEOLRJUDSK\

\$UHQGW +DQQDK (LFKP DQQ LQ -HUXVDOHP \$ 5HS
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%DXHU <HKXGDK 7KH 6LJQLILFDQFH RI WKH)LQD

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%URZQLQJ &KULVWR SKHU 2UGLQDU\ 0HQ 1HZ <R

&ROH 7LP 6HOOLQJ WKH +RORFDXVW 1HZ <RUN

&UDQH 6XVDQ 30HPRU\ 'LVWRUWL RQ DQG +LVWR
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*UHHQVSDQ +HQU\ 2Q /LVWHQLQLDOR`R\$ROONR F DDXQHW

<RXQJ -DPHV ³7RZDUG D 5HFHLYHG +LVWRU\ RI \
7KHRU\ 9ROXPH 1XPEHU 7KHPH ,VVXH 'HFHP

/DVW 8SGDWHG

7LPRWLQNL

+LVWRU\ -RXUQDO 6XEPLVVLRQ

+XPDQ 5LJKWV \$EXVHV E\ 6HFXULW\)RUFHV LQ 1RUW

7KH (XURSHDQ & RXUW RI + XPDQ 5LJKWV UHFHQWO\ L
UHODWHG WR NLOOLQJV E\ SROLFH LQ & R~~W~~WWHUXQO HU
WKDW WKH JRYHUQPHQW RI WKH 8QLWHG .LQJGRP KI
IRU WKH 3URWHFWLRQ RI + XPDQ 5LJKWV DQG)XQGD
\$UWLFOH VWDWHV WKDW ³(YHU\RQH V ULJKW WR OL
GHSULYHG RI KLV OLIH LQWHQWLQDOO\ VDYH LQ W
IROORZLQJ KLV FRQYLFWLRQ RI D FULPH IR~~W~~KLKF
SDVVLQJ RI 3URWRFRO WR WKH & RQYHQWLQ LQ
JRYHUQPHQWV WR WKH & RXUW IRU YLRODWLRQV QRW
ZHUh DPRQJ WKH ILUVW IURP 1RUWKHUQ ,UHODQG W
UHFRUG RI WKH %ULWLVK JRYHUQPHQW

7KH GHFLWIKHQ %ULKDWL VK JRYHUQPHQW KDG YLRODWH
FLWLJHQV ZDV WLJKWO\ ZRUGHG DV WKH &RXUW ED
SROLFH LQYHVWLJDWLRQV LQWR WKH NLOOLQJV 1HY
FODLPV RIXPDQ\ULJKWV RUJDQL]DWLRQV PRVW QRW
+XPDQ 5LJKWV :DWFK WKDW DGGLWLRQDO DEXVHV K
&RXUW WUDQVFULSWV DQG WKH UHSRUWV LVVXHG E
ULJKWV DEXVHV ZHQW EH\RQG GHILFLHQW SROLFH L
8QLWHG .LQJGRP ZDV UHVSQVLEOH IRU PDQ\ RI WK
IURP WKH DUULYDO RI %ULWLVK WURRSV LQ 1RUWKH
*RRG)ULGD\ \$JUHTKHHQW\LVQVK 3DUOLDPHQW JDYH V
PXFK OHHZD\ LQ WKH KRSHV RI ILJKWLQJ WHUURULV

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EURNH RXW ODWH LQGWRKQ WKWRDXQG WRKQ WOLDQWVH V
EHWZHHQ WKH 5HSXEOLF RI ,UHODQG HDUQHG K1DRGU WRKHQ
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QDWLRQDOLFWQ VRUDQBS3XEROWHVWDQWV VRPHWLPHV
OR\ DOLVWV WHQGHG WR IDYRU SHRSOH RI WKH VDP
VXFK DV KLULQJ DQG KRXVLQJ EXW & DWKRQOLFV IDF
DEXWHO\ FHEDXVRIWIRHUVWUOVSRSXODWIRQ SRQILW

SRZHU +RZH YHU WKLV UHVHQWPHQW ZDV JHQHUDO
WKH ODWH V 'UDZLQJ IURP WKH H[DPSOH RI EOD
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XQHTXDO WUHDWPHQW 7KH XQLRQLVW SROLWLFLDQ
QXPEHU RI FRQFHVVLRQ\ DQHWSKUHR ZDHNHW RI QDWKROLI
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UHIRUP 3URWHVWV FRQWLQXHG DQG VRRQ HVFDOD
EHJLQQLQJ WKH SHULRK DQGR ZE\ UD5dF³D QM HVKR E70HZQ

LQYHVWLJDWLRQ LQWR DQ\ DEXVHV E\ VHFXULW\ IRU
JUHDW DFFRXQWDELOLW\ ,Q 1RUWKHUQ ,UHODQG
VRUHO\ ODFNLQJ

3UHGLFWDEO\ HQRXJK VHFXULW\ IRUFHV ZHUV LQYR
EHWZHHQ DQG 2I WKHVH NLOOLQJV RI WI
QRW DIILOLDWHG ZLWK SD^QDNPLQJ WQUDQWDDJQLRD WMLK
FKDQJH LQ SURFHGXUH WKDW DOORZH G IRU LQGLYLQ
JRYHUQPHQWV VL[VH SKDW DDWEILQDWKH WKH U8HQIEWR QJL
(XURSHDQ & RXUW RI +XP DQ 5LJKWV 7KHVH FDVHV Z
NLOOHG LQ 1RUWKHUQ ,UH~~Q~~BRQGFH\ RVIHIEFHWWVZHRUHFRI
RI WKH> F@VHV

QQ 0PHQ7KH SHJH À< •W Kõî Kõî Kõî I p F0•5` 5c 1 R KçLJS HB F0 ` XUE Wq8 ð

EURXJKW WR D VWRS KH H[LWHG KLV FDU DQG UDV
KLP :LWKRXW ILULQJ D ZDUQLQJ VKRW D SROLFH R
KLWWLQJ KLP VHYHUDO WLPHV DQG NQRFLQJ KLP R
RIILFHUV UHDFKHG -RUGRQ WKH\ YHUEDOO\ DEXVHG
WKUHDWHQHG RU SRVHG D WKUHDW WR WKH SROLFH

7KH %ULWLVK JRYHUQPHDQWR&RMV QKRHW SROLFHSHWRWKE
FODLPHG WKDW PD`@7KH Z@ WG F7XQx2 G K

UHJDUGHG WKH DFFXVHG DV P³DWEWRIOXWDHOOG EQRDPHQD

N L O O L Q J D O O H L J K

, Q DOO FDVHV WKH 58& ZDV UHVS RQVLE OH IRU FRQ
VHF XULW\ IRUFHV , QYHVWLJDWLRQ V ZHUH UHJXODW
3ROLFH &RPSODLQWV EXDWS SWRKHQ FWHG E\ U W R H LW\ FZUHUV
1RUWKHUQ , UHODQG 7KLV UHSUHVHQWHG D PDMR U
RI VWDWH ZDV UHVS RQVLE OH , Q UD\ KHYSHQWL F W Q J H R Q
&RPPLV\ QLORQK RG D OLPLWHG UROH LQ RYHUVHLQJ L
RYHUVLJKW IRU WKH 58& 7KLV ZDV D SUREOHP EHFD
EH FRPSOHWHO\ LPSDUWLDO LQ MXGJLQJ WKHLU EUH
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LQYHVWLJDWLRQ ERWK RI ZKRP ZHUH XQGHU WKH U
&RQVWDEOH ZKR SOD\HG D UROH LQ WKH SURFHV
SURFHH GLT@KJH &RXUW DFFHSWHG WKDW WKH OHJD
FKDUJHV DJDLQVW WKH SROLFH WKH 1RUWKHUQ , UH
'33 ZDV LQGHSHQGHQW +RZHYHU LW IRXQG WKDW
ZKHQ WKH LQYHVWLJDWLRQ @WVHOI ZDV VXEMHFW W

7KH RWKHU GHILFLHQF\ WKH &RXUW QRWHG ZDV WKH
LQTXHVW KHDULQJ , QTXHVW KHDULQJV DUH SXEOLF
VXVSLFLRXV GHDWK LQ WKH 8QLWHG .LQJGRP 7KH
UHTXLUHG WR VDWLV\ WKH SURFHGXUDO REOLJDWL
RI IZOILOOLQJ LW , I SURSHUO\ KHOG LQTXHVW KHD
SURFHGXUD\ YR\ QOLJ DM\ KHR\ SROLFH LQYHVWLJDWLRQ L
&RXUW UXOHG LQ WKH FDVH RI OF&DQQ DQG RWKHUV
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FDVHV H[DPLQHG LQ WKLV SDSHU WKH &RXUW UXOH
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SUHF GHQW 7KH &RXUW IRXQG WKH KHDULQJV WRR

, QTXHVW KHDULQJV UHSUHVHQW D VRUW RI LQGHSHQWL
.LQJGRP 7KH\ DUH FRQGXFWHG E\ FRURQHUV LQ RU
VXUURXQGLQJ D VXVSLFLRXV GHDWK ZLWK WKH UXO
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IDFHG IDU PRUH UHVWULFWLRQ 7KH\ FRXOG RQO\ U
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UHSRUW WR WKH '33 VWDWLQJ WKDW D FULPLQDO RI

S R O L F H R I I L F H U R U W K H X V H R I E D W R Q U R X Q G V S O
F R Q G X F W K H U R Z Q L Q Y H V W L J D W L R I Q H W D K Q H G U L F V K V D X U H J I B V U

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, Q DGGLWLRQ LQ SUDFWLFH WKLV PDGH LW YLUWXD
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SROLFH [>NL@OLQJV](mailto:NL@OLQJV)

\$V D UHVXOW RI WKH XVH RI IRUFH UHJXODWLRQV D
FRQYLFWERQ\WRRI\RHVFH PHPEHUV ZHUH DOPRVW LPSR
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VHQW\QK\ RQH VROGLHU ZKR ZDV IRXQG JXLOW\ RI
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KLV DUP\ XQLW D\W\@ K\LL\H\W\H\Q\H\DW\HDW VHFXULW\ IR
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LW LV QDWXUDO WKDW QDWLRQDOLVW [UR\K\\\$\V\Z\B\K](mailto:UR\K\$\V\Z\B\K)

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DOOHJDWLQRV RI FROOXVLRQ EHWZHH@ VHFXULW\ IF

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FP0 L~Ä p L HQ0

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WKH XVH RI ~~SQHDHV\RWLFEHEXSROQHV\WLEOH~~ +RZHYHU WKH J
URXWLQHO\ LJQRUHG E\ VHFXULW\ IRUFH\OH%~~H~~HK~~D~~OX VH
ZHDSRQ E\ PDQ\ RIILFHUV WKH\ DUH XVHG ZLWK OL
RI WKRVH NLOOHG E\ WKH EXOOHWV KDYH ODWHU EH
LV OLWWOH H[FXVH WR ILUH VXFK D GDQJHURXV ZHD
VLWXDWLRQ ,Q DQ\ HYHQW WKHUH KDYH EHHQ D OD

UHVSHFWHG KXPDQ ULJKWV 7KH %ULWLVK JRYHUQP
WR HQVXUH LW ~~ZDQ~~ ~~Z@~~ RUNLQJ SURSH

7KH *RRG)ULGD\ \$JUHHPHQW PDNHV FOHDU WKH KLJ
SROLFH IRUFHV 7KH SHRSOH RI 1RUWKHUQ ,UHODQQ
IRUFÐLKD U WKD

S
S

7KH ILUVW DQG SHUKDSV PRVW REYLRXV UHDVRQ V
VHFUXULW\ IRUFHV GLG QRW VLPSO\ YLRODWHG WKH U
PRUH FLYLOLDQV WKDQ > WQHH\QGZLGHSDW\PLVHLMXDUUWHV
SDUDPLOLWDU\ PHPEHUV WKH\ ZHUH RIWHQ XQDUPH

WKH JRYHUQPHQW GRHV QRW UHVSHFW WKH ULJKWV
%ULWDLQ ZDV LQ YLRODWLRQ RI WKH &RQYHQWLRQ
VLJQHG RQWR ,W KDV DQ REOLJDWLRQ WR SURWHFW
WKDW WKH SDUDPLOLWDULHV FRPPLWWHG ZRUUVH YL
%ULWDLQ KDV LPSOLF\ WO\ FRQFHG HG WKDW PLVWDN
WKH SROLFH LQYHVWLJDWLRQV HYHQ EHIRUH WKH (X
2PEXW\ DQ ZDV KLUHG LQ LQGLFDWLQJ WKDW WKH
SUREOHPV ZLWK SROLFH LQYHVWLJDWLRQV >HY@HQ EH

([DPLQLQJ WKH TXHVWLRQ RI KXPDIQFLXQMW\ XLFQK 10RLUN
WKH 8QLWHG 6WDWHV LQ WKH SRVW ZRUOG WKH
IDFHG ZLWK WKH GLIILFXOW WDVN RI ILJKWLQJ WHUU
ULJKWV 7HUURULVWV IURP 1RUW\ WHKU\ QRJLW\ OHQDQG ,DWW
DQG LQ (QJODQG SXWWLQJ WKH JRYHUQPHQW LQ D
WR GR VRPHWKLQJ WR VWRS WKH YLROHQFH 6HFXU
RI UHVSHFWLQJ WKH ULJKWV ZKLOH IDFLQJ JUHDW S
DWWHPSWHG WR ILJKW WHUURULVP DV HIIHFVLYHO\
ZLGHVSUHDG DEXVHV WR RFFXU

+RZHYHU WKH IDLOXUH RI WKH %ULWLVK SROLFLQJ
RI VHFXULW\ IRUFHV \H\QRJ\OD\W\ R\QVHRIU\KXP\QVULJKWV
DFFRXQWDELOLW\ IRU SROLFH DFWLRQV ZRXOG QRW
IDFW LW OLNHO\ ZRXOG KDYH GHFUHDVHG WKH WKU
SRSXODWLRQ DQG WKXV WK@)

> @E L G

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> @X P D Q 5 L J K Wb Serve DWFK Favor: Policing, Human Rights, and Accountability in Northern Ireland 1 H Z < R U N 5 L X R D Q : D W F K

> @H O V L Q N H u m d i W g f t K in Northern Ireland 1 H Z < R U N + H O V L Q N L :

> @HODWHG ,WHPV LQ (XURSHDQ DQG 'RPHVWL F & RXU KWWS ZZZ VHUYH FRP SIF HXUR HXULQGH[KWPO

> @XURSHDQ & RXUW RI + XPDQ 5LJKWV + LVWRULFDO KWWS ZZZ HFKU FRH LQW (QJ ('RFV + LVWRULFDO% D

> @

> @URSHDQ &RXUW RI +XPDQ 5LJKWV \$SSOLFDWLRQ
8QLWHG .LQJGRP '

> +@OVLQNL :DWFK

> @URSHDQ &RXUW RI +XPDQ 5LJKWV \$SSOLFDWLRQ
8QLWHG .LQJGRP '

> ,@LG

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> +@OVLQNL :DWFK

> @URSHDQ &RXUW RI +XPDQ 5LJKWV \$SSOLFDWLRQ
.LQJGRP '

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> 3@DVHV &RQFHUQLQJ WKH \$FWLRQV RI 6HFXULW\)
KWWS ZZZ VHUYH FRP SIF HXUR FPLQI SGI \$FFH

> ,@LG

> @HFWLRQ RI WKH &ULPLQDO /DZ 1RUWKHUQ
+XPDQ 5LJKWV :DWFK

> 3@URSHDQ &RQYHQWLQRQ RQ +XPDQ 5LJKWV '

> \$PQHVW\ ,QWHUQDWLRQDO Killings in Northern
Ireland 1HZ <RUN \$PQHVW\ ,QWHUQDWLRQDO

> +@OVLQNL :DWFK

> ,@LG SS

> \$PQHVW\ ,QWHUQDWLRQDO

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> @KH ,ULVK 7LPHV ³6HFXULW\)RUFHV &ROOXGHG ZL
KWWS ZZZ LUHODQG FRP QHZVSDSHU IURQW
WPO \$FFHVVHG 'HFHPEHU

> @KURSHDQ &RXUW RI +XPDQ 5LJKWV \$SSOLFDWLRQ
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> @KURSHDQ &RXUW RI +XPDQ 5LJKWV \$SSOLFDWLRQ
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/DVW_8SGDWHG