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HCS/9/065

EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE ON THE STRUCTURE AND FABRIC  
OF NORTHERN IRELAND 1969-76

1. I attach a copy of the Northern Ireland contribution to the Secretary of State's brief on the effects of violence over the past seven years. The paper is a collation of the individual contributions sent in by Northern Ireland Departments.
2. The material was collated in such a way as to maintain a uniform presentation. In the haste with which this was done (the brief was mufaxed to London on Thursday morning) it may be that some points were inadvertently omitted, or not presented in the way Departments would perhaps have wished. Where this has happened I hope Departments will accept my apologies, but also take account at the same time of the timescale within which this office was working.

*M. T. H. Maxwell*

M T H MAXWELL

PS/Mr Kidd

24 September 1976

**CONFIDENTIAL**

c.c. Mr. Janes  
Mr. Kidd ✓  
Mr. England  
Mr. Bell  
Dr. Quigley  
Mr. Dugdale  
Mr. Bloomfield  
Mr. Brooke  
Mr. Finney  
Mr. Young  
Mr. Shimeld  
Mr. Harris  
Mr. Leahy  
Mr. Barker  
Mr. Smith  
Mr. Buxton  
Mr. Bampton  
Mr. Pickering  
Mr. Cowling

PS/SECRETARY OF STATE

THE EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND

1. As requested in your minute of 15 September, I attach a paper on the effects of the violence of the last seven years on the structure and fabric of Northern Ireland.
2. It is composed of material contributed by
  - (a) all the Northern Ireland Departments, working under the direction of Mr. Kidd; and
  - (b) the Northern Ireland Office.

It has been written quickly to meet the Secretary of State's immediate needs. But we are all conscious that we might be able to improve upon our present performance. So we shall let you have a second version shortly.

J. B. BOURN,  
23 SEPTEMBER, 1976.

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THE EFFECTS OF SEVEN YEAR'S VIOLENCE ON NORTHERN IRELAND

This brief examines the effects of violence on Northern Ireland in the last seven years. It is divided into the following sections.

1. Deaths and Injuries.
2. The effects on Industry;  
Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry;  
Health and Social Services;  
Education;  
Housing;  
Public Transport;  
Roads;  
Environment;  
Working Conditions faced by Central  
and Local Government.
3. The quantity of compensation that has been made.
4. The effects on society of the measures that have been taken to oppose and prevent terrorism.

The consequences of the Army presence;  
The effect on the role of the police  
and the services it provides;  
The implications of physical security  
measures in the public and private  
sectors;  
The implications for the prisons;  
The implications for the courts.

Detailed notes on all these matters are attached together with a general analysis of security statistics.

5. Basic points which emerge from all this, and which might be used in briefing are:

- In seven years 1,555 people have been killed and 17,187 have been injured. These figures are the prime index of the loss and suffering of Northern Ireland in the last seven years.



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- It has been more difficult to promote jobs and secure investment. Before the troubles Northern Ireland was promoting 3,000 new jobs a year; At this rate 20,000 would have been provided during the seven years of violence. In fact only 6,000 jobs have been attained. It is of course true that the recession in the country has also had an effect on jobs and investment. But it has been compounded by the violence.
  - Violence is a drag on the economy - for example it increases costs (security measures at power stations have cost £7 million to date); it reduces labour mobility (people are frightened to travel outside their home area); it hinders the development of the economic infrastructure, (river drainage and afforestation programmes are slowed or halted);; the resources devoted to repair (£160 million on property compensation in seven years!) could have been used for new buildings and facilities
  - Violence increases expenditure on health (from July 1970-August 1976 the cumulative total of casualties needing hospital treatment was 16,800); it disrupts families; involvement of young people in violence, and ~~the~~ the climate of violence in certain areas, erodes discipline and order in the schools; thousands of houses have been destroyed.
- During the troubles there have been detrimental effects on sporting activities, particularly football and golf. This problem is not as severe now, however, as a few years ago.
- The presence of the Army is valued by the majority, and is essential. But armed soldiers patrolling the streets have an unsettling effect on life in towns, villages and countryside.

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- The police have to concentrate on terrorist crime, with some detriment to ordinary police services, such as protecting property from theft, traffic control, etc.
- Prisons have been filled with difficult and intransigent prisoners, setting back the work of reform and rehabilitation.
- The overall depressing effect of the disturbances on the quality of the general life of the community arising from bombing, vandalism, apathy and the protective measures employed against bombers including the endless searches to be borne before daily shopping can be undertaken.

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DEATHS AND INJURIES

- From the beginning of 1970 to the end of June 1976 1,555 persons have been killed as a result of terrorism. Of these 311 were members of the Army or U.D.R and 84 members of the R.U.C or its Reserve. 12,402 civilians, 2,885 members of the Army/U.D.R and 1,900 members of the R.U.C/R.U.C Reserve were injured.
- The total amount of compensation paid out from the beginning of the troubles to the end of August 1976 in respect of deaths and injuries to persons was almost £24 million with an estimated £18.8 million outstanding. This rose from £131,000 in 1969/1970 to £7.9 million in 1975/1976.
- Deaths and injuries due to terrorist activity have tended to be concentrated - although they are by no means confined - to certain areas of Northern Ireland such as the Belfast, Londonderry and border areas in Armagh. Moreover, deaths and injuries have occurred to a very large extent within certain social groups within these areas namely manual workers, those drawing social security benefits in general and particularly in respect of unemployment. It is amongst these people and their children that violence has become an accepted way of life. They have a feeling of general hopelessness of ever seeing an end to the killing and of being able to influence events; and they have an ambivalent attitude towards the para-military organisations who on the one hand allege that they offer them protection whereas on the other they exercise vicious intimidation.
- People in other classes and in other areas of Northern Ireland are to a large extent divorced from the violent deaths and injuries. Although, however, they are able to lead their lives without the constant fear of death and violence, nevertheless they suffer from a continuing feeling of uncertainty. If children or wives return late from social functions there is always a fear that they might have become involved with terrorists; families as such hesitate to attend social functions in public places in the towns; and there is amongst the population as a whole an acceptance that they have to live with violence, an acceptance that has perhaps certain parallels with the people in England living through the Blitz of the last war. There is, however, resentment that their lives have to be lived under this shadow.

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**CONFIDENTIAL****THE EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE ON THE STRUCTURE AND FABRIC OF NORTHERN IRELAND 1969/76****1. INDUSTRY****(a) Job Promotion**

- The total number of jobs promoted each year during the troubles has declined from 7,000 + in 1971 to 3,000 + in 1975; more importantly the number of jobs forthcoming from new inward investment, which was averaging 3,000 per annum before the troubles had fallen in 1975 to 330 - this illustrates the true impact of the weakening of investor confidence.
- If the rate of new inward investment achieved in the late 1960s had continued, we might have expected in the period to promote some 20,000 new jobs as compared with the actual result of less than 6,000.
- Recent job promotions have been of poorer quality than in previous years and have made only a modest contribution to strengthening the industrial base.
- It has not been possible to maintain earlier progress in the areas of highest unemployment.
- It must be borne in mind, however, that the international economic upsets over the last few years have underlain the economic aspects of the local NI situation and we cannot, with any degree of confidence, attribute our regional economic regression (especially post - 1973) to one cause or the other.

**(b) Effects on local Industry and Commerce**

- Since 1968 77 Government sponsored firms have closed with a loss of 12,300 jobs. Although there is only one instance of a firm ascribing the close directly to considerations arising from the troubles, it is reasonable to speculate that in at least a proportion of the cases, management's thought was influenced by the uncertainties of the NI situation.
- 16 factories have been completely destroyed and have not been replaced, with a total job loss of 824. It is also estimated that at any given time up to 100 jobs may be temporarily lost while damaged factories are repaired.
- Local industries have been subject to a variety of frustrations and distortions to efficient working from conditions within NI and the erosion of customer and supplier confidence in GB and abroad.
- A pointer to the cost drain to industry may be found in the expenditure on various schemes of support to industry (maintenance of employment, emergency scheme payments, buffer stock scheme, security staff grants payments), which now total some £11.5 million. This expenditure is an indication of the much greater penalty inflicted on industry.

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- Development of NI industry has been hampered by the fact that the troubles have deterred managerial and technical staff from coming to NI from GB and abroad. Even if the challenge of the job is a sufficient attraction for key personnel and outweigh the unfavourable security situation, they are unwilling to expose their families to the security hazards of the current NI situation. This inevitably means that the pool of local management expertise is not being renewed from outside in the way which is essential for its healthy development.
- Commercial trade has tended to switch away from traditional city centre areas where the surviving outlets trade at less profitable levels than would otherwise have been the case.
- The commercial sector is subject to all the frustrations to efficiency experienced by industry and in many cases is affected to a greater extent and many shops have suffered diminished profitability.

(c) Output

- Industrial production in NI would have shown a significantly higher trend, but for the troubles.

(d) Labour Mobility and Training

- The effects of the troubles on the manpower situation has been that it has led to a reluctance on the part of workers in certain areas to travel outside their home areas.
- This lack of mobility makes for added difficulties in matching job opportunities and unemployed workers and the provision of training.

(e) Public Utilities (Electricity/Gas)

- The additional cost of security precautions at power stations is put at £7 million, ie physical security measures and the cost to date of security staff.
- Malicious damage to NIES installations has cost £5 million to date.
- The loss of interconnection has had a definite impact on electricity generating costs.
- The increase in the electricity bad debt provision over the period of the troubles is put at £3 million (the figure for gas is of the order of £2 million). The electricity debt is increasing at the rate of £1 million per annum.
- Failure to achieve the planned - for rate in electricity sales is partly attributable to the economic consequences of the troubles.
- Once again, these last two effects may be attributable in part to the economic recession.



## TOURISM

- The number of visitors to NI has more than halved in recent years (from approximately one million in 1968 to less than half a million in 1975). If the rates of growth experienced during the 1960s had continued, it is estimated that NI had lost up to 5 million visitors as a result of the troubles.
- The widespread destruction of hotels has had the effect of (a) removing the basis upon which an early revival of tourism might take place and (b) of weakening an important element of industrial infrastructure.
- Many hotel managements have responded to a fall in visitor numbers by switching the balance of their business towards function - catering activities with the result that they have effectively ceased to be hotels in the conventional sense.
- Because of this change and the physical destruction of hotels, some 1,000 bedrooms have been lost to the industry - which could cost up to £20 million to replace at today's building costs.

## 3. AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND FORESTRY

### (a) Farming Community

- Several farmers have been murdered on their farms or in their homes, while in some border areas others have been so intimidated they have left their homes. Many who have remained on their farms live and work in fear.
- As a result of the tensions created by the violence, the gradual coming together of the two main groups in the rural community, which had been evident in social and organisational activity prior to 1968, has taken a bad knock.

### (b) Agriculture-related industries

- Because of the security situation the RUC has had to disband their Livestock Control Units and transfer the men in them to other duties. As a result of this and the general deterioration of law and order, it has not been possible to control effectively the smuggling of animals across the border. This has also reduced the throughput and employment in NI meat plants and bacon factories, particularly in bacon factories.
- Robberies of milk rounds men have greatly increased the problems and expense of milk distribution in Belfast. During the past two years there have been reports of 54 such robberies in Belfast alone.
- This tends to put pressure on sales of milk which, after the end of the <sup>EEC</sup> transition period, could mean less total return for the NI milk industry as a whole. For the present the problem has been recognised by the Agricultural Departments' agreement to a "Belfast allowance" of about 0.5 pence per gallon paid to retailers in recognition of their special difficulties.

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- One of the main NI poultry hatcheries was destroyed by a terrorist bomb three years ago and some NI firms are reported to have received threats against their trade in the Republic.
- Investment in the food processing industry in NI has consequently been discouraged as a result of all these happenings.

(c) River Drainage and Afforestation Programmes

- Work on a number of cross-border rivers and other rivers in border areas has not been possible or has been interrupted because of security risks to staff and equipment.
- During the past 5 years 28 large forestry and drainage machines have been blown up and have had to be replaced. These losses together with damage to other vehicles has amounted to £118,000.
- During the same period there have been 115 malicious forest fires resulting in damage estimated at £132,000.
- Illegal grazing in State forests has also become a serious problem and strong-arm methods have been used on a number of occasions by owners of stock to retrieve their animals which were in the process of being impounded by forestry staff.

(d) Enforcement of Regulations

- DANIs' efforts to eradicate brucellosis and to maintain freedom from tuberculosis in cattle have suffered because of breaches of the regulations, both by those who try to defy the law for political reasons and those who take advantage of the poor state of law and order.
- Thus in badly disaffected areas like South Armagh, South West Fermanagh and West Tyrone, the cattle disease position in for example brucellosis and warbles is much worse than elsewhere.



- Sampling, inspection and maintenance of quality standard is difficult and dangerous in sensitive areas and staff have to use all their ingenuity to secure access to premises and reasonable co-operation from those concerned.
- Staff involved in checking compliance with the consumer subsidy rules for butter and controls over butter smuggling find their job almost impossible in those areas in which their efforts are most necessary.
- As a result of intimidation from fishermen and poachers, the Fisheries Conservancy Board has for some years been unable to carry out its work in enforcing the eel fishery regulations on Lough Neagh. As a result the eels are being overfished and this valuable commercial eel fishery is apparently deteriorating year by year.
- In the Foyle River Basin the Foyle Fisheries Commission, despite brave attempts by its river baliffs, has been unable to control poaching by organised gango, often armed, and openly threatening the baliffs. Here again there has been a deterioration in the quality of the fishery, in this case mainly salmon.

#### 4. HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

##### (a) Health Services

- From 1 July 1970 up to 31 August 1976, the cumulative total of casualties requiring hospital treatment was over 16,800. Of these over 6,000 needed continuing in-patient treatment.
- Many of the in-patients spend very long periods in hospital (some will remain there for the rest of their lives) and require extensive rehabilitation and after-care.
- Many also need permanent support - eg home nursing, home help and other domiciliary services - on final discharge.
- Hospital casualty and emergency departments need to be kept at concert pitch from the standpoint both of staff and equipment.

- The ambulance service is far bigger in terms of vehicles and personnel than would be required in a normal, stable situation, and must be in a constant state of readiness night and day.
- In certain areas, notably West Belfast but also Newry and other places, violence has seriously disrupted the provision of community health services by general practitioners, nurses and midwives, and this has substantially increased the normal work-load of all hospital departments.
- While various attempts have been made to assess the indirect effects of violence on the physical and mental health of the population, the results as yet have been inclusive. Concern centres mainly on the emotional and behavioural patterns of children and adolescents, and on the likely effects on society in the future.

(b) Personal Social Services

- Violence has also thrown substantial additional burdens on these services, especially in the following ways.
- The disruption of family life (eg because of the large numbers held in custody) and a consequential increase in family problems and in the number of children needing care.
- General erosion of the social fabric in disturbed areas leading to increased demands on the whole spectrum of personal social services; coupled with
- Difficulties in maintaining and developing community and domiciliary services in such areas because of vandalism, high-jacking of transport, damage to property, intimidation of staff and the risks to life and limb.

(c) Social Security

- The NI Supplementary Benefit Commission has paid large amounts in immediate discretionary grants to people who have lost all or most of their personal and household possessions through rioting and bomb-damage.

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- The rise in the numbers of unemployed and sick attributable to the direct or indirect effects of violence has thrown extra financial and staffing burdens on the Department.
- The work of the Department's inspectors engaged in checking and investigating suspected fraud has been seriously impeded in disturbed areas, though never completely stopped.

## 5. EDUCATION

- In areas directly involved in the violence, schools have been faced with special problems in maintaining normal schooling.
- Sudden shifts in local population as a result of sectarian pressures leave some schools with a depleted enrolment while others suffer from overcrowding.
- Involvement of young people in violence and use made of them by paramilitary organisations makes it more difficult to maintain discipline and truancy tends to be higher after outbreaks of street violence. Pupils sometimes arrive at school tired after sleepless nights.
- Schools have suffered physical damage, sometimes deliberate, sometimes incidental.
- Getting to and from school has been difficult for pupils and staff alike during outbursts of violence.

## 6. HOUSING

### (a) Housing Stock

- The problems of the age and condition of the housing stock (1 in 5 houses is unfit for human habitation) have been greatly aggravated by the troubles.
- Many thousands of houses have been destroyed or damaged or vacated as the result of bombs, fires and vandalism.
- Areas of quite reasonable housing (including modern estates) have declined badly and tens of thousands of families have moved home because of violence or the threat or fear of violence.

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- In many areas the two sides of the community have separated completely; catholic families in Belfast have tended to move into "safe areas", thus leading to overcrowding, delaying redevelopment and forcing the promotion of the Poleglass scheme.
- The decline of the older housing stock, including houses capable of improvement, has been accelerated, particularly in the inner areas of Belfast

(b) Squatting

- In several areas, squatting has been rampant; there are estimated to be around 6,000 squatters.
- While in the earlier stages of the troubles, squatting was sometimes the result of intimidation today it is largely simple queue jumping, frequently sponsored by paramilitary organisations.

(c) Rents and Rates Strikes

- The troubles have led to a widespread failure to pay rent, rates and heating charges.
- The Housing Executive is at present owed £5.25 million and some 35,000 (out of 175,000) tenants one more than £20.

(d) Repair of Houses and New House Building

- Very large sums of public money have been, and are being, spent on repairing and bringing back into use houses which have been damaged in recent years.
- It is proving difficult to get value for money on repair work because of the troubled conditions in the areas involved and the same is true for some new building work in difficult areas.
- Civil disturbances have added greatly to the inevitable problems of disruption of services arising from local government reorganisation and have greatly hindered the Housing Executive's performance in new building. In 1975 fewer houses were built (both in the public and private sector) than in any year since 1932.
- Building societies have proved reluctant to lend in troubled areas.

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- The Housing Executive has been prevented from making the major new impact which had been hoped when it was launched.
- Private contractors have faced higher building costs and much greater site security is required.
- In certain trades either Protestants or Catholics predominate and this creates major problems in manning some sites. Intimidation also exacerbates the manning problem.

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PUBLIC TRANSPORT

(a) Railways

- Among the forms of direct attack experienced by NI Railways have been the planting of explosives in locomotives and rolling stock, and at bridges, culverts, signal cabins and other critical points. Station buildings have been attacked on numerous occasions, all three of the former Belfast termini having been reduced to a state of dereliction.
- Revenue has been lost at the time of real and hoax incidents as a result of cancellation of services and public apprehension immediately following such incidents.
- Much more significant, however, has been the loss of revenue due to the effects of the general security situation on the habits of the travelling public.
- Claims already met by NIO for malicious damage and consequential loss in respect of railway activities amount to £0.2 million, while the total of such outstanding claims is in the region of £0.6 million. Substantial claims are also believed to have been claimed by third parties whose property has suffered as a result of attacks directed against the railways.
- Various contracts for works on the reactivation of the abandoned Belfast Central Railway and the building of the new Central Station were frustrated during their course by direct attacks and intimidation on workmen, labour problems caused by reluctance to work in hostile areas, and sabotage of equipment and stores.

(b) Road Passenger Transport

- In the past seven years Ulsterbus, which provides all but the internal Belfast services, has had 262 buses completely destroyed and countless others damaged to some extent.
- During the same period, Citybus has had 171 buses totally destroyed.
- Claims met by NIO in respect of the two bus companies amount to £1.7 million, while additional claims submitted total some £1.0 million.
- One by-product of the security situation has been the very rapid growth of the "black-taxi" organisations in certain areas of Belfast. The black taxis are creaming off the best of the traffic on some of the most populous routes in Belfast, leaving the buses to run half empty for much of the day. Citybus management believe that the revenue lost to these illegal operators is currently approaching £2.0 million annually.

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(c) Road Freight Transport

- Disturbances have imposed restraints on the free access of goods vehicles into and through central areas of towns, causing delays and often missed air and sea freight connections due to security checks.
- Added costs to transport are reflected in higher prices to industry and commerce in respect of both imports and exports.

(d) Air Services

- PIRA have made several attacks on Belfast Airport, including one by mortar bombs earlier this year.
- Very extensive security measures have had to be developed for the protection of the airport, aircraft and personnel and the costs (which over the past few years have amounted to £½ million) have largely been met by Government.
- <sup>the</sup> Airport Company has also lost heavily in concession income at the restaurant, bar, shops, carpark, because of security requirements.
- Extra costs also arise because of the refusal of British Airways staff to stop overnight in Northern Ireland, which mean extra flights to and from Glasgow for the aircraft and crew in the evening and morning.
- Passengers travelling through Belfast airport inevitably suffer delays because of the stringent and unique security measures.

8. ROADS

- Certain traffic routes through town centres have been closed for security reasons. Apart from this the rest of the road network has not been substantially affected.
  - Increased costs have been incurred for a variety of reasons.
- (a) disruption of work on road building contracts, through bombing and intimidation;
  - (b) contracts being let in 'sensitive' areas result in tender prices quoted at higher levels than expected in normal times; this applies to other public works contracts;
  - (c) security precautions and protection for staff, property and machinery;
  - (d) loss of productivity due to the inability of staff to undertake work in certain areas or at certain times;

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- (e) vandalism, at a higher level than normal, and riots have mainly affected the street lighting system, to the extent of the complete loss of installations in some cases, and also footpaths and other street furniture;
  - (f) activity by the security forces has damaged lighting and footpaths;
  - (g) repair of bomb damage to Roads Service property and general clearing-up operations on or near roads;
  - (h) strengthening and maintenance of routes used by traffic diverted from security areas in towns.
- As a very rough approximation an expenditure by the Roads Service in the region of £2m-£3m over the last 3 years is directly attributable to civil disturbance.

#### 9. ENVIRONMENT

- The disturbances have had an especially devastating effect on the urban environment. Devastation, bricked-up houses, damaged buildings, vandalised facilities, the trappings of security zones and total loss of civil responsibility in many areas are part of the price the community has had to pay.
- The bombing campaign has made it impossible to take positive action to improve town centres significantly. Some substantial towns such as Londonderry, Strabane and Newry now have shopping and town centre facilities generally which are totally inadequate in relation to their size.
- The hardening of sectarian attitudes has caused particular difficulties in planning, especially in relation to housing. In some instances, planning policies have had to be reversed; the best example is West Belfast where new housing and industrial areas have had to be created, because the houses and jobs planned for other areas were no longer open to the people of West Belfast, because of the security situation.
- In Belfast, planning of the inner city has been made virtually impossible by the flow of emigration from many inner areas most severely affected by the troubles.
- Loss of population generally from Northern Ireland has resulted in under-use of substantial investment laid down in the sixties.

#### 10. WORKING CONDITIONS FACED BY CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

- Staff in central Belfast have suffered from endless bomb alerts and poor conditions following explosions.

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- ~~eleven~~ ~~the Civil Service~~
- At least ~~nine~~ <sup>eleven</sup> members of ~~DANI~~ <sup>the Civil Service</sup> have been shot dead by terrorists ~~and a tenth was killed by a bomb attack on a train.~~
  - A number of DANI Inspectors in rural areas have had to be transferred to other areas because of threats against their lives.
  - ~~There have been over 70 bomb attacks on local Social Security Offices of the DHSS.~~ <sup>There have been many bomb attacks on central gov. offices</sup> ~~These have caused some casualties and very severe damage in places.~~
  - In some areas District Council Offices have been frequently singled out for bombing attacks, Newry, Strabane and Limavady in particular.
  - Housing Executive premises have also been attacked on numerous occasions; the Headquarters building in Belfast has been bombed on about 10 occasions.
  - Despite these difficulties, the staff have shown marked resilience and ability to improvise. Throughout most of Northern Ireland the bulk of Departments' work is still being done effectively and serious hardship to the public has been avoided, although with increasing strain on the staff involved.

THE QUANTITY OF COMPENSATION THAT HAS BEEN MADE

- Whilst statistics cannot be an effective measure of the effects of terrorism on the fabric of life in a community - and the impact of the figures for deaths and injuries becomes dulled with repetition - the amount of compensation awarded is a startling figure.
- Compensation paid out in respect of deaths and injuries totals £23.9 million since 1968 with an estimated £18.9 million outstanding. Compensation paid out in respect of damage to property has been £162 million with an estimated £25.4 million outstanding. (This represents approximately £145 per head of the population in Northern Ireland).

THE EFFECTS ON SOCIETY OF THE MEASURES THAT HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO OPPOSE AND PREVENT TERRORISM

The Consequences of the Army presence

- Since August 1969 the level of troops in Northern Ireland has risen from 7,000 (in the early days) to 21,000 (at the time of motorman); in recent times the level has fluctuated around the 14,000 mark. The estimated cost of deploying these troops in Northern Ireland (viz. over and above the costs of their normal deployment elsewhere) to the end of March 1977 is approximately £260 million with a current annual cost of £55 million.
- It is difficult to assess the effect of the presence of the Army on the population of Northern Ireland. There is a small minority, perhaps comprising mainly Republican terrorists, who regard them as foreign invaders; the vast majority of people have come ruefully to accept their presence, even in such large numbers, as part of the background of ordinary life.
- At times most individual members of the community suffer inconvenience at the least, and are angered at the worst, by delays at check points for large numbers of people, and damage resulting from selective house searches carried out by the Army. There is no doubt that the presence of large numbers of armed soldiers on the streets must in itself have some effect on the community in Northern Ireland as must the fact that armed soldiers often replace policemen as the guardians of law and order. ✱  
~~visitor cannot but feel a sense of unease.~~

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The effect on the role of the police and the services it provides

- As an effect of terrorist violence there are at the present time in Northern Ireland 3.5 members of the R.U.C per thousand of the population compared with 2 policemen per thousand of the population in England and Wales. There are moreover, plans to increase the R.U.C significantly beyond the present level..
- The estimated cost of policing services in Northern Ireland 1976/1977 was £60 million.
- Because of the preoccupation of the police with terrorist crime they are unable to devote adequate resources to the maintenance of law and order in general in the community. As a result there is an increasing tendency for there to be a general disregard of the law whether in respect of traffic offences, petty crime or crime of a serious nature.
- There are certain areas in Belfast, Londonderry and Armagh where it is unsafe for police officers to operate without army support.
- The community regard the R.U.C with mixed views. The minority community remember them as <sup>an</sup> armed para-military force supported by the 'B' Specials and still consider them to be a protestant force. The Protestant para-militaries see them as an obstacle to their criminal ventures whether in the fields of terrorism as such or robbery and protection rackets.

The implications of physical security measures in the public and private sectors

- In Londonderry and Belfast, segment areas of the cities are enclosed by physical barriers and traffic is barred. People wishing to visit the shops and offices within are subjected to searches.
- Shops and buildings outside these areas as well as within have to be protected in vulnerable areas sometimes physically by means of wire grills, sometimes through the use of security guards and sometimes involving both these precautions.
- Vulnerable terrorist targets, eg. the airport have to be protected by physical barriers, roads have been closed and special procedures are adopted which cause inconvenience and delays to passengers.
- People can no longer park their cars in many city areas; they cannot drive up to the doors of hotels; they are obliged by law to lock and immobilise



their vehicles when they are left unattended.

- Shops and hotels have problems with deliveries particularly if within segment areas and small businesses may no longer find it possible to obtain adequate insurance cover.

#### The implications for the prisons

- Since 1968/1969 the prison population has increased from 700 to over 2,500 while prison staff has increased from 300 to over 2,000.
- The cost of the prison service for 1976/1977 is £36 million: without the terrorist campaign the order of cost would have been nearer £5 million. In 1975 3.3 per cent of the total prison receptions in Northern Ireland prisons had received life sentences. A comparable figure for England and Wales is only 0.3 per cent.
- In the same year 18.6 per cent of total receptions had received long term sentences (i.e. over 4 years) as compared to 1.7 per cent in England and Wales.
- Many prisoners are kept under compound conditions resembling prison of war camps. Their close association with other terrorists in these compounds perpetuates involvement in terrorist organisations.
- Prisoners convicted of terrorist crimes committed before March 1976 have special category status and regard themselves as political prisoners and hold a mistaken belief that they will be released as a result of a amnesty.

#### The implications for the courts

- The normal courts procedure has been suspended in respect of terrorist crimes. Persons charged with scheduled offences may not have their cases heard by a jury. They may not be granted bail unless there are exceptional circumstances. Officers of the courts and the courts themselves have to be closely guarded.
- Detention tended to bring the courts into disrepute although the detention process was kept quite separate from the normal machinery of the law. Nevertheless, the fact that Commissioners took into account hearsay evidence and the fact there have been changes in the rules of evidence within the courts to cope with the trial of terrorists must have raised doubt in the minds of some that there has been a diminution in the standards of justice. Fortunately, however, this view is not widely held and there is no doubt that it is not true in respect of the courts themselves.



# Security Statistics - A general analysis

INCIDENT	1969	1970	1971	1 72	1973	1974	1975	1 976 (as at 20 Sep)	TOTAL
Regular Army Killed	-	-	43	103	58	28	14	10	256
UDR Soldiers Killed	-	-	5	26	8	7	6	8	60
RUC Killed	1	2	11	17	12	15	11	18	87
Civilians Killed	12	10	68	239	127	142	196	180	974
Prot Terrorists Killed	-	-	2	3	4	5	10	-	24
Cat Terrorists Killed	2	7	52	94	38	18	10	13	234
Shooting Incidents	?	213	1756	10628	5018	3206	1803	1419	24043
Bomb Incidents	?	170	1515	1853	1520	1113	635	901	7707
Weapons Recovered	?	324	717	1264	1595	1260	825	606	6591
Explosives Recovered (Tons)	?	0.4	2.6	27.4	31.6	23.7	9.9	14.0	109.6
Arrests for Terrorist Offences	FIGURES NOT AVAL PRIOR TO 1 AUG 72			1458	3340	2875	1779	2076	11528
Charges for Terrorist Offences				5 31	1414	1362	11 97	864	5368