State Violence in the Origins of Nationalism: The British Reinvention of Irish Nationalism 1969-1972

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Why does nationalism become a more persuasive frame of reference and why do nationalist movements develop at particular junctures. What makes for a nationalist 'moment'? The episodic face of nationalism, when the ideology is popularised and movements mobilize, is usually placed within a historical continuum that is punctuated by precedents and precursors. In this paper I elaborate a hypothesis which is concerned with the violent contingent origins and reactive quality of nationalism. I believe that contingency can give us quite a good purchase on an explanation for why nationalism becomes a powerful political force when it does.

In my previous work on post-communist nationalist movements, I have argued that the question why some nationalisms turned violent and others did not can be addressed at the macro-level by examining whether states responded to nationalist challenges by violence or accommodation. State violence is also a driver in the mutation of nationalism into extremist forms, and even driving resistance into movements that are antithetical to nationalism, such as Islamist jihadism (Hughes and Sasse, 2002; Hughes, 2007). Here, I examine the micro foundations for a nationalist mobilization and demonstrate its inherently reactive quality to a catalytical process of state violence. I take the case of the resurgence of Irish nationalism during the Northern Ireland "Troubles", which was one of the most violent, costly and protracted nationalist conflicts in post-World War Two Europe.

The importance of this conflict for scholars, I believe, resonates in two directions. Firstly, the conflict is generally explained within a historical continuum of fractious relations between Britain and Ireland, unionist and nationalist, catholic and protestant. I am not suggesting that studies of this conflict pitch for determinism. Only the most shallow of studies would suggest that there was anything inevitable about the violent conflict that erupted in 1969. Nevertheless, the important literature on the conflict locates it within a macro level historical explanation, with the main positions pivoting around glosses influenced by the classic structure / identity frames which are understood as operating over the long term. Secondly, the conflict reanimated debates about the role of nationalism in politics in Ireland. Specifically, the conflict in Northern Ireland surfaced one of the most enduring themes in Irish politics and the study of Irish nationalism, which for the previous generation had largely been dormant – namely, the relative advantages and disadvantages, and the validity of the "moral force" versus the "physical force" traditions in the struggle of Irish nationalists for independence from Britain. Given the marginalization of the IRA in Irish political life in the 1950s and 1960s, and the embarrassment of its "border campaign" in 1957-62, this debate was essentially resolved against the "physical force" tradition of nationalism in Ireland.

It is generally accepted that the "shock" of concentrated violence in the early phase of the Northern Ireland conflict – the period 1969-1972 – reverberated for the next two decades and from this period emerged a newly vibrant form of "physical force" Irish nationalism. Although the scale of violence in terms of deaths and casualties (though not its economic destructive power) tailed off quite dramatically from the mid 1970s, the early years of the conflict appear to have fixed a polarization of positions between unionists and nationalists (see charts 1 and 2). The polarization was only circumvented from the mid 1980s by bilateral British and Irish government agreements that were then steadily imposed in top-down fashion on the protagonists in Northern Ireland. Part of this standard account is that the British state occupied a middle ground between the antagonistic national communities in Northern Ireland (if not quite neutral given its ongoing commitment to the partition of Ireland). A corollary of this interpretation is that the British security response aimed at "keeping the two sides apart", until such times as a political accommodation could be reached. This rather benign view of the British position is captured in the title of one of the major studies of the role of the British military in the conflict - former ITN correspondent Desmond Hamill's *Pig in the Middle* (Hamill, 1985). This is, indeed, the gloss promoted by successive generations of British elite politicians. The concept of "evenhandedness" is also the pivot for the British Army's own account of its role in the "Troubles". Equally, one of the main lessons drawn by the British Army from its experience in Northern Ireland is the problem of "over-reaction" and harshness, especially in the early phase. As Operation Banner, the British Army's internal report on the conflict, puts it: "during the early 1970s …a desire to 'sort the Micks out' was often apparent" (Operation Banner, 2006: 8-11).

I suggest that a misconceived violent British state security response in the period 1969-1972, overwhelmingly directed against the catholic community, transformed what was, in essence, a non-nationalist peaceful protest movement for reform and civil rights into a formidable nationalist cause championed by the Provisional Irish Republican Army, itself only founded in early 1970. The resurgence of violent nationalism, both Irish Republican and British Unionist, was reflexively legitimized by a wholescale rediscovery and renewal of references to the historical progeny and continuity of the respective nationalisms.

Interpreting the Violence

Between 1969 and 1998 there was a total of 3583 fatalities, of whom about half (1701) were non-combatants.[1] Over 42,000 persons were injured in this period, including about 27,500 civilians. These statistics must be considered in terms of the intensity of the war. There is a small population (about 1.5 million in 1969 growing to a little over 1.65 million by 1998) and small territorial area (some 13.800 sq. km). If the UK as a whole, with its population of some 58 million people, had experienced death pro rata, there would have been a total of over 130,000 dead and approaching two million injured (Bloomfield, 1998). The most violent year in Northern Ireland was "bloody" 1972 when there were a total of 496 fatalities. In terms of protractedness the almost thirty year 'long war' (1969-1998) in Northern Ireland exceeds the most protracted of the Correlates of War cases – Sri Lanka and the Tamil conflict (1983-2009) – while also falling outside the parameters to be considered a civil war.[2] From an initial deployment of 3,000 troops in summer 1969, the British Army presence quickly increased to over 10,000 troops deployed in early 1970 (not including local militia and police) – a level which was fairly constant throughout the conflict. In certain critical periods, notably in summer 1972, the troop level exceeded 28,000 – the biggest British infantry deployment since World War Two, and more than was committed by the UK to its "Suez Campaign" in 1956, or the Falklands War in 1982. To put the average UK military deployment in Northern Ireland in perspective we should note that currently there are 9,500 troops deployed in Helmand province in Afghanistan which is similar in population size (1.45 million) but is four times the area. Moreover, we should consider the troop deployment in the early phase against a background where the actual violence was geographically concentrated in a few square miles of north and west Belfast and Derry. The density of the deployment of troops is a factor to be considered when I discuss the escalation of 1969-72 below.

While the nationalist dimension of internal war may lead us to think of conflict as occurring at the level of a country, there are many conflicts (and Northern Ireland is

[1] Throughout, unless otherwise stated, I rely on McKeown 2009a and 2009b for data on deaths. According to the most widely employed definition and systematic measure of civil war – the threshold of 1000 conflict-related deaths per annum established by the Correlates of War (COW) Project –the armed conflict in Northern Ireland is excluded. The death rate in Northern Ireland never reached this threshold. Throughout this paper I employ the McKeown (2009) dataset on fatalities and other updates on fatalities since 2003 available at CAIN http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/victims/mckeown/; http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/deaths2010draft.htm
There is no consensus as to when the conflict began or ended but it is generally accepted that the starting point of the "Troubles", as the Northern Ireland conflict is euphemistically termed locally, in Ireland and the UK, was 1969. Here I employ the year 1998 as an end point as this was the year of the signing of the Belfast Agreement. There were just 88 conflict-related fatalities between 1999-2010.

[2] See http://www.correlatesofwar.org/

such a case) where the violence is territorially concentrated. Datasets on armed conflicts do not disaggregate data in such a way as to permit us to demonstrate this concentration and then to draw inferences from it. Location of armed conflicts is important to demarcate key characteristics such as the urban/rural distinction, terrain, peripherality, correlation with factors such as ethnicity and religion, areas of deprivation, natural resources, and also to better understand the pattern of the military struggle itself. In a later section of this paper I attempt to provide and interpret such a spatial breakdown for the Northern Ireland conflict.

In relative terms the armed conflict in Northern Ireland is one of the most studied. Prior to 9/11, one of the principal protagonists in the conflict – the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) – was the most studied "terrorist" organization (Silke, 2004 and 2007). It has been concluded, based on analysis of the World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators during the period 1948-77, that both in terms of absolute numbers killed and pro rata conflict-related deaths, Northern Ireland was ranked as "by far the most internally politically violent of the recognizably continuous liberal democracies" (O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 13). Other costs are less easily calculated – the erosion and abuse of civil liberties in Northern Ireland and the UK, the reputational costs to the UK's democracy, the economic costs of conflict damage and compensation, extra health care, lost jobs, the negative effects on tourism, lost economic opportunities, the vastly increased costs of security in Northern Ireland and the UK. Equally, some of the economic problems of Northern Ireland were attributable to general global economic changes and investment trends, and the violence actually helped to protect Northern Ireland from the worst of the Thatcherite cuts in public services in the 1980s, and led to a major influx of EU funding in the 1990s (Fay et al, 1999: 106-17; Hughes, 2009).

While fatalities are the most commonly employed measure of conflict intensity, we should also not discount economic damage. In the case of Northern Ireland as fatalities declined sharply from the peak rates of the early 1970s, economic damage caused by explosions persisted at a high level. The costs of the PIRA bombings in the latter stages of the conflict in the City of London (1992, 1993, 1995) and Manchester (1996) are estimated at several billions of pounds – more than the approximately 10,000 bombs that had occurred in Northern Ireland by this period. They also seriously threatened a core activity of the British economy.

The pattern of killings in Northern Ireland runs counter to Kalyvas's interpretation about the role of 'intimate' violence in civil wars. For Kalyvas local, personal reasons, such as revenge are more significant than ideology: "the habitually cited causes of group division (e.g., ideological, social, or ethnic polarization) often fail to account for

the actual dynamics of violence: the game of record is not the game on the ground" (Kalyvas, 2006: 5). Kalyvas makes several references to the Northern Ireland conflict in his *Logic of Violence* and it is clear that he views this conflict as proof of his thesis about 'intimate' killing. He largely ignores the scholarly literature on the conflict and draws heavily on one key source, and in my view a tainted one, to make inferences about the dynamics of killing in Northern Ireland – the memoir of ex-PIRA member and British agent Eamonn Collins (Collins, 1997). Collins downplays the role of nationalist ideology in preference for an interpretation which pathologizes PIRA violence. He stresses personality disorders, sociopaths, marginalization, young male delinquency, revenge/ rage feuding, rewards, coercion and even sexual advantage as motivations for involvement in violence – but with almost no supporting evidence for this interpretation (Collins, 1997: 164-5).

Studies of the patterns of conflict-related killings in Northern Ireland suffer from some common methodological difficulties which result in some discrepancies between the most prominent datasets – those produced by Fay et al (1999), Sutton (2001), McKittrick et al (2007) and McKeown (2009) based on his long standing data collation in the 1970s and 1980s for the Irish Information Partnership. Interpretations of the data on killings, both official and scholarly, either blame the conflict on nationalists or 'Republicans' (principally the PIRA) outright or tend to present the data in ways which emphasizes the responsibility of Republicans and cloak the role of violence by the British state and loyalists. The report of the first UK government appointed 'Victim's Commissioner' for Northern Ireland, former Stormont senior civil servant Sir Kenneth Bloomfield, stressed the responsibility of Republicans (Bloomfield, 1998). Based on the data of the 'Costs of the Troubles' report (which later became a book by Fay et al), Bloomfield concluded that:

- The death rate was 'rather higher' within the Catholic than the Protestant population (2.5 per 1,000 for Catholics and 1 .9 per 1,000 for Protestants).
- 87% of the total had been killed by paramilitaries (59% by Republicans and 28% by Loyalists, and about 11 % by the security forces).
- The death toll has been particularly high in North and West Belfast, Londonderry and South Armagh.

Bloomfield accepted that even the issue of who is a "victim" is highly contentious in Northern Ireland (Bloomfield, 1998). The vast majority of the victims (2366) were killed as a result of single fatality incidents, the bulk were killed by shooting or bombing but large scale multiple killings by such means were extremely rare (McKeown, 2009a: 6). It is unsurprising that the data confirms that this was a young

man's war: 91% were male, 37% under 24, 53% under 29, 74% under 39 (Fay et al, 1999: 161-2).

Sociologists such as Fay et al (sociologists) offer a more in depth analysis of the 'Costs of the Troubles' data used by Bloomfield. However, again the data is presented in a manner which does not fully explore the correlations in the killings perpetrated by loyalists and the security forces, whereas it is much more fully explored in the case of Republican paramilitaries. It is not clear what justifies this mode of presentation. They state that 'Paramilitary organisations accounted for just 80 per cent of the deaths and more than half were the responsibility of Republican paramilitaries' (Kay et al, 1999: 168). This leaves a substantial number of loyalist killings to be interpreted, let alone the security force killings. Rather than profile the loyalist and security force killings in depth, these authors argue that 'the IRA stands out as having made the most "significant" contribution to the deaths total' and that 'the biggest source of deaths amongst Protestants has been Republican organisations, accounting for 70 per cent of the total.' (Kay et al, 1999: 169). This is suggestive of a sectarian campaign of killings by Republicans.

Leading local journalists' accounts, such as McKittrick et al also employ broad aggregates to specifically attribute blame: the 'greatest single taker of life was the Provisional IRA, which alone accounted for almost half of all deaths' (McKittrick et al, 2007: 1561). In their statistical appendix to the compendium of conflict related deaths *Lost Lives* they provide tables and charts detailing the group categories (civilians, paramilitary organisations etc.) of deaths for which the security forces and the IRA were responsible but not for loyalists, despite the fact that loyalists accounted, by their own data, for 29.9% of the total deaths – overwhelmingly, according to the McKeown dataset, catholic "non-combatants".

Such scholarly and journalistic modes of presentation of the data on the violence in Northern Ireland are widely used to support conclusions that protestants were the main 'victims', and that Republicans/Irish nationalists were the main perpetrators. That is to say a hidden discourse that this was a war by Irish nationalists against protestants, and protestant civilians/non-combatants in particular. Such interpretations are central elements to a broader and almost hegemonic "unionist" gloss on the conflict. The perception of 'victimhood' operates at two key dimensions: reflections on the reasons for the fall of Stormont, and implicit sanctioning of sectarian violence against catholic 'nationalists'. Richard English's recent study of the IRA, for example, widely acclaimed in Britain, restates the mode of data presentation outlined above and concludes: "The IRA were (sic) responsible for more deaths in the northern Troubles than any other group" (English, 2003: 378). English also synthesizes the core Unionist

arguments regarding the origins of the conflict: that a reformist Stormont regime was undermined by an IRA-Republican-Catholic conspiracy which used the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s as a Trojan Horse; that the civil rights movement of the 1960s was an IRA "initiative"; civil rights "agitation" " spiraled Ulster into the sectarian violence"; and that civil rights activists "sought to destroy tranquility and generate violence" (English, 2003: 82, 91, 96). Paul Arthur's path-breaking study of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement (NICRA) confused the nationalist political and folk culture of catholics, who formed the bulk of the membership of the civil rights movement, with support for the IRA: 'Much of the rhetoric, the imagery and the use of traditional music [in NICRA: JH] resembled that of Sinn Fein' (Arthur, 1974: 112) [This was at the height of the Irish folk music revival: JH]. In contrast, leading leftist members of NICRA believed that the movement was being "wrecked" not by the IRA, but because it was being taken over by "moderate nationalists" in the north (specifically by leaders such as John Hume in Derry and Gerry Fitt in Belfast) who were intent on making it "a specifically catholic movement" (McCann, 1968).

Once the violence escalated in 1969-70, there was a ready acceptance that loyalist sectarian killings were a 'legitimate' response, 'hitting back' against catholics, who as a community were perceived to support PIRA attacks on 'protestants', including members of the local security forces (the RUC and UDR) who were overwhelmingly protestant in composition. As a leading historian of Ulster loyalism, Steve Bruce, explained: 'it is generally the case that what the Catholics were actually doing is far less important in understanding the actions of the Protestants than Protestant *beliefs* about what Catholics were doing' (Bruce, 1989: 100). Arthur and Jeffrey have gone so far as to declare that "it could be claimed legitimately that groups like the UDA were 'counter-terrorist organizations'" (Arthur and Jeffrey, 1988: 49)

The British Army's official report *Operation Banner* offers no coherent statistical analysis but does distinguish two periods in the conflict – the insurgency 1970-75; and 'terrorism' after 1975. The logic for this distinction, other than politics, is not clear. The PIRA kills most non-combatant civilians during the 'insurgency' period, and thereafter its violence is much more targeted on state forces/'combatants'. The British Army's report also gives barely any attention to the unionist/ loyalist violence, rather it stresses that this was a two-way war between it and nationalists

An alternative 'two wars' thesis has been developed by O'Leary and McGarry (1993), primarily based on the Irish Information Partnership data, and by McKeown (2009b). The thesis holds that the conflict was broadly evenly divided between a military conflict or 'guerrilla war' and intracommunal 'strife' involving mainly ethnic or sectarian assassination. According to McKeown the former accounted for 48.47% of

all fatalities, and the latter 45.4%, with others accounting for 6.13% (McKeown, 2009b: 11). O'Leary and McGarry offer a more nuanced explanation: 'The conflict is best understood as two wars: one between three sets of armed or militant agents, and a second between the three sets of militant agents and civilians' (O'Leary and McGarry, 1993: 22). Their triangle of 'armed or militant agents' is composed of the Security forces, Nationalist paramilitaries and Loyalist paramilitaries. They estimate that in the period 1969-89 the former war accounted for 44.1% of fatalities, while the second war accounted for 50.6% of total killed. This interpretation is a more balanced analysis of responsible agents and the dynamics. But it still leaves many questions unanswered. These interpretations of data on the violence do not systematically disaggregate and correlate across all three principal agents responsible for fatalities (the security forces, republicans, and loyalists), for example, by correlating agency responsible and victims, with factors of timing and the geography of the conflict. Most importantly, there is no systematic disaggregation by whether the victim was a combatant or non-combatant. This is the rationale for my focus in this paper on the period which is generally seen as being the critical one for the whole conflict – 1969-1972.

Attempts to localize the experience of the violence have demonstrated that catholics bore the brunt. An INCORE Report (1999) divided local government wards in Northern Ireland into three categories in terms of experience of the conflict: high intensity areas (over 7 deaths per thousand population); medium intensity areas (over 1 but under 7 deaths per thousand population); and low intensity areas (under 1 per thousand population. In depth interviews with a sample of respondents in high intensity areas reported lower incomes, higher occupancy of public sector housing, higher unemployment and more benefit dependency than either of the other two locations. 28% of those in high intensity areas reported having their home attacked, and 10% reported having their home destroyed. The study found that catholics in all three locations had more experience of the Troubles and also reported more effects of the Troubles on them (INCORE, 1999). Location and religion stand out as significant factors in both the experience and the effects of the Troubles and yet these factors are not connected systematically to explanations for the resurgence of Irish nationalism in 1969-72.

The lack of disaggregation of the data on the violence is important in three key respects in my view. Firstly, the violence peaked in 1972. This should lead us to question why the violence peaked when it did. What was it about the years 1969-72 that caused the surge in violence and with what consequences? Secondly, there is a clear variable geography to the violence. It is mostly concentrated in Belfast, and within Belfast to the working class catholic areas of North and West (correlating precisely with official mapping of deprivation). This is particularly true for the period

1969-72. Thirdly, summarizing deaths by agents responsible (for example State security forces, PIRA, loyalist paramilitary organizations and so forth) without further disaggregation clouds issues of legitimate use of violence and normative rules in the use of violence such as the adherence to combatant/ non-combatant distinctions.

The data analyzed here (see appendices) is derived from McKeown (1999a) unless otherwise stated. Figure 1 shows killings over the duration of the conflict and reveals the spike in deaths in the early phase. Figure 2 focuses in on the period 1969-72 to highlight better the pulsating nature of the violence. Later I interpret the violent pulses of this period to explain the resurgence of nationalism. Table 1 demonstrates that Republicans accounted for the largest share of deaths in the conflict. In Table 2 the proportion of deaths by religion is presented and we see that 'rather more' catholics than protestants were killed. However, the religion marker cloaks other forms of status – in particular the combatant/noncombatant distinction. Figure 3/Table 3 reveals that the conflict had several dimensions: a war between British Army and Republicans; Republican violence against civilians/non-combatants (protestant and catholic); loyalist violence against civilians/non-combatants (almost wholly against catholics); British Army violence against civilians/non-combatants (almost wholly perpetrated against catholics). The obvious missing dimension to the conflict is the virtual absence of violence between state forces and loyalists despite the fact that loyalists accounted for just under a third of deaths overall. We can reasonably infer from this missing dimension to the Northern Ireland conflict that the British Army (state forces) took sides, and did so at an early stage. Moreover, Figure 4 shows the trends in killings over time for each of the principal agents. What emerges is that Republican killing of non-combatants is concentrated in the period 1969-75, and thereafter Republican violence is almost wholly targeted on state forces. In contrast, loyalist violence is systematically directed at catholic non-combatants throughout the conflict, and this trend even shows a significant spike in the early 1990s at the time when the peace process intensifies. British Army violence also becomes more targeted over time, however, in the critical period under discussion, 1969-72, it was targeted somewhat more on catholic non-combatants than on Republican paramilitaries.

Let us now focus in on the 1969-72. Map1/Figure 5/Table 4 shows that the conflict related deaths were concentrated in north and west Belfast and Derry (Foyle). Belfast is an extremely segregated city, especially in its working class areas. About two-thirds (67.3%) of Catholics, and 73% of protestants live in areas that are at least 81% populated by their coreligionists. When Shirlow and Murtagh mapped the killings for the period 1969-2004 they found that about one third of the victims of politically motivated violence were murdered within 250 meters of a community interface; around 70 per cent of deaths occurred within 500 meters of all segregated boundaries;

over 80 per cent of deaths occurred within places that were at least 90 per cent Catholic or Protestant; and middle class areas endured the lowest levels of politically motivated violence (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2006: 59-60).

In Figure 2 and Figure 6, we see the pulsating nature of the violence. The violence is sequenced as follows: a pulse of state violence against catholic non-combatants in summer –autumn 1969, followed by a lull in late 1969 and the first five months of 1970. Killings start again in late June 1970 but fall off again in the autumn and winter of 1970. The first PIRA killing of state forces occurs in February 1971 and thereafter the conflict is characterized by a series of interactive pulses of violence by Republicans, British Army/ state forces, and loyalist paramilitaries. The violence surges in August 1971, following the introduction of internment by the Stormont government, and culminates in the peak of killing in the late summer of 1972. The analysis that follows explains the reasons for the nationalist resurgence by examining the relationship between local catholic communities, the British Army and the emergence of PIRA in Belfast.

From Citizens to Nationalists

Contrary to the unionist historians' position on the importance of the IRA in the civil rights movement in the 1960s in Northern Ireland, the IRA's quasi official historian, the American historian Bowyer Bell, described the IRA as a "husk" and in the "doldrums" in the 1960s (Bowyer Bell, 1989; 336). The IRA's so-called "Border Campaign" 1957-62 had been an embarrassment, and demonstrated almost no popular support among catholics in the north of Ireland. The 1960s saw a younger southern-based IRA leadership abandoning "armed struggle" and embracing a Marxist social movement agenda. The new political direction was strongly shaped by Marxists from the Connolly Association in Britain. The 50th anniversary of the 1916 Rising commemoration in 1966 is notable not for a restatement of IRA adherence to the "physical force" tradition but for the intellectual rediscovery of the non-sectarian ethic of Irish republicanism, and a kind of intellectual republican chic – beginning with the foundation of the first of many Wolfe Tone Clubs in Trinity College Dublin. The new leftist ideological direction fitted well with the emergence of a civil rights movement and the founding of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) among northern students and professionals in 1967 – a movement that was influenced by the recent struggle for civil rights for Blacks in the USA, and was committed to the power of "moral force". Some IRA members were among the stewards of marches and pickets but, according to Bowyer bell, their role was to contain the potential for violence (Bowyer Bell, 357). The downgrading of the IRA's military capacity was

evident throughout the events of summer 1969, when the local Stormont regime's capacity to govern disintegrated in a wave of interethnic riots and pogroms in Belfast and Derry. The weakness of the IRA in 1969 brought a damning indictment from the "catholic street" "IRA: I ran away". Catholics genuinely welcomed the British government's decision to intervene by deploying the British Army and by subordinating local policing and security to the British commanders.

Catalyst events are generally assumed to be critical to the explanation for the escalation of violence in 1969-72. 1972 is generally seen as a watershed given that it was the bloodiest year in the conflict and the one in which British direct rule was imposed. Roy Foster's history of modern Ireland terminates in 1972 (Foster, 1988). There is a fair amount of consensus in the literature that there was a steady escalation in the two years preceding 1972, though the definition of what was entailed in the escalation is not thoroughly exposed. Most accounts accept that there was a "honeymoon" between nationalist/catholic communities and the British Army in the immediate aftermath of the British Army's intervention in August 1969. Testimonies of British soldiers gathered by Ken Wharton provide much evidence for the positive relations between the British Army and catholic communities in Belfast and Derry as the soldiers were greeted by catholic communities as "liberators" from unionist repression (Wharton, 2009 and 2010). The consensus dissipates over the question of what explains the breakdown of the "honeymoon" between catholics and the British Army, and the turn to a nationalist resurgence in the form of support for the PIRA insurgency - the shift from "cuppas and cakes to bullets and bombs" as one of Wharton's respondents put it (Wharton, 2010: 28).

Contemporary British and Irish journalists' accounts – often astute observers of low level dynamics - attributed the breakdown of the British Army/catholic "honeymoon" to the Army's heavy security response in late 1969-1970 (see for example Bishop and Maillie, 1987: 151). This explanation is part of the standard account of the conflict, but it is unrefined. Indeed, even quite specific catalysts are identified, such as the April 1970 riot in West Belfast: 'If the bitter guerilla war can be said to have its moment of violent birth at any one specific place, it was on a street corner on the Ballymurphy housing estate'. It was observed that the wholesale use of CS gas by the British Army had the 'enormous power' to 'weld a crowd together in common sympathy and common hatred for the men who gassed them' (Winchester, 1974: 30-32). Many accounts see the Falls Road Curfew of early July 1970 as the turning point. Imposed on a catholic area of Belfast that had experienced the brunt of the interethnic rioting in summer 1969, the curfew involved several thousand troops, a major gun battle and the firing of hundreds of cs gas canisters in a small built up residential area. For another British journalist, Peter Taylor, this was the moment

when “Unwittingly, the army had driven the community into the arms of the Provisional IRA”. The curfew, according to Gerry Adams (later a commander of PIRA in Belfast), was a key event in both the expansion of the PIRA and the legitimation of “physical force” (Taylor, 1998: 81-83).

The drift to nationalist violence in 1971 seems to be mainly explained as the result of a lack of strategic thinking by the British Army over how to manage security and the failure to speedily address catholic grievances. However, I suggest that the moral endorsement from the catholic community to legitimise the nationalist “armed struggle” was far from being as clear cut or as determined by catalysts as either the PIRA mythology or scholarly and journalistic accounts imply. Implicit in many accounts is the idea of a functional mismatch or capacity problem – soldiers were not policemen and could not adjust to the sensitivity required to win the support of communities. Some of the technology of policing – such as CS gas – was certainly crude and inexact in its collective throttling of local communities. Yet, the British Army was historically a counterinsurgency army, with many recent decades of experience of attempting to manage colonial “civil disorder” – though with a rather mixed record of success (from Palestine in the late 1940s, to Malaya in the late 1940s and 1950s, Kenya and Cyprus in the latter 1950s, Aden and Oman in the 1960s). Colonial counterinsurgency, however, was practiced outside of the UK, usually against non-Whites, and beyond the glare of media publicity – unlike in Northern Ireland. Many of the senior commanders in the critical period of 1970-2 were leading practitioners of what has been more recently termed the “British model” of counterinsurgency, and had seen extensive service in many of the key British counter-insurgency campaigns after World War Two. A particularly significant figure in this regard was Brigadier Frank Kitson who assumed overall command of British forces in Belfast in early 1970 until his removal by Secretary of State William Whitelaw in April 1972. Kitson had a legendary reputation in the British Army as a “counterinsurgency warrior” akin to that of Petraeus today. In 1969 Kitson had a visiting fellowship at University College Oxford to write what was to become a British Army text book for dealing with “low intensity operations” and subversion (Kitson, 1971). His arrival in Belfast set a new harsh tone for the Army’s role. For as Kitson had observed in his book, with regard to the classic Maoist formula that the relationship between guerrillas and supporting community was akin to that between fish and water: “If a fish has got to be destroyed it can be attacked directly by rod or net…But if rod and net cannot succeed by themselves it may be necessary to do something to the water…” (Kitson, 1970: 49).

Consequently, the British Army’s counterinsurgency practices need to be brought into our explanation for the breakdown of the “honeymoon”. Under Kitson security

practices which had been rather chaotically applied became standard operating procedures. The key tactics were classic counterinsurgency techniques of cordon, screening and search. In Belfast this involved constant surveillance night and day by foot patrols, vehicle patrols, the use of helicopters, electronic surveillance, mass house searches and "stop and search" of individuals on a routine basis. Public space was securitized in new ways. The Army established check points on all major entry/exit points to main catholic areas (VCPs or vehicle check points), many roads and access points were sealed off by physical barriers. Where necessary main roads were widened to accommodate armoured vehicles. Dozens of new military compounds were constructed for the swelling troop garrisons, including more than a dozen in north and west Belfast – often occupying what few open spaces or sports facilities existed. In previous counterinsurgencies British (and indeed French) tactics for dealing with the "water" had centred on mass arrests, concentration camps, collective punishments, and torture of prisoners to extract "humint" (human intelligence). Abuse of prisoners was reported even in 1970 from Palace Barracks (Kitson's HQ) in Belfast, but the famous European Court of Human Rights case of the ten "guinea pigs" to whom the "in depth" five techniques of interrogation/torture were applied came after internment was introduced in August 1971. Clearly, mass communal concentration camps were an impossibility for various reasons – the media glare being a most obvious one. However, as noted, communities could be contained in other ways. From early 1970 in addition to the routinisation of the security measures outlined above, the British Army also started to develop its card index profiles of every catholic family in north and west Belfast through everyday and systematic interrogation of each household. The securitization tactics were not applied to either protestant areas or, indeed, middle class areas with large catholic populations in Belfast. The point that I wish to emphasise here is that the routinization by the British Army of communal control in north and west Belfast occurred at a time when there was a lull in the killing and there was no insurgency.

What kind of organizational responses occurred in catholic communities in response to the violence of summer 1969. What kind of bottom-up demands were being articulated in these communities? Here, my analysis is based on two sources: political pamphlets and other materials, mainly produced in west Belfast in 1969-72, and interviews with non-IRA participants in community organized defence (rather unfortunately known locally as the "vigilantes"). What emerges from this grassroots approach is that catholic communities were concerned overwhelmingly with "rule of law" issues and the aspiration for equality of citizenship, not with nationalist ideology. Indeed, as we shall discuss later, even the PIRA struggled to break with the bottom-up rule of law approach emanating from what it saw as its natural heartlands of support, the catholic communities in Belfast.

In response to the interethnic violence of summer 1969, when the overwhelmingly protestant local police (the RUC) had mobilised its reserve (all protestant) militia (the B Specials) and sided with protestant mobs in attacking catholic communities in Belfast, catholic communities barricaded their areas and formed loosely organized community defence units (Insight Team, 1972). The spontaneous defence of what became known as barricaded "no-go areas" (no-go for the Stormont police forces) was subordinated to two main organizational forms: "Citizen's Defence Committees" (CDCs) in which "community leaders" and the most respected members of the community often had a leading role, and the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association (CESA) ie catholics who had formerly been in the British Army. In the months after August 1969 these were separate organisations, but with a significant membership overlap. CESA was valued because its members had military training, though by all accounts of my interviewees very few weapons were available to those manning barricades. The discredited IRA was only peripherally involved in the CDCs and CESA at first. The naming of the CDCs reflected their non-nationalist agenda – they were not "Nationalist Defence Committees". The "basic demands" of the CDCs in this period were wholly concerned with rule of law issues: policing (disbanding and disarming the B Specials, disarm and reorganize the RUC), repealing the draconian Special Powers Act (and releasing prisoners interned under its provisions), and for the Westminster government to invoke Article 75 of the Government of Ireland Act (1920) to suspend the Stormont government, introduce direct rule, and push through reforms (Barricades Bulletin No 2, 1969). As the CDC in Anderstown in West Belfast put it: "It is time they [the British government: JH] acted over Stormont's head. The people will accept nothing less." (Barricades Bulletin no. 3, 1969). These demands were even more modest than those that were later recommended by the British Government's own "Cameron Report" into the events of 1969 (Cameron, 1969). Middle ranking British Army officers (at rank of Major) liaised closely, openly and regularly (weekly) with CDCs and CESA leaderships, often in meetings mediated by local priests. The content of the discussions was publicized in local pamphlets. The scale of the trust and communication between the British Army and local catholic communities was such that they could be invited into houses, and attend mass services in Catholic communities unarmed. In sum, there was general cooperation between the British Army and CDCs.

The tensions between catholic communities in Belfast and Derry and the British Army deteriorated as the Kitsonian counterinsurgency tactics became standardized despite the absence of an insurgency. There was mutual cooperation over the removal of many barricades in late 1969. Relations suffered, however, as a result of the subordination of the RUC and B Specials to British command, as opposed to their

being disarmed, demobilized or reformed, the role of Stormont's Unionist ministers in joint political security committees, and the British Army's use of the emergency legislation of Stormont. Unionist elites, with whom British commanders had more social and historical affinity, were relentlessly critical of the "softly-softly" approach towards the "no-go" areas which they equated with British Army collaboration with the IRA (Hamill, 23-24). Other low level tactical errors included the deployment of Scottish battalions, generally viewed by both communities as sympathetic to the Ulster protestants. The Scottish units played a pivotal role in some of the events seen as catalysts for the breakdown of the Army-catholic relationship, including the Ballymurphy riots of April 1970 and the Falls Road Curfew of July 1970. The electoral cycle in Britain, with a transition from a Labour to Conservative government, contributed to delays in formulating let alone delivering a policy for reform. *Operation Banner* admits the absence of strategic thinking in the British Army over how to manage the "civil disorder" and one of its subtexts is that the British Army lost the trust of catholic communities through its tactical mistakes.

Wharton's works and the journalistic reports provide a host of ethnographic evidence of the breakdown of trust in early 1970. The infusion of violence into this relationship came spontaneously as a result of mass house searching, beginning with small scale rioting in Ballymurphy in west Belfast in January 1970. With great speed, a children's/teenagers Intifada erupted.[3] This was not episodic or spasmodic, but systematic - an almost daily repertoire of stone throwing by school children, with more serious rioting involving petrol bombs being concentrated only in disturbances around the so-called "marching season" of Orange (Unionist) parades in June and July (the first time an alleged petrol bomber was shot dead by the British Army occurred in July 1970). Until August 1970, when so-called "rubber bullets" (baton rounds) became standard issue, the British Army had only limited responses to stone throwing. The usual response in the case of sustained stone throwing was cs gas, which was de facto a collective punishment in the confined residential areas of north and west Belfast. Securitization at the lowest tactical level – say foot patrols – is almost impossible to police by commanders, and not surprisingly it is at this level that we see much of the anecdotal evidence of abuse of catholic teenagers in particular.

Data on the British Army's securitization policy in these early years is not readily disaggregated but we do have reasonably reliable sources on some of its counterinsurgency activities. According to Hillyard, there were 75,000 arrests in

[3] The spontaneity of rioting by catholic youths was a major concern raised by Gerry Adams on behalf of PIRA when the first secret talks with an MI6 officer on behalf of the British government were held in June 1972. http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/publicrecords/1972/index.html

1971-86, one in four Catholic men between the ages of 16-44 would have been arrested (or "lifted" in local parlance) at least once in the period 1971-86. The number of arrests does not automatically transfer into numbers of persons arrested. Hillyard reckons that many British Army detentions actually involved multiple persons, with only a quarter to one half of those detained actually passed on to the RUC for a formal arrest. Hillyard is unable to break this figure down by area, but we can reasonably assume that the arrests were concentrated in areas of violence – thus it is likely that the proportion of this group arrested in north and west Belfast would be much higher. We see a similar pattern for house searches. In 1971-1986 the state security forces searched 338,803 houses. In theory this translates into 75% of all houses in Northern Ireland. Again, it would be a reasonable assumption that the searches would have been concentrated on the 170,000 catholic houses, and more specifically on those in areas such as north and west Belfast. This means that houses in these areas would have been subjected to multiple searches. It is clear from local pamphlets, local newspapers, and contemporary British journalism, that the routinization of classic British counterinsurgency tactics of cordoning, arrest and search (and the brutalization that often accompanied them) severely strained the "honeymoon", especially given that the tactic was employed in a one-sided manner (protestant communities not being subjected). For Hillyard, the British Army was, in practice, 'treating the whole of the catholic community as "suspect"' (Hillyard, 1998:194-197). Allen Feldman refers to the state security practices against catholics as the "collectivization of arrest" (Feldman, 1991).

The Reinvention of Irish Nationalism

The reassertion of not just of the "physical force" tradition but of a new vibrant form of Irish nationalism came out of a context of harsh British counterinsurgency tactics in the absence of insurgency. However, it is often mythologised by Republicans as being born "out of the ashes of 1969" – the phoenix becoming a favoured PIRA icon. PIRA vocabulary referred/refers to the new recruits that joined PIRA after summer 1969 as "69-ers" (among whom was former PIRA chief of staff and current Deputy First Minister of the Northern Ireland Executive established after the Belfast Agreement of 1998, Martin McGuinness). Alonso's interviews with Republicans who enlisted as "volunteers" in the early years report a pattern of spontaneous recruitment based on spur-of-the-moment emotional reactions to events. Alonso interpreted the recruitment as indicative of minds that were "captive" to nationalism (Alonso, 2007: 67). But the evidence for an ideological impulse is not offered. For most it was a reaction to the defenceless realities of 1969 and the radicalization induced by the experience of street fighting in 1969-70, though some, such as Belfast PIRA leader Brendan Hughes, have

traced their politicisation to less insular and more global experiences and empathy with victims of injustice (Moloney, 2010: 41). Some, such as Brighton bomber, Patrick Magee, joined PIRA after personal experience of British Army brutality. Belfast, and indeed Northern Ireland, had what Gerry Adams has termed "spinal Republican families" – including his own (Adams, 2004: 5). These numbered only in the dozens. As we noted earlier the IRA was a "husk" in the late 1960s with a small and aged membership in Belfast. The violence in Derry and Belfast of summer 1969 irrevocably split the IRA. The split was formalised at an IRA convention in Dublin in December 1969, which saw the formation of the PIRA, followed by a formal schism at the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis in January 1970. The principal cleavage had been evolving irrespective of developments in the north, and was between Marxists and Anti-Marxists. Even on the eve of the summer of 1969 the Marxist leadership of the IRA and Sinn Fein were supportive of armed struggle elsewhere (such as Palestine) while attempting to transform the republican movement into a new progressive social movement that engaged in trade unionism, and social issues such as rent strikes, fishing rights, and campaigns against the EEC and foreign speculators. In the north its policy was to engage in the civil rights movement (*United Irishman*, 23, 6, June 1969).

This ideological divide was given a new urgency, intensity and form by events in Northern Ireland. The Marxist/Anti-Marxist schism was soon infused by a more traditional cleft between "physical force" and "moral force" philosophies. The "physical force" faction i.e. those who wanted to organize an "armed struggle" in Northern Ireland was overwhelmingly composed of the "spinal" republican families of the north, though they quickly accumulated support from other parts of Ireland and the USA. Adams has claimed that the PIRA expansion only accelerated after the Falls Road Curfew in July 1970 (ironically, a British Army operation that targeted the Marxist-leaning Official IRA in the Falls area) (Adams, 1986: 55). A close reading of PIRA literature in the period 1970-72 reveals, however, that it initially struggled to define its own version of republicanism. For the "honeymoon" between Army and catholics placed a huge question mark on the viability and legitimacy of a return to "physical force" nationalism. A major challenge for PIRA in this early period of the conflict was how to break the link between the Army and catholics, widen its support base and communicate nationalist/republican values to catholic communities.

PIRA capacity to deliver this strategy was weak given the downgrading of the "physical force" currents amongst nationalist intellectuals over the previous decade. The first issues of PIRA's main newspaper Republican News published for the first time in June 1970 sought to do two things ideologically. Firstly, the founding rationale of PIRA had to be explained. PIRA was distinguished from the "compromises",

"communist aims" and "Red agents" that had infiltrated the IRA in the 1960s (a recurrent theme in Republican News in 1970-1). Secondly, the first steps were taken towards an ideological docking with the heritage of the 1916 Rising, the War of Independence and the United Irishmen.[4] There were some crucial advantages to the Belfast locus of PIRA. Belfast and the northern conflict presented a vast array of Irish Republican topoi on which to draw in order to relegitimise the "physical force" tradition. The recent experience of Northern Irish catholics seemed to confirm the necessity for "physical force" over "moral force". The distinction between the two was fuzzy in the history of Irish nationalism, with most episodes demonstrating an interrelationship between the two rather than a clear distinction (Curtis, 1988). Historically, both English and Irish nationalist positions on Ireland mirrored each other in that, as James Connolly had put it, the "governing power" should be taken "peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary" (Connolly, 1971: 28). The non-violent civil rights movement had been met by the Stormont regime with police repression and demagogic mobilization – developments which seemed to confirm John Mitchel's infamous retort that "moral force" was "humbug". Belfast held the Omphalos of Irish republicanism – McArt's Fort promontory – where Tone and his fellow United Irishmen (almost all northern Presbyterians) had taken an oath in June 1795 "never to desist" until they had "subverted the authority of England over Ireland". Throughout 1970-71 Republican News propagated profiles of the northern "protestant patriots" who had been at the core of the United Irishmen leadership. Furthermore, the recovery of the historical memory of "physical force" nationalism extended to publishing songs, poems and identifying paraphernalia that came out of previous eras of armed struggle. Crucially, the "no-go" areas established in catholic areas of Belfast after 1969 were ghetto spaces largely beyond the control of the state which offered opportunities for unfettered nationalist agitprop and socialisation. Indeed, it was the form of the British state's attempts to reassert control in 1970-1 that brought friction with those communities. Bean's sympathetic study of PIRA argues that the 'resistance communities' which became the bedrock of its support in the early phase of the conflict were grounded in the 'power of common local experiences in shaping a political outlook', and that PIRA was not a 'mere reproduction of tradition' (Bean, 2007: 54-56). In fact, the reproduction, reinvention and romanticization of nationalist tradition was precisely the strategy followed by the founders of PIRA from early 1970 – what is striking about this strategy is how hesitant it was.

PIRA's ideological uncertainty over "physical force" is evident in the first three issues of Republican News in July – August 1970 (which includes the period in the immediate aftermath of the Falls Road Curfew). In issue 1 there was a vague reference

[4] The first two issues in June 1970 were edited by a veteran of Belfast's "Old IRA", James Steele.

to the need to build up a “movement of resistance”. Violent resistance, however, was only implicit at this stage. The “verbal struggle for Irish freedom” of the Official IRA was ridiculed. The reporting of PIRA leader Daithi O’Connell’s speech at Bodenstown in July 1970 in which he had called for a British withdrawal hinted that; “the more your troops impose their will, the nearer you bring the day of open confrontation” (Republican news, 1, 1, 1970: 2-7). Similar obliqueness of language on armed struggle is evident in issue two. There would be “no peace”, the editor declared, until there was a complete end to “England’s armed occupation” (Republican News, 1, 2, 1970: 2). While from the outset there were consistent warnings to catholics against “fraternization” with British forces, and constant spotlighting of British Army brutality in catholic areas. The hesitancy of the PIRA approach to the catholic community is evident in issue 3 of Republican News, which observed that the Falls Road curfew “must surely give them [the catholic community: JH] the necessary food for thought” (Republican News, 1, 3, 1970: 3-4). It is only in issue 4 in september 1970 that we see the first explicit references by PIRA to the need to “eject the invader” though the means are still not wholly transparent. It called for “training and discipline”. It admonished those “with no real taste for the struggle ahead”. It predicted “a gradual transition from the current, practical, defensive tactics of today to that of, not too distant, direct offensive confrontation with the forces of imperialism in Ireland”. The goal was to make “matters so unpleasant” for the British that they would leave – but without details (Republican news, 1, 4, September-October 1970: 1-6). The tentative approach to violence in the PIRA’s information war continued until early 1971. A cartoon in issue 6 1970 showed a uniformed PIRA volunteer, unarmed, with outstretched hands, pleading “what price freedom?” Equally, the catholic ghettos were flooded with Republican propaganda, pamphlets, and books as part of the reeducation strategy.

It is only in January-February 1971, that is to say one full year after the foundation of PIRA, that it offers an unequivocal statement of its commitment to violent resistance. Here too we find the insignia of the United Irishmen (the uncrowned harp) emblazoned for the first time on Republican News. In an op-ed titled “Our Policy”, the PIRA leadership explicitly associated with and endorsed the “tradition of physical force resistance to British interference in Irish Affairs”. The means to achieve this goal was “a Republican armed underground resistance movement” (Republican News, 1, 8, January-February 1971: 8). Throughout the first half of 1971, even after its armed campaign had begun, the PIRA agitprop is still battling to get catholics “off the fence”. Much use is made of British Army brutality and tactics to justify that there is “no other way” but armed resistance and “just retaliation” (Republican News, 1, 9 march 1971: 12; 1, 11, May 1971: 5).

The PIRA information war to make the case for violent nationalism becomes much easier in the wake of the British Army's intensification of its counterinsurgency tactics in 1970-1, and in particular as the violence escalates in 1971-2. Yet even after a two year experience of British Army counterinsurgency, including the critical turning points of internment (August 1971) and "Bloody Sunday" in January 1972, non-PIRA local activists in West Belfast CESA and other forums were lamenting the "inability of the state to function impartially" and the breakdown of the "British Army's traditional discipline", and appealing most of all for restraints on British Army "Kitsonian tactics" (*Andersonstown News*, 1, 1, 22/29 November 1972: 1-2; 1, 2, 29 November – 6 December 1972: 1). Meanwhile, we should observe that the pressure from above, from Kitson himself, was for non-restraint. Indeed, as reported in the memoirs of General Mike Jackson, Kitson fumed at commanders who he perceived to be too soft, for example, Colonel Derek Wilford (who led the paratroopers on Bloody Sunday) who was debriefed and admonished by Kitson because he "didn't go on and sort the whole bloody mess out" (Jackson, 2007).

Conclusion

Catalysts are the more powerful for occurring as part of a process. Even the British Army now accepts that there was no insurgency in Northern Ireland in 1969-70 and that its own tactical practice was a contributing factor to the onset of the "Troubles". In the literature on the conflict, however, there remains a hegemonic position that the conflict can be located within a continuum of Irish nationalism, and the "physical force" tradition in particular. We have many correlates for the violence: the violence in 1969-72 was concentrated in areas of social deprivation in Belfast and Derry; it was a young man's war; catholic civilians were the main victims etc. Catholic demands in the period 1969-72 were a continuation of those identified by the civil rights movement – appeals for equality of citizenship, rule of law and for an active, impartial and reformist British state. I have attempted to show that the nationalist impulses to the onset of the "Troubles" were largely non-existent. In the early years of the conflict support among catholics for PIRA's armed struggle was ambivalent at best – as is evident in PIRA's struggle with an information war to inculcate the values of "physical force" nationalism among catholics in 1970-2. It was not that the British Army's "honeymoon" with catholics dissolved as a result of its harsh response to episodic rioting (the standard account) but rather that the trust of catholics was eroded over 1970-2 by a brutal British counterinsurgency policy implemented under commanders and troops who brought a colonial mindset to the Northern Ireland conflict and specifically to the working class catholic communities of north and west

Belfast and Derry. The reactive qualities in the emergence and relegitimization of the "physical force" tradition in Irish nationalism in this period leads me to the conclusion that this nationalism was not simply a product of internal war, but was also largely made in Britain – a product of British state violence.

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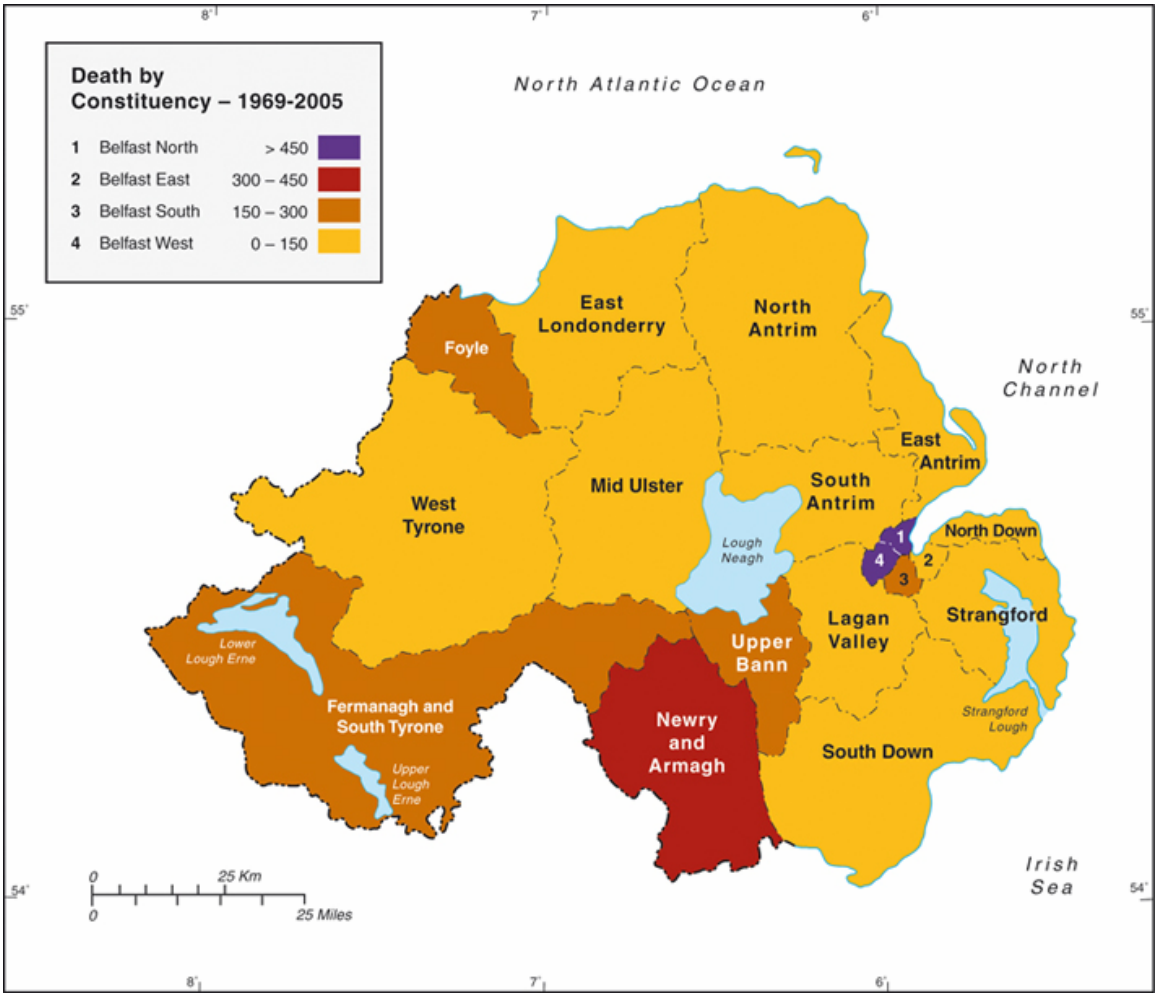
Map 1 The Geography of Death



Map 2 Religious Segregation in Belfast

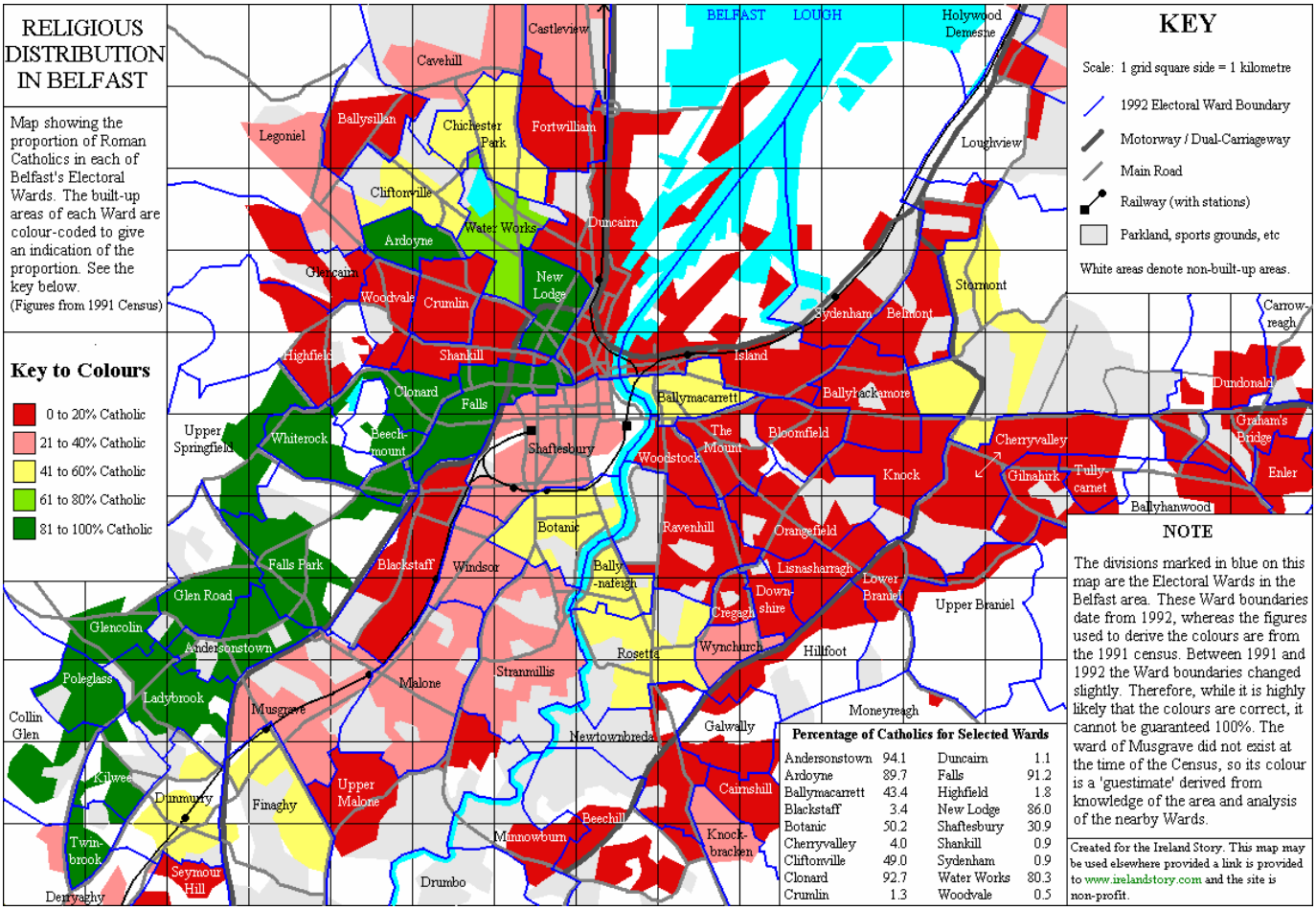


Figure 1 Deaths by year, 1969-2003

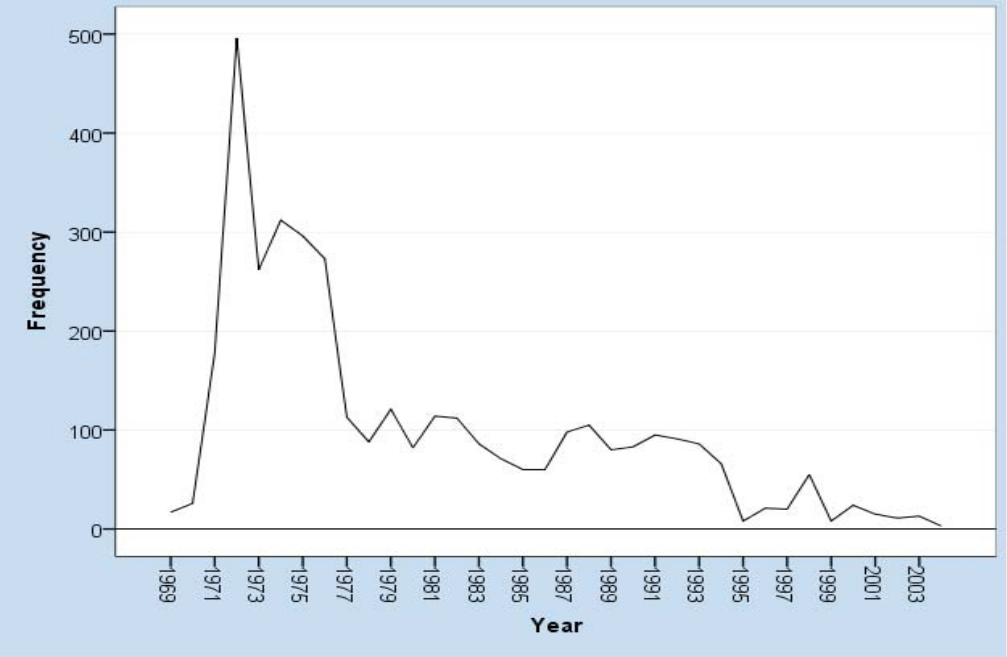


Figure 1. Deaths by month, 1969-1972 (all months included)

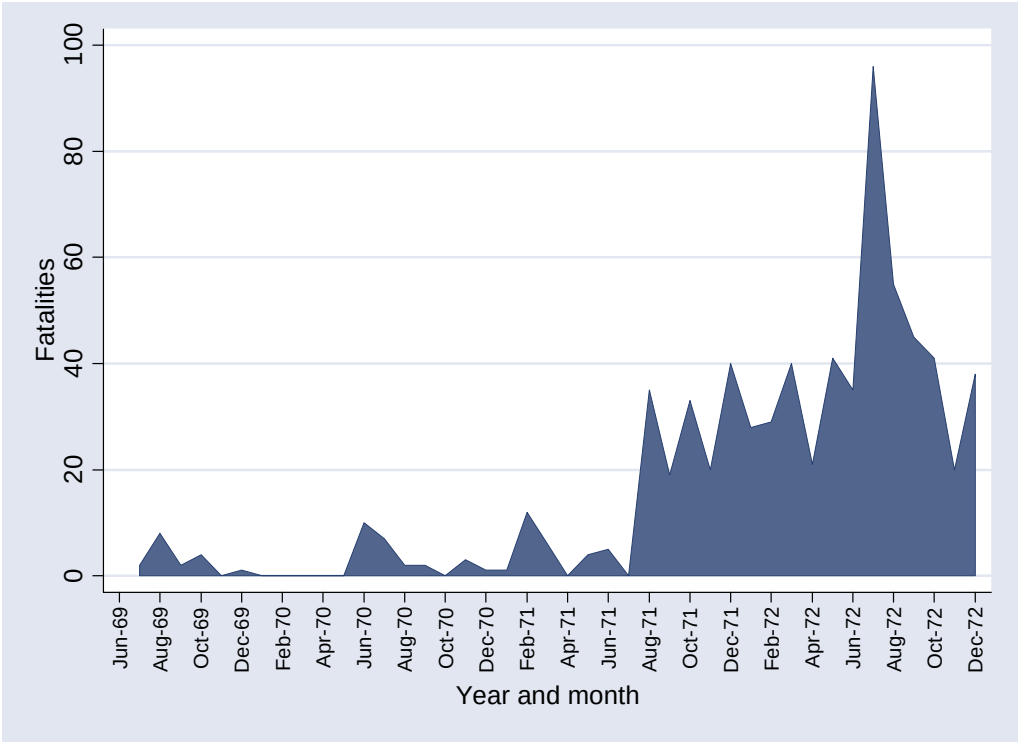


Table 1 Responsibility for Killings 1969-1998

Responsible Group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not Classified	55	1.5	1.5	1.5
	State Forces	377	10.3	10.3	11.8
	Republican	2017	55.3	55.3	67.1
	Loyalist	1039	28.5	28.5	95.6
	Other	161	4.4	4.4	100.0
	Total	3649	100.0	100.0	

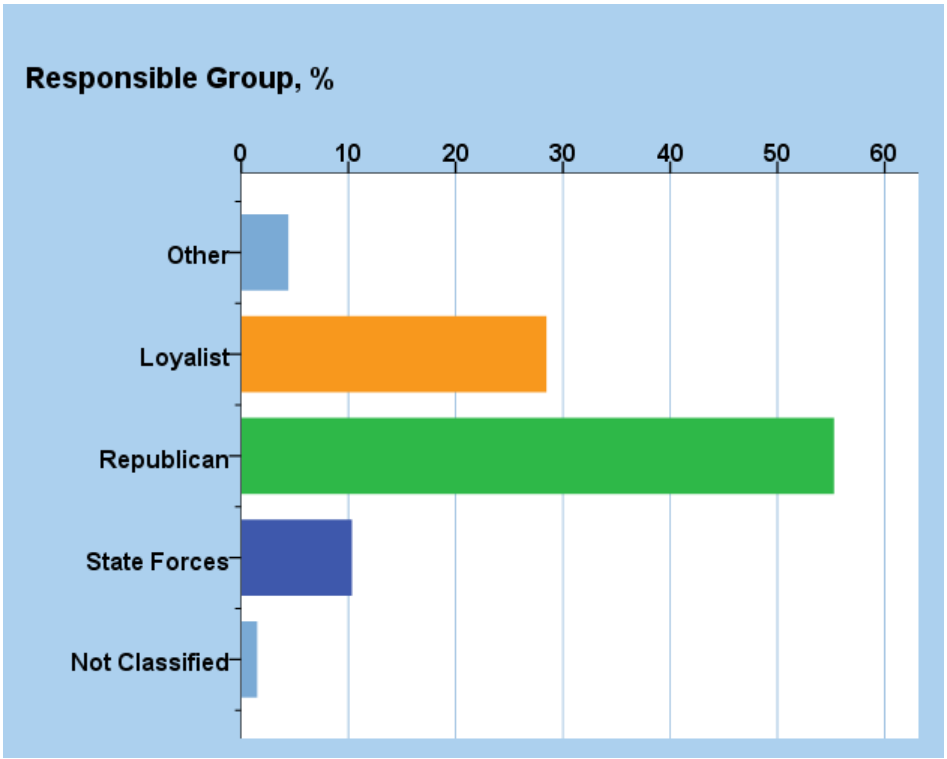


Table 2 Deaths by Religion 1969-1998

Religion

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Catholic	1593	43.7	43.7	43.7
	Protestant	1319	36.1	36.1	79.8
	Not Relevant	737	20.2	20.2	100.0
	Total	3649	100.0	100.0	

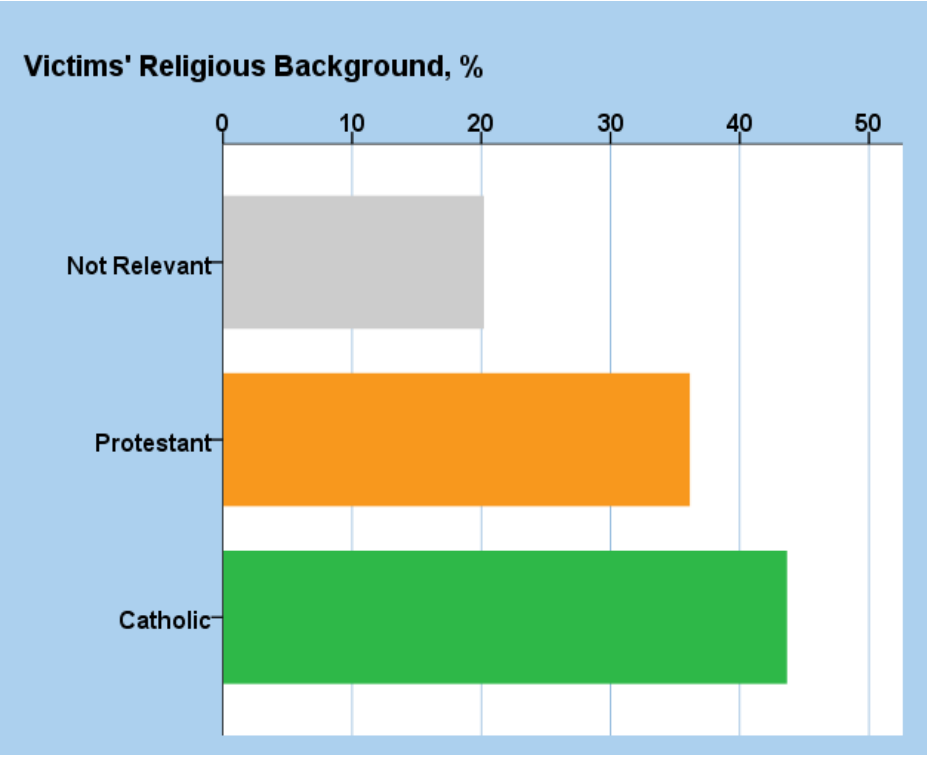


Figure 3. Number of Casualties by Victim Groups, by Major Responsible Organization 1969-1998

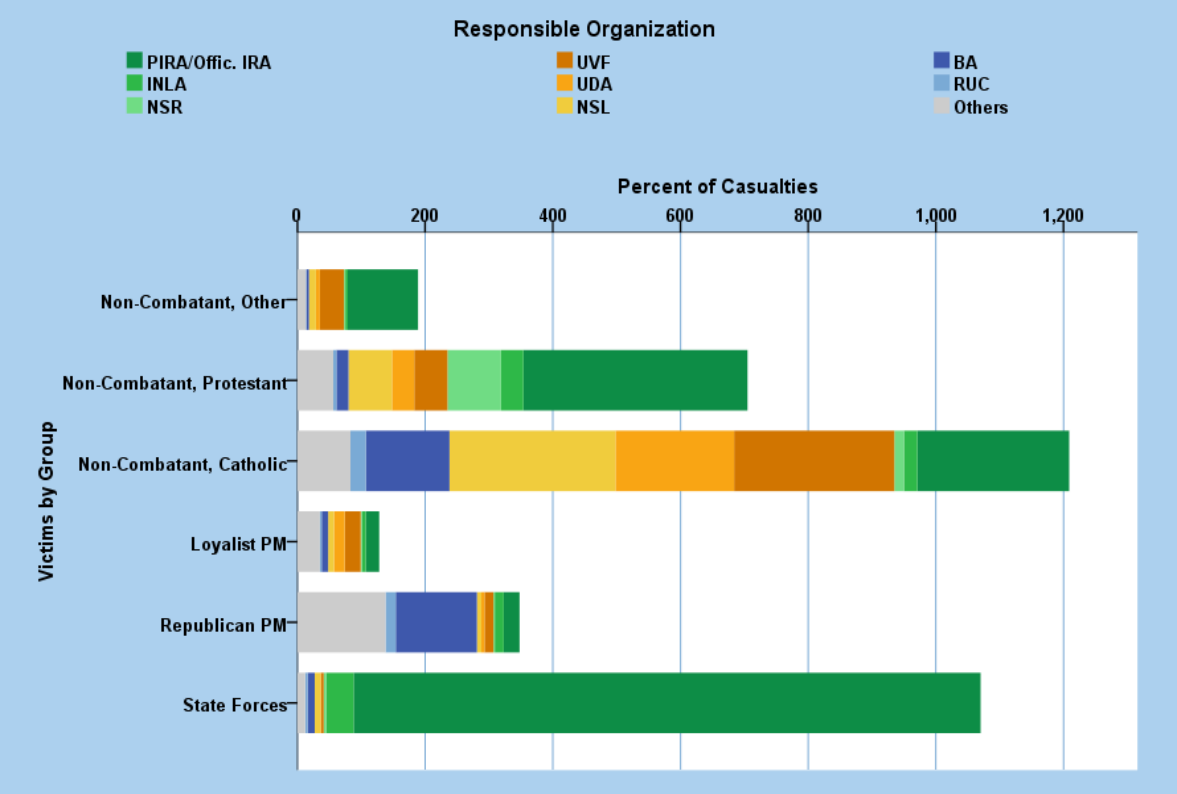


Table 3. Number and Percentages of Deaths within Victim Groups, by Major Responsible Organization

		Responsible Organization									
		PIRA/ Off.IRA	INLA	NSR	UVF	UDA	NSL	BA	RUC	Others	Total
Non-Combatant, Other	Count	110	4	2	38	6	11	4	1	13	189
	% within Victim Group	58.2%	2.1%	1.1%	20.1%	3.2%	5.8%	2.1%	0.5%	6.9%	100.0%
Non-Combatant, Protestant	Count	351	35	84	52	35	68	19	5	56	705
	% within Victim Group	49.8%	5.0%	11.9%	7.4%	5.0%	9.6%	2.7%	0.7%	7.9%	100.0%
Non-Combatant, Catholic	Count	238	21	15	251	186	260	131	24	83	1209
	% within Victim Group	19.7%	1.7%	1.2%	20.8%	15.4%	21.5%	10.8%	2.0%	6.9%	100.0%
Loyalist Paramil.	Count	21	6	2	25	17	9	10	3	35	128
	% within Victim Group	16.4%	4.7%	1.6%	19.5%	13.3%	7.0%	7.8%	2.3%	27.3%	100.0%
Republican Paramil.	Count	25	14	2	14	5	7	127	16	138	348
	% within Victim Group	7.2%	4.0%	0.6%	4.0%	1.4%	2.0%	36.5%	4.6%	39.7%	100.0%
State Forces	Count	982	43	4	4	1	9	11	4	12	1070
	% within Victim Group	91.8%	4.0%	0.4%	0.4%	0.1%	0.8%	1.0%	0.4%	1.1%	100.0%
Total	Count	1727	123	109	384	250	364	302	53	337	3649
	% within Victim Group	47.3%	3.4%	3.0%	10.5%	6.9%	10.0%	8.3%	1.5%	9.2%	100.0%

Figure 4 Deaths by Responsible Groups - by Victim Groups over Time, Non-Combatants Disaggregated by Religious Background 1969-2002

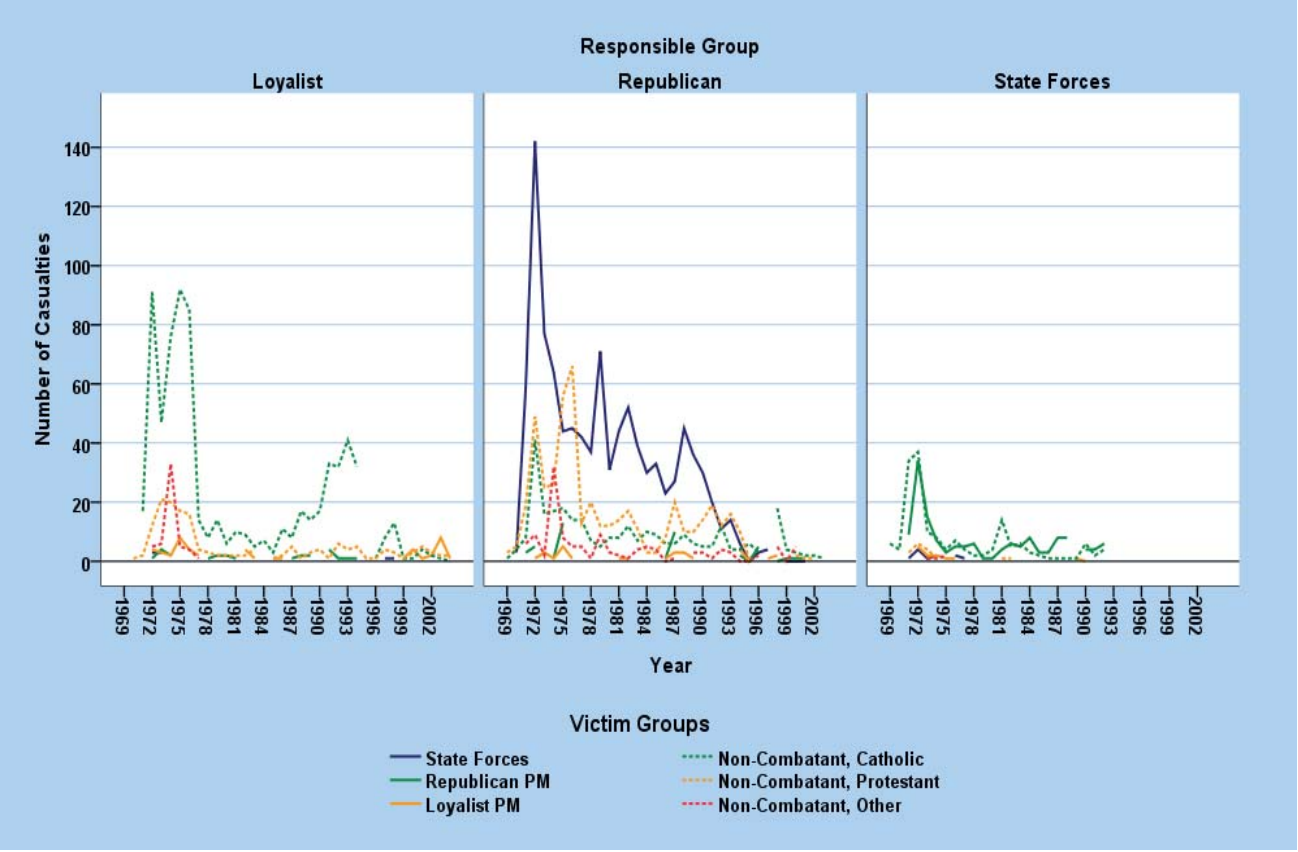


Figure 5. Deaths by location 1969-72

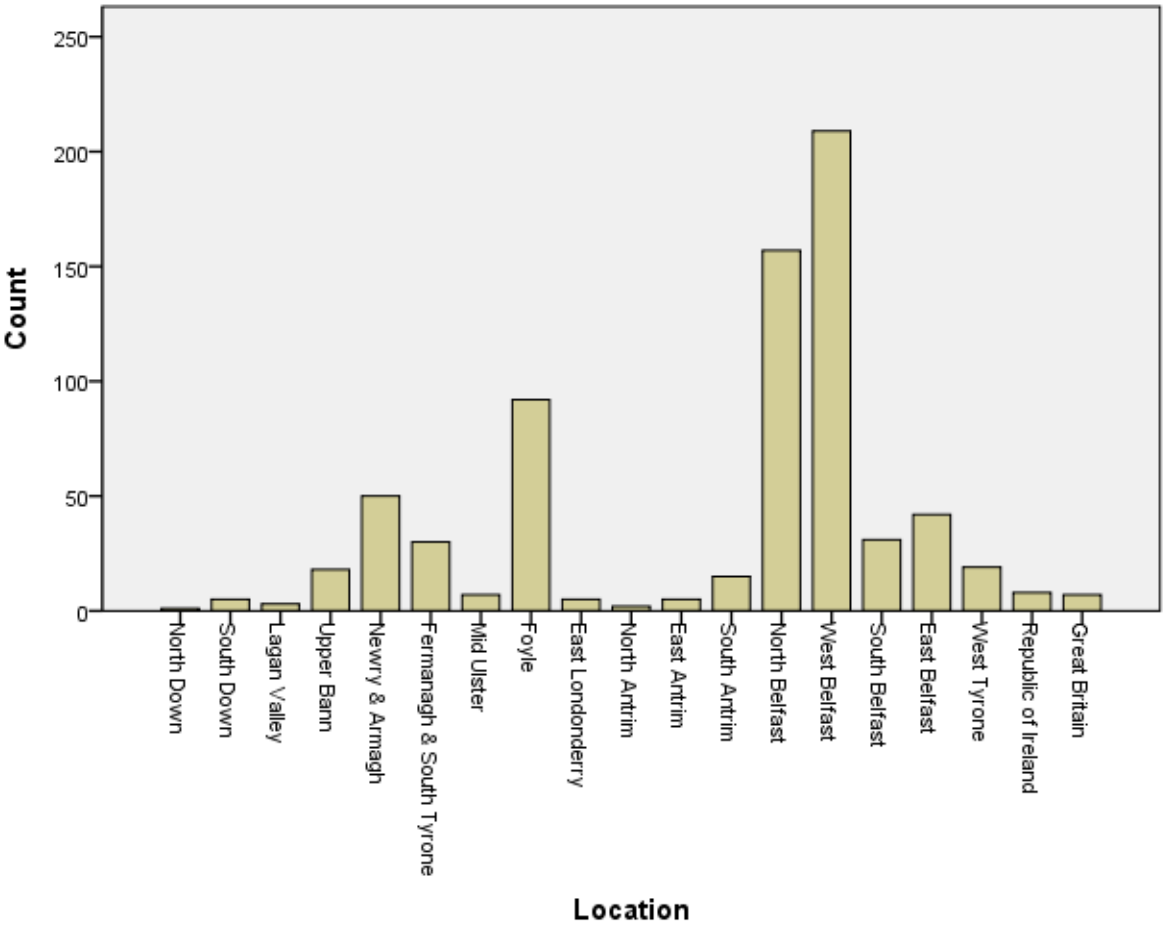


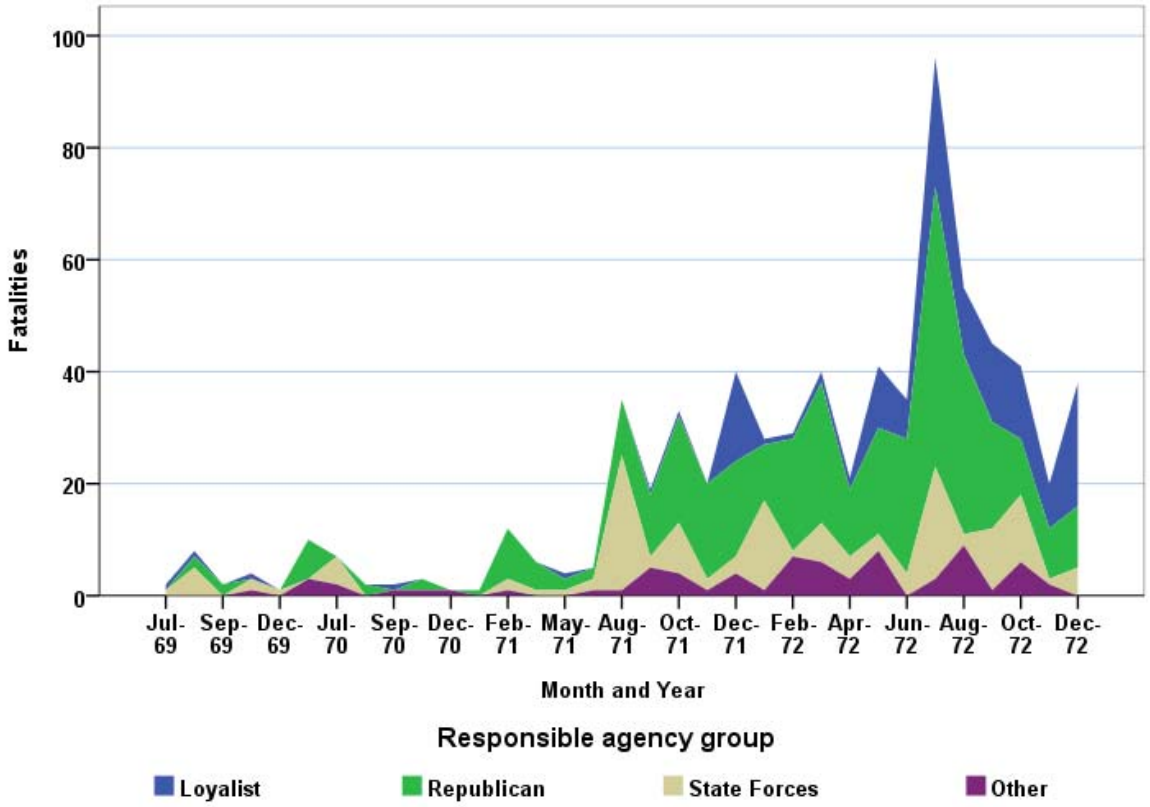
Table 4. Deaths by Location and Responsible Group, 1969-1972

Location * Responsible agency group Crosstabulation

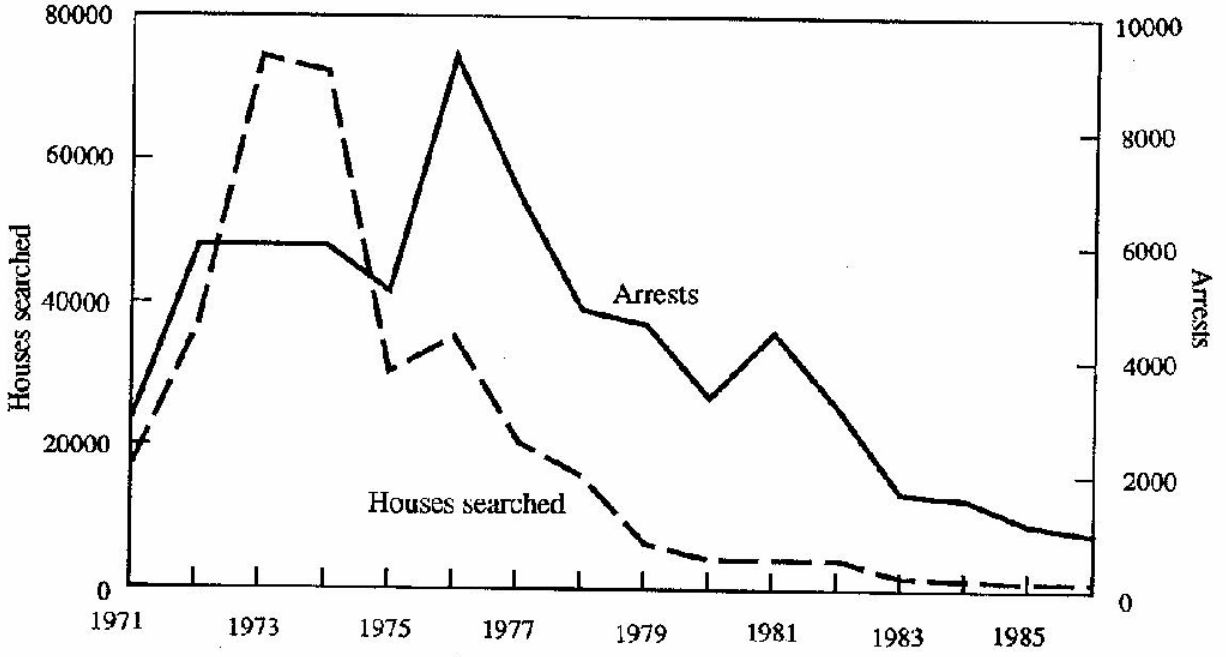
			Responsible agency group				Total
			Loyalist	Republican	State Forces	Other	
Location	North Down	Count	1	0	0	0	1
		% within Location	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	South Down	Count	0	1	0	4	5
		% within Location	.0%	20.0%	.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	Lagan Valley	Count	1	1	0	1	3
		% within Location	33.3%	33.3%	.0%	33.3%	100.0%
	Upper Bann	Count	6	11	0	1	18
		% within Location	33.3%	61.1%	.0%	5.6%	100.0%
	Newry & Armagh	Count	0	34	5	11	50
		% within Location	.0%	68.0%	10.0%	22.0%	100.0%
	Fermanagh & South Tyrone	Count	2	25	3	0	30
		% within Location	6.7%	83.3%	10.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Mid Ulster	Count	0	2	2	3	7
		% within Location	.0%	28.6%	28.6%	42.9%	100.0%
	Foyle	Count	5	49	32	6	92
		% within Location	5.4%	53.3%	34.8%	6.5%	100.0%
	East Londonderry	Count	2	3	0	0	5
		% within Location	40.0%	60.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	North Antrim	Count	1	1	0	0	2
		% within Location	50.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	East Antrim	Count	1	1	2	1	5

		% within Location	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	South Antrim	Count	4	3	1	7	15
		% within Location	26.7%	20.0%	6.7%	46.7%	100.0%
	North Belfast	Count	52	62	36	7	157
		% within Location	33.1%	39.5%	22.9%	4.5%	100.0%
	West Belfast	Count	32	106	53	18	209
		% within Location	15.3%	50.7%	25.4%	8.6%	100.0%
	South Belfast	Count	11	15	4	1	31
		% within Location	35.5%	48.4%	12.9%	3.2%	100.0%
	East Belfast	Count	16	12	5	9	42
		% within Location	38.1%	28.6%	11.9%	21.4%	100.0%
	West Tyrone	Count	1	15	3	0	19
		% within Location	5.3%	78.9%	15.8%	.0%	100.0%
	Republic of Ireland	Count	4	1	0	3	8
		% within Location	50.0%	12.5%	.0%	37.5%	100.0%
	Great Britain	Count	0	7	0	0	7
		% within Location	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	139	349	146	72	706
		% within Location	19.7%	49.4%	20.7%	10.2%	100.0%

Figure 6. Deaths by month and responsible group, 1969-1972



Source: Hillyard, 1988: 199



8:2 Total Number of Houses Searched and Estimated Number ple Arrested, 1971–86