

Appendix D. Irish National Movement Group Strength Data

Year	Hierarchy	Evidence for Movement Hierarchy
1914	L1. IPP (NH) C2. SF (RH)	The IPP had defeated the only SF candidate for Parliament in 1908 73% to 27% ¹ ; while the IPP was clearly the strongest in parliamentary elections
1915	L1. IPP (NH) C2. SF (RH)	The vast majority of 180,00 Irish Volunteers followed the IPP's suggestion and fought with the British in WWI, 10,000 broke off at the behest of SF ²
1916	L1. IPP (NH) C2. SF (RH)	2,558 fighters, the majority Irish Volunteers who shunned the IPP, led the Easter Rising in Dublin, Galway, and elsewhere ³
1917	L1. IPP (NH) C2. SF/IRA (RH)	Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers (IRA) merged under common leadership, SF won four by-elections over the IPP, had 125,000 members ⁴
1918	H1. SF/IRA (RH) S2: IPP (NH)	Sinn Féin won 73 of 105 seats in December parliamentary elections for Ireland and 35 of 37 head-to-head contests with the IPP, who won only 6 seats ⁵ ; the IRA had 14,842 members in at least 212 branches ⁶ ; SF increased from 1,250 to 1,700 clubs across Ireland ⁷
1919	H1. SF/IRA (RH) S2: IPP (NH)	SF set up its own parliament (the Dáil Éireann), which directed the IRA in the Irish War of Independence with thousands of fighters and no other significant Irish militia
1920	H1. SF/IRA (RH) S2: IPP (NH)	Despite the British instituting a new proportional representation system specifically to weaken SF's vote, SF won 1079 seats to the IPP's 288 in local elections across Ireland ⁸
1921	H1. SF/IRA (RH) S2: IPP (NH)	SF won 124 of 128 seats in the Dáil elections ⁹ ; the British (over)estimated that the IRA had 100,000-200,000 members, although far fewer regulars ¹⁰
1922	L1. Pro-Treaty SF (RL) C2. Anti-Treaty SF (RC)	Pro-Treaty SF candidates won 58 seats vs. 35 for anti-Treaty SF candidates in the Dáil elections ¹¹ ; the IPP dissolved and many of its supporters joined the Pro-Treaty SF; the larger Free State Army defeated the Anti-Treaty rebels within a year
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1968	L1. Nationalist Party (NH) C2. NDP (NC) C3. IRA/SF (RH)	The Nationalist Party had led the movement for years ¹² , received 8% of the vote in 1965 Stormont elections vs. 5% for the NDP; SF's Republican Clubs were banned in 1967, the IRA had 1,039 members in 1966, although fewer active members (212 in 1967) ¹³
1969	L1. Nationalist Party (NL) C2. NDP (NC) C3. PD (NC) C4. OIRA/OSF (RL) C5. PIRA/PSF (RC)	The Nationalist Party won 8% of the vote in Stormont elections, NDP 5%, PD 4%; at the end of 1969 and early 1970, 25-35% of the IRA/SF's 1,200 members split off to form the PIRA/PSF, the remaining majority formed the OIRA/OSF ¹⁴
1970	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. OIRA/OSF (RL) C3. PIRA/PSF (RC) 2 Subordinates	15 of 16 companies in Belfast shifted from the OIRA to the PIRA, which now had three brigades, the OIRA was still dominant in Derry (300 members), Newry, and South Down ¹⁵ ; the SDLP was formed with 6 MPs and became the dominant nationalist party as NDP merged into it ¹⁶ ; OIRA had the most funding, £2 million from robberies in 1970s ¹⁷

¹ Brian Feeney, *Sinn Féin: A Hundred Turbulent Years* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2002), 49–52.

² M. J. Kelly, *The Fenian Ideal and Irish Nationalism, 1882-1916* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 232–34.

³ “Veterans of Easter Week 1916 with Recognised Military Service” (Defense Forces Ireland, April 2016).

⁴ Brian Walker, *Parliamentary Election Results in Ireland, 1801-1922* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 184; Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge: Cambridge: University Press, 1999), 185.

⁵ Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, 109.

⁶ J A Byrne, “Irish Volunteers: Scheme of Organization,” March 28, 1918, WO 35/69, TNA.

⁷ Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, 91–92.

⁸ Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland*, 327–29.

⁹ Richard English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 29.

¹⁰ J. Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army: The IRA* (Dublin: Poolbeg, 1998), 26.

¹¹ Tom Garvin, “Nationalist Elites, Irish Voters and Irish Political Development: A Comparative Perspective,” *Economic and Social Review* 8, no. 3 (1977): 169.

¹² Brendan Lynn, *Holding the Ground: The Nationalist Party in Northern Ireland, 1945-72* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997).

¹³ Brian Hanley and Scott Millar, *The Lost Revolution: The Story of the Official IRA and the Workers' Party* (London: Penguin Books, 2010), 61, 64.

¹⁴ Both republican groups referred to themselves as “the IRA” and dislike the added labels, which this book will nonetheless use initially for the sake of differentiation. Provisional Sinn Féin was also referred to as ‘Provisionals’ or ‘Provos,’ whereas “Official Sinn Féin first adopted the title Republican Clubs, later Sinn Féin-the Workers Party [1977] and then the Workers Party [1982].” From 1977 onwards, I will use the terms IRA and SF for the PIRA/PSF. Ibid., 122; “Ard Fheis Walkout: A Personal View by the Editor” (The Untitled Irishman, February 1974); Sean Farren, *The SDLP: The Struggle for Agreement in Northern Ireland, 1970-2000* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 367. Sinn Féin (Provisional), *Sinn Féin: Statement on the Split* (Sinn Féin (Provisional), 1970).

¹⁵ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA: Deadly Divisions* (Dublin: Poolbeg, 2010), 11, 19.

1971	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. OIRA/OSF (RL) C3. PIRA/PSF (RC) 2 Subordinates	The SDLP's first conference drew over 300 delegates representing tens of thousands of supporters ¹⁸ ; the SDLP was stronger than republican groups in Derry and overall in the North, but the PIRA may have held sway in Belfast; 80% of the people arrested in the first waves of internment were from the OIRA/OSF ¹⁹ ; the PIRA had 800 members ²⁰ ; Irish intelligence estimated there were 20,000-40,000 OIRA/PIRA supporters in the Republic ²¹
1972	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. PIRA/PSF (RL) C3. OIRA/OSF (RC) 2 Subordinates	PIRA/PSF, OIRA/OSF, and SDLP members agree that by 1972, the PIRA had become the leading republican group ²² ; the PIRA had 1,000 members (550 fighters); the OIRA/OSF had 750 members (330 fighters) ²³ ; PIRA/PSF had slightly more funds than the OIRA/OSF, which had ten times as much funding as SDLP until the 1980s ²⁴
1973	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. PIRA/PSF (RL) C3. OIRA/OSF (RC) 2 Subordinates	In the Assembly elections, the SDLP won 22% of the vote and 19 out of 78 seats, no other nationalist party won a seat, the OIRA/OSF got 2% of the vote and the PIRA/PSF boycotted, but turnout was high ²⁵ ; PIRA/PSF had support of 25% of Catholic population ²⁶
1974	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. PIRA/PSF (RL) C3. OIRA/OSF (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	The INLA/IRSP split from the OIRA, initially taking 80-100 of its 800-1000 members ²⁷ ; the INLA won many more defectors in 1974, including most of the OIRA in Derry, half of its membership in the Belfast Market district, and the entire OIRA unit in Divis Flats ²⁸
1975	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. PIRA/PSF (RL) C3. OIRA/OSF (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	By January 1975, INLA/IRSP had 400-700 members, while the OIRA/OSF had lost over a third of its membership, now had 1500 members, 500 in OIRA, PIRA had 1000-2000 members ²⁹ ; the SDLP won 24% of the vote in Assembly elections ³⁰
1976	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. PIRA/PSF (RL) C3. OIRA/OSF (RC) 3 Subordinates	British intelligence claims the OIRA/OSF had 1,500 members, 500 of whom are OIRA, PIRA/PSF has 2,000 members, 500 active PIRA, after internal and external feuds the INLA/IRSP had 40 registered members and total income under £1,000 ³¹ ; 36% of Irish youth supported the PIRA and their actions, while 51% denounced them ³²
1977	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. SFWP/Group B (RC) 3 Subordinates	The (P)IRA maintained 1000-2000 members in the mid-1970s, although Adams-McGuinness leadership cut active IRA members to 300 ³³ ; OSF/OIRA changed names to Sinn Féin The Workers' Party (Republican Clubs-The Worker's Party in the North) and Group B ³⁴ ; SDLP won 21% of the vote in local elections, RCWP won 3% but Irish intelligence still considered Group B a "a serious threat" ³⁵

¹⁶ Denis Haughey, interview by Author, June 12, 2014.

¹⁷ Kacper Rekawek, *Irish Republican Terrorism and Politics: A Comparative Study of the Official and the Provisional IRA* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 39.

¹⁸ Farren, *The SDLP*, 47.

¹⁹ Official IRA member A, interview by Author, June 20, 2014.

²⁰ "IRA Political Activities of Sinn Féin of Republic of Ireland," March 15, 1971, FCO 33/1593, TNA.

²¹ Brian Hanley, "'But Then They Started All This Killing': Attitudes to the I.R.A. in the Irish Republic since 1969," *Irish Historical Studies* 38, no. 151 (May 2013): 443.

²² Joe Doherty, interview by Author, June 5, 2014. Jim Gibney, interview by Author, June 12, 2014. Harry Donaghy, interview by Author, June 20, 2014. Denis Haughey, interview. The Rt Hon The Lord Saville of Newdigate et al, "'The Provisional IRA' and 'The Official IRA,'" Chapters 147-148," in *Report of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry*, vol. 8, 1972.

²³ J.C. Beckett et al., *The Ulster Debate* (London: Institute for the Study of Conflict, 1972), 53-54; Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 218; Rekawek, *Irish Republican Terrorism and Politics*, 15.

²⁴ "Activities of Sinn Féin and Irish Republic Army of Ireland and Northern Ireland," 1972, FCO 87/3, TNA; Denis Haughey, interview.

²⁵ Farren, *The SDLP*, 76.

²⁶ Jackson, A.J. *Determinants of Occupational Status and Mobility in Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, 1973*, UK Data Service. SN: 240.

²⁷ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 37; English, *Armed Struggle*, 177; Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 283.

²⁸ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 46-47; Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 284-85.

²⁹ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 36-38, 44; "Paramilitary and Associated Organizations in Northern Ireland," April 1, 1976, CJ 4/1434, TNA.

³⁰ Nicholas Whyte, "Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention Elections 1975," n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fc75.htm>.

³¹ "Paramilitary and Associated Organizations in Northern Ireland"; Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 127-32.

³² John Raven, C. T. Whelan, Paul A. Pfretzschner and Donald M. Borock, *Political Culture in Ireland: The Views of Two Generations* (Dublin, 1976), 131.

³³ English, *Armed Struggle*, 114; Paul D. Kenny, "Structural Integrity and Cohesion in Insurgent Organizations: Evidence from Protracted Conflicts in Ireland and Burma," *International Studies Review* 12, no. 4 (December 1, 2010): 545.

³⁴ The party in Northern Ireland changed its name to Republican Clubs-The Workers' Party. Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 332-37, 377.

³⁵ Nicholas Whyte, "Local Government Elections 1977," n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg77.htm>; Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 405.

1978	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. SFWP/Group B (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	IRA/SF had support of 46% of Catholic population ³⁶ , 21% support vs. 61% opposed in Republic ³⁷ ; the IRA had £950,000 in income ³⁸ ; the INLA/IRSP conducted two successful robberies that netted £490,000, allowing it to buy many weapons and support more members ³⁹ ; Group B took £150,000 in one robbery and much more from building and tax-exemption scams ⁴⁰
1979	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. SFWP/Group B (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	IRA maintained 500 active members and £1.5 million ⁴¹ ; “The IRSP was on the rise from 1979-1982” in membership, although it had spent all of the robbery money from 1978 ⁴² ; SFWP won 19 seats in local Irish elections, RCWP won 2% of the vote to the SDLP’s 18% in Westminster elections, but RCWP beat SDLP in a key by-election ⁴³ ; Group B had a few hundred active members ⁴⁴
1980	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. SFWP/Group B (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	SF had 5,000 members with 400 branches in the early 1980s ⁴⁵ ; SDLP membership increased by 25% ⁴⁶ ; SFWP had close to 2,000 registered members ⁴⁷
1981	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. SFWP/Group B (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	Two IRSP candidates won seats in the Northern Ireland council elections, and the INLA/IRSP gained hundreds of members from the hunger strikes in which 7 IRA and 3 INLA members died (agreement was for 3:1 IRA to INLA ratio) ⁴⁸ ; SF got an average of 10% in elections, SDLP 17.5% ⁴⁹
1982	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. WP/Group B (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	The SDLP contested seats in every constituency on an abstentionist platform, wary of being defeated by SF; the SDLP won 19% in Assembly elections, PSF 10%, WP 3% ⁵⁰ ; Group B brought in £300,000 in another robbery but started to lose strength due to its lack of support for the hunger strikes ⁵¹
1983	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. WP/Group B (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	WP membership grew by 30%; the SDLP was “cash-strapped” ⁵² although it won 18% of the vote in Westminster elections, SF 13%, WP 2% ⁵³ ; Group B maintained a “sizeable” presence in Belfast, Newry, and the North with 200 members ⁵⁴
1984	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. WP/Group B (RC)	SDLP member claims “We were the stronger party, but [SF] were consistently polling 10-11 percent of the vote” within one-third of the SDLP ⁵⁵ ; SDLP won 22% in European Parliament elections, SF 13% ⁵⁶ ; Group B was unable to recruit new members ⁵⁷

³⁶ Moxon-Browne, E. *Northern Ireland Attitude Survey, 1978*, UK Data Service. SN: 1347

³⁷ E. E. Davis and Richard Sinnott, *Attitudes in the Republic of Ireland relevant to the Northern Ireland Problem* (Dublin: Economic and Social Research Institute paper no. 97, 1979), 98–99.

³⁸ James Glover, “Northern Ireland: Future Terrorist Trends” (UK Ministry of Defense, November 2, 1978).

³⁹ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 155–56.

⁴⁰ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 407.

⁴¹ English, *Armed Struggle*, 344; Tim Pat Coogan, *The IRA: A History* (Niwt, Colo: Roberts Rinehart, 1994), 326.

⁴² Fra Halligan, interview by Author, June 13, 2014; Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 176–77.

⁴³ Nicholas Whyte, “Westminster Election 1979,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fw79.htm>; Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 366, 390–91.

⁴⁴ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 405–6.

⁴⁵ Sydney Elliott, *Northern Ireland, A Political Directory, 1968-1999* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1999), 437.

⁴⁶ T H Gee, “The SDLP Conference: The State of the Party,” November 11, 1980, CJ 4/3274, TNA.

⁴⁷ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 375.

⁴⁸ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 212, 218, 222; CAIN, “CAIN: Events: Hunger Strike 1981 - List of Dead,” n.d., <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/hstrike/dead.htm>.

⁴⁹ Brendan O’Duffy, “Violence in Northern Ireland 1969–1994: Sectarian or Ethno-national?,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, no. 4 (1995): 768; Cynthia L. Irvin, *Militant Nationalism: Between Movement and Party in Ireland and the Basque Country, Social Movements, Protest, and Contention* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 87–90; John F. Morrison, *The Origins and Rise of Dissident Irish Republicanism: The Role and Impact of Organizational Splits, New Directions in Terrorism Studies* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), 120. “Northern Ireland Local Government Elections: May 1981.”; “Local Government Election (NI)-Wednesday 20 May 1981.” CAIN Web Service, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/election/rd1981.htm>.

⁵⁰ Nicholas Whyte, “Northern Ireland Assembly Elections 1982,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fa82.htm>.

⁵¹ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 441.

⁵² Farren, *The SDLP*, 182.

⁵³ Nicholas Whyte, “Westminster Election 1983,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fw83.htm>.

⁵⁴ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 524–27; Rekawek, *Irish Republican Terrorism and Politics*, 40.

⁵⁵ Sean Farren, interview by Author, June 16, 2014. Sinn Féin, *Hillsborough: A Failure, The Balance Sheet 1985-1988* (Dublin: Sinn Féin Publicity Dept, 1988), 30.

	C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	
1985	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RL) C3. WP/Group B (RC) C4. INLA/IRSP (RC) 2 Subordinates	WP/Group B members were arrested on fraud charges, leading to a significant decrease in fundraising and a “dire” financial situation ⁵⁸ ; SDLP won 18% in local elections, SF 12%, WP 2% ⁵⁹ ; WP prioritized socialism and all but dropped republicanism
1986	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	The INLA/IRSP was seriously weakened by splits (into the IPLO) and informants, which spelled the end of the group’s significance ⁶⁰ ; SF continued to grow by pulling in voters and members from other parties, including the Irish Independence Party and People’s Democracy, who all but merged into SF by 1986; SF ended abstentionism which led to a split to Republican Sinn Féin (RSF), but RSF was a small subordinate that did not threaten PIRA/PSF’s position
1987	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	SDLP won 21% of the vote in Westminster elections, SF 11%, WP 3% ⁶¹ ; IRA/SF had £7 million of revenue ⁶² ; IRA had several hundred members ⁶³
1988	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	IRA had 550 active volunteers ⁶⁴ ; IRA intel claimed Group B had 55 largely apolitical members in its Belfast strongholds, but “there was a war for the hegemony of the working class areas, and [Group B] wouldn’t lie down and go away ⁶⁵
1989	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	IRA had 460 active members ⁶⁶ ; SDLP wins 21% in local elections, SF 11% ⁶⁷
1990	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	IRA had 460 active members ⁶⁸ ; SDLP wins 21% in local elections, SF 11% ⁶⁹
1991	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	The IRA/SF had £6 million/year in income ⁷⁰
1992	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 3 Subordinates	SDLP won 24% of the vote in Westminster elections, SF 10% ⁷¹ ; the WP was £600,000 in debt ⁷² ; the IRA eliminated the IPLO ⁷³ ; most of the WP’s leaders split over ties to Group B and socialism, and Official Republicanism all but came to an end ⁷⁴
1993	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 3 Subordinates	SDLP wins 22% in local elections, SF 12% ⁷⁵
1994	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	SDLP won 29% in European Parliament elections, SF 10% ⁷⁶ ; IRA had 500 members ⁷⁷
1995	L1. SDLP (NH)	SDLP won 29% in European Parliament elections, SF 10% ⁷⁸ ; IRA had 500 members ⁷⁹

⁵⁶ Whyte, Nicholas, “The 1984 European Election,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fe84.htm>.

⁵⁷ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 416.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 528, 533.

⁵⁹ Nicholas Whyte, “Local Government Elections 1985,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg85.htm>.

⁶⁰ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 244–54, 340–62; Fra Halligan, interview.

⁶¹ Nicholas Whyte, “Westminster Election 1987,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fw87.htm>.

⁶² English, *Armed Struggle*, 344.

⁶³ “Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1987” (U.S. Department Of State, 1988).

⁶⁴ English, *Armed Struggle*, 344.

⁶⁵ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 543–44.

⁶⁶ Elliott, *Northern Ireland, A Political Directory, 1968-1999*, 410.

⁶⁷ Nicholas Whyte, “Local Government Elections 1989,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg89.htm>.

⁶⁸ Elliott, *Northern Ireland, A Political Directory, 1968-1999*, 410.

⁶⁹ Nicholas Whyte, “Local Government Elections 1989,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg89.htm>.

⁷⁰ Elliott, *Northern Ireland, A Political Directory, 1968-1999*, 410.

⁷¹ Nicholas Whyte, “Westminster Election 1992,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fw92.htm>.

⁷² “Worker’s Party. There Is an Alternative- Defend the Party, Defeat the Liquidators,” February 10, 1992.

⁷³ Henry McDonald and Jack Holland, *INLA*, 403–20.

⁷⁴ Hanley and Millar, *The Lost Revolution*, 546–87.

⁷⁵ Nicholas Whyte, “Local Government Elections 1993,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg93.htm>.

⁷⁶ Nicholas Whyte, “The 1994 European Election,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fe94.htm>.

⁷⁷ Martin Melaugh, “Estimates of the Strength of Paramilitary Groups” (CAIN, 2015), <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/paramilitary2.htm>.

⁷⁸ Nicholas Whyte, “The 1994 European Election,” n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fe94.htm>.

	C2. IRA/SF (RH)	
	4 Subordinates	
1996	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 4 Subordinates	SDLP won 21% in NI Forum elections, SF 16% ⁸⁰ ; the IRA/SF had £5-6 million in income in 1996-1998 ⁸¹
1997	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 5 Subordinates	SDLP won 21% in local elections, SF 17% ⁸² ; the Real IRA had only a few dozen members ⁸³
1998	L1. SDLP (NH) C2. IRA/SF (RH) 5 Subordinates	SF was near equals with the SDLP (18 vs. 22% in Assembly elections), and SF defeated the SDLP for the first time at the 2001 local elections 21% to 19% ⁸⁴ ; as the SDLP's Denis Haughey said, "Sinn Féin stole our clothes" ⁸⁵ ; the Real IRA splinter group had 70 members, the CIRA fewer than 50 ⁸⁶

⁷⁹ Martin Melaugh, "Estimates of the Strength of Paramilitary Groups" (CAIN, 2015), <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/paramilitary2.htm>.

⁸⁰ Nicholas Whyte, "The 1996 Forum Elections," n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/ff96.htm>.

⁸¹ Rekawek, *Irish Republican Terrorism and Politics*, 65.

⁸² Nicholas Whyte, "Local Government Elections 1997," n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg97.htm>.

⁸³ Paul Bew and Gordon Gillespie, *Northern Ireland* (Lanham, Md: Scarecrow Press, 1999), 130.

⁸⁴ Nicholas Whyte, "Northern Ireland Assembly Elections 1998," n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fa98.htm>; Nicholas Whyte, "Local Government Elections 2001," n.d., <http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg01.htm>.

⁸⁵ Denis Haughey, interview.

⁸⁶ "Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1998" (U.S. Department Of State, 1999).