THE IRISH QUESTION: WHY IS THERE VIOLENCE IN ULSTER?

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
CHRISTOPHER DAVID THORNTON
1971

3 1293 10192 3567

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

BINDING BY
HOAG & SONS'
BOOK BINDERY INC.
LIBRARY BINDERS
SPRINGFIELD, MICHIGAN

THE IRISH QUESTION: WHY IS THERE VIOLENCE IN ULSTER?

By

Christopher David Thornton

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Anthropology

1971

INTRODUCTION

I will evaluate in this paper some of the aspects of the tense situation in Northern Ireland as it exists today. Much of what has happened recently in Northern Ireland rests on prior history and that material will be made apparent as the discussion proceeds. Certain aspects of the violence can be confined to contemporary unrest as it has been occuring in the last 25 years and this material will be treated separately and out of historical context. Much of this material will be dealt with in terms of my own personal observation, during the months of June, July, and August of 1970. I will be particularly concerned with frustration, violence, aggression, and territoriality as it has occurred in the "Bogside" area of Londonderry, Northern Ireland.

The world has been informed of the violence that has occurred in Northern Ireland during the summers of 1969 and 1970. Because many people were hurt and much property damage occurred during this period, the news media seized this as something that the world should know about. Moreso I believe a more in-depth analysis of the forces causing unrest in Northern Ireland and the

connection between what is happening there as well as the feelings of the people living to the south in the Republic of Ireland should be closely investigated. If this is not done, we would be looking at a life scene in a vacuum. The violence brings Ireland into our awareness, but it is only a symbol for the strong forces working beneath, and in some cases within, the awareness of the people. I intend to investigate some of those forces so that people other than Irishman may have a better understanding of recent events in Ireland.

Many forces are at work there; time and space do not allow for a complete investigation of all those forces, but I shall deal with those that I feel to be most cogent with regard to my observation and discussions with the people living in the cities that I visited. I am primarily interested in evaluating the interrelationship between social structure and the culture of Ireland. My understanding of this relationship has come from discussions with the local people on the street, in restaurants and pubs, as well as in their homes, offices and other more private places. I noted that people told me different things depending on whether they thought they were being overheard or being observed by others. Totally different points of view were given to me in an all Catholic pub as contrasted to several discussions which ensued in predominantly Protestant establishments. Many of the

statements were painfully told to me in an attempt to gain my sympathy. I at no time felt that the discussion participants were withholding information from me, but that they instead felt very free to tell me more than they would even tell their friends. I represented no threat to the people, apparently because of my American ancestory. The Irish are sympathetic to most Americans and to America in general and they seem to want Americans to know all about Ireland and the strife, economic deterioration, and population shifts that have happened there.

It will not be possible to probe deeply into all the elements of the social system, although it will be impossible to avoid some pivotal issues. The author will bring out those factors which have so directly contributed to a loss of life, property, and happiness.

In order to understand what is happening today, it will be necessary to introduce some elements of past history into my opening remarks and then to focus on the very recent events in the six counties of the north which make up Ulster, as Northern Ireland is otherwise known. The twenty-six counties which make up the Republic of Ireland are colloquially called Eire and will be referred to in that way from time to time in the paper.

After historical perspective has been introduced, the task will be to join these issues with the forms of

discrimination, political influences, and the internal social structure and cultural ideals of the people of Ireland--both north and south. Some of these factors are very wide in scope and tend to be elusive, others are very narrow and quite easy to pinpoint. Hopefully those that are least understood will be brought to attention and understanding.

All of the photographs which have been included in the thesis are from my personal collection, and were taken during the summer of 1970. They hopefully will be of aid to the reader, in understanding this protracted conflict.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I should like to express gratitude and acknowledge the help and guidance I have received from Dr. Charles C. Hughes and Dr. Ralph W. Nicholas, members of my committee, in writing this paper. Their aid in telling me of factors to consider in gathering data in the field, prior to my visit to Ireland were of very great benefit. In addition to these aids in methodology, they have given me much helpful criticism after the data had been gathered.

Secondly, and ever so importantly, I can never be too grateful for the help that the people of Ireland, both those from Ulster and those from Eire have given to me, in my inquiries as to the present turmoil in the north. I spent the better part of June, July, and August of 1970 in Ireland gathering information. When I was not there, I was in England, talking to people at various universities (Cambridge, Oxford, and London principally) in an attempt to garner some otherwise unknown facts about the situation in Ireland. I also returned to Ireland during the Christmas holidays of 1970-1971 and was able to extract some information and comments that I might not have gotten during the summer months, when the emotions are at peak pitch due to the various religious celebrations which

occur annually during the summer. I talked to people who were involved in many and varied ways in the conflicts that were happening as recently as last summer (1970) as well as those that used to involve themselves but do so no longer because of age and in some cases out of seeing the utter futility of the situation. I have drawn together what I consider to be cogent facts surrounding a long history of conflict in this religiously embittered area. My thanks go to those people of Ireland, far to numerous to mention individually, although they certainly deserve to be. My visit and discussions with the actual participants in this conflict have been invaluable in forming this paper.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

INTRODUCTION iii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vii

Chapter

I. THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE 1

The Early Inhabitants
Important British Monarchs
The Battle of Derry and The Plantations
Protestant Ascendency
Beginnings of Hostilities and Prejudices

II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE 11

Differences Between North and South
Catholic and Protestant Feelings
Drive for Unity
Early Learning and Socialization
Ireland's Mental Outlooks
Marriage in Ireland

III. SOCIAL CONCOMITANTS LEADING TO CATHOLIC UNREST 19

Differences Other than Religion
Politics, Unemployment and Housing
Special Powers Act
Intolerance
Future Planning
Partition
Race Prejudice and the Irish Mental View

IV. DISCUSSING IRISH VIOLENCE 35

The Cities Involved
The B Specials
Rev. Ian Paisley and Bernadette Devlin MP
The Irish Republican Army
The Royal Ulster Constabulary
The British Armed Services
Special Interest Groups

ERRATA:

p. 50, line 4 and 5: ". . . bloodshed and mistakes. It is about time to begin remedying some of the past mistakes, and . . ."

Chapter Page

V. CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS 47

Behavioral Implications
Britain's Influence
Proposals I-IV
New Initiatives
An Irish Pun

APPENDIX 57

REFERENCES 59

ERRATA:

p. 50, line 4 and 5: ". . . bloodshed and mistakes. It is about time to begin remedying some of the past mistakes, and . . ."

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables Page

1. Percentage of males and females registered as unemployed 22

2. Northern Ireland civil employment 23

Figures

1. Young boys and violence in Londonderry 14

2. The aftermath of trouble in Belfast 26

3. British soldiers on patrol 44

4. British soldiers in Belfast 45

5. The old city wall in Londonderry 52

6. The "Bogside" in Londonderry 53

7. Soldiers on guard 54

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This chapter dealing with the historical background of Ireland is of great significance, in that all of the events that have occurred recently, such as the violence which occurred in Belfast and Londonderry during 1969 and 1970 have deep rooted historical meaning. The situation in Ireland is unlike any other in light of the importance given to the religious ties within Ireland. Religion forms the core around which all other issues are attached. Surrounding the religious ideology is an aura of violence whether it be overt or not. But, before moving into a discussion of the religious rift in particular it will enhance understanding to trace the background of the settling of Ireland and to know a little about the peoples who have inhabited this island and given it the character it has had and has today.

> The earliest human artifacts-flints in County Antrim are dated about 6000 B.C. The Neolithic Revolution, which consisted of the discovery of agriculture and the domestication of animals, having spread slowly westward over Europe from central Asia, reached Ireland probably somewhere toward the end of the third millenium B.C. . . . For Ireland, as elsewhere, the Neolithic Revolution must have meant the earliest settled communities, the first appearance of social

> classes, and the beginning of organized religion. (Costigan, 1970, p. 3)

It is thought that Ireland received its first inhabitants in approximately the year 6000 B.C. but archaeological finds have turned up information leading us to believe that Ireland was once attached to the continent of Europe and that it actually became an island separate from the continent approximately fifty thousand years ago. Britain was still attached to the continent and was not to become an island itself until another ten thousand years had elapsed.

> The ancient Gaelic writers carry the history of Ireland as far back as Noah's flood; modern archaeologists find traces of human occupation for many thousands of years before Christ; but the cautious historian has to be content with a more recent beginning. The Gaels, or Goidels (with whom this beginning can best be made), probably reached Ireland during the first century B.C., coming directly from Gaul. They found Ireland already occupied by a mixture of peoples, the descendents of earlier invaders from Great Britain and the continent, and some at least of these peoples probably spoke a Celtic dialect similar to Gaelic. The Gaels treated the existing population in much the same way as they themselves were to be treated by later invaders: they killed some, disposed others and compelled the rest to pay tribute. In spite of their iron weapons they made a very slow conquest and the pre-Gaelic population, especially in the north, long retained its independence. (Beckett 1952, p. 10)

The Celtic speaking peoples arrived somewhat before the Gaels and the two populations lived side by side until a hegemony was produced by if nothing else, attrition. Much Irish history of the modern era looks back to this period which lasted for many hundreds of years. It

would seem little was happening in way of innovation to Gaelic Ireland, and in terms of the very long time span this would not be far from the truth.

The next great invasion and introduction of new ideas, principles and practices came from the Norse invaders. Their initial plunge into Ireland came about 795 A.D.

> In Ireland as elsewhere in western Europe the Norse attacks began with scattered raids for booty, which were followed by permanent settlements and systematic efforts at conquest. By the middle of the ninth century Norse galleys had passed up the Bann to Lough Neagh and up the Shannon to the central plain; Norse city states, the first real cities in Ireland, had been founded at Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick. The struggle continued with varying fortunes throughout the ninth and tenth centuries and reached its climax in 1014 in a battle fought at Clontarf, on the outskirts of Dublin. Here Brain Boru, the ard ri defeated a Norse alliance, drawn from the settlements in Ireland, though at the cost of his own life. Brian's Battle, as the sagas call it, was one of the bloodiest of the age; it was a great blow to Norse power and a final check to any attempt at a Norse conquest of Ireland. . . It is natural to think of the Norse invasions as a period of destruction and tyranny. But the Norsemen contributed much of value to the life of the country, for they were traders as well as robbers. It was they who first established town life in Ireland, and these towns were centres of peaceful commerce as well as of more violent undertakings; their ships carried the hides and wool of Ireland to Britain and Europe and brought back wine and cloth and slaves. (Beckett, 1952, pp. 13-15)

In 1169 A.D. a great wave of Angles and Normans invaded Ireland. This was to be the most important outside influence for the next few hundred years. During this period the real seeds were sown and the religions

were to be established that serve as the direct descendents to the established religions of Ireland today.

> The arrival of Henry II opened a new phase in Anglo-Irish relations; but it is misleading to regard the events of these years as constituting an 'English' conquest of Ireland. The invaders were Norman, Norman-Welsh and Flemish, rather than English, and their language and traditions were French. Though Henry II was king of England the Irish rulers submitted to him personally, not to the English crown. He simply added Ireland to the many other dominions which he ruled under various titles and by various rights. (Beckett, 1952, p. 17)

During the early middle and the later middle ages, Ireland saw a great deal of strife as the now many factions battled each other for supremacy in Ireland. No one person, group of persons, or specific group with similar genetic tracings was able to gain ultimate ascendancy or even good favor over all of Ireland; the most any of these groups was able to do was to control one area for a short time. It must be said that each group left its own indelible mark and the Irish while not easily pressured into outside control, or control by one grand master, at least condescend by remembering faithfully the history of their land. Ironically, it may be possible that the Irish remember their history all too well!

By the early 1300's Norman influence was on the wane and the coming of the British and Scottish forces was becoming more and more imminent.

> At no time during the middle ages was there anything like a united, much less a 'national' resistance to the conquest. But individual Irish rulers, though fighting for their own interests and though generally ready to recognise the overlordship of the king of England, did set limits to Norman expansion. After the middle of the thirteenth century their military inferiority was partly remedied by the importation of mercenary troops from the Hebrides. These 'gallow-glasses' (gall-oglaigh: foreign soldiers) were of mixed Gaelic and Norse descent and their standard weapon was the great Scandanavian axe. Unlike the native Irish they wore body armour, and they fought with a skill and determination that made them the backbone of every Irish army from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth. This Irish recovery had not achieved any decisive success before the Scottish invasion, but it was an important factor in the situation; for the continued resistance of the Irish, especially in the north, encouraged the Bruces to make the venture. The hero of the invasion was Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert. In May, 1915 he landed on the Antrim coast with 6,000 Scottish troops and a year later he was crowned the 'king of Ireland' at Dundalk. (Beckett, 1952, pp. 24-25)

The effect of this invasion was to once again tear at the delicate fabric of any stability that might have been established in Ireland. In almost all of the affairs that were to follow in Irish history, the greater influences were to come from neighboring Britain and her peoples.

As had begun in 1315 a succession of kings from Britain placed themselves in charge, if only in title, over the affairs of Ireland and the peoples living there. Because of the disorganized state which Ireland seemed to so often find itself in, there seemed to be only token resistance to the overlordship of the various British monarches. There was, however, a growing distinction as

to being English born or English, but born in Ireland. This was to be the real undoing for the British in their attempt to reign supreme over all of Ireland. It was, however, many years later that the complete split between the two was to come about (1916 Easter Rebellion and the establishment of the Republic of Ireland).

In 1541 king Kenry VIII of England was declared the king of Ireland by the Irish Parliament. Because of the particular strength of Henry VIII and his charismatic qualities he was to have a great influence in Ireland and actually did establish many institutions especially through feudal grants which have been of benefit to the peoples of Ireland. Britain's affairs were becoming very enmeshed with those of Ireland, usually through desire from Parliament in London. Politics became almost the single most important areas of consideration, in dealings between Britain and Ireland.

Because of various conflicts, many coming from the multitude of marriages in which Henry VIII established for himself, Britain was to find itself in the position of having to establish a state church. The Protestant Anglican Church was set up under Henry in his attempt to avoid being ruled from other continent capitols. Because Catholicism was the church accepted by the powers on the continent and because of London's split (Anglican Protestantism) new developments and differences were to occur

between Ireland and England as Ireland had an already entrenched mass of Catholics living, principally in the area of Ireland which is today The Republic of Ireland (Erie). The zeal accorded the political/religious redefinition in England had great effect upon Ireland as well. Often the Irish were called upon to supply men, mercenaries in some cases, to help out in the various wars in which Britain found itself entangled. The Irish were often told rather than asked what to do in these situations, and although little was said about it at the time, resentment was building within the hearts and minds of the people of Ireland.

An example of this is the civil war in which England found itself in the mid 1600's. King Charles I made a shady deal with an emmissary of the Catholic Church representing Rome, in which England was to receive men to fight Oliver Cromwell's forces in the civil war for certain concessions to Ireland, none of which Parliament knew about.

But it was not until 1689 that the historical antecedents really began to form the foundation for contemporary events. In 1689 the Roman Catholic James II was driven out of power by William of Orange at the battle of 'Derry in that year. Soon afterward the northern part of Ireland, which is now Ulster (Northern Ireland), began to set up a plantation system (not totally unlike that

which was set up in the southern United States prior to the abolition of slavery).

Aidan Clarke has said:

> The idea of plantation was straightforward. Land was the source of wealth and the basis of power. To take it from the Catholic Irish and give it to the Protestant immigrants would at once weaken resistance to English rule and bring into being a Protestant community sufficiently numerous, and sufficiently powerful, to keep the peace in Ireland. If the Irish would not become Protestant, then Protestants must be brought to Ireland. (Moody and Martin, 1967, p. 190)

It was sufficient to keep the peace by way of the plantation system for many years but resentment never died in the minds of the people in all of Ireland. Just because armed resistance was not met at every turn certainly did not indicate contentment. It was supposed that a mental attrition growing out of the plantation system would occur, but the minority Catholic population were not to be easily led to believe the Protestant sanctity in the Ulster provinces. In his book on the battle of 'Derry, J. G. Simms has stated:

> ...From the Irish point of view, it was a desparate effort made by the newer Protestant colonists, English and Scots, to keep the position they had won in Ulster at the expense of the older inhabitants. (Simms, 1966, p. 3)

After the solid establishment of the plantation system, a certain continuity was maintained although many questions were posed and ideological issues were raised as to the moral turpitude of the plantation system. The

Irish didn't have time to worry about anything except simply staying alive as several potato famines swept the land, particularly in 1846 when the total crop was destroyed.

> During the eighteenth century Ireland enjoyed a longer period of internal peace than ever before. There were local agrarian disturbances, which sometimes reached serious proportions, but from the treaty of Limerick to the insurrection of 1798 there was no general threat to the existing order. Yet this prolonged peace did not make the country really prosperous. One traveller after another comments on the lack of capital, the scarcity of profitable employment, the swarms of beggars in the towns, the meagre fare and wretched hovels of the bulk of the rural population. There was some improvement in the last quarter of the century, but even then Ireland compared very unfavourably with England. (Beckett, 1952, p. 104)

During this period, from 1800 on, Ireland had set up a clear tradition in terms of its political life, Beckett comments on this:

> It established a tradition of revolutionary violence which, from that time onwards, has exercised an influence, varying in strength but never negligible, on Irish politics; and this tradition still contains all those incongruous elements that were at work in 1798--religious fanaticism and humanitarian philosophy. (Beckett, 1952, p. 127)

These feelings permeated and totally inundated the movements that were to follow, particularly the Anglo-Irish war which ended in 1921 and which established the ultimate partition of Ireland into the Eire and Ulster provinces that exist to this day. The completion of this separation was fully attained by 1926.

After this a new segment in the history of Ireland had begun. Old hostilities and prejudices were renewed as each side sought to defend what it thought to be its vested interests. The situation in 1971 is one in which we find the turmoil to be basically confined to the six counties of the north; all issues being centered about Protestantism and Catholicism. It is, however, to be noted that certain elements from the south are readily identifying and becoming interested in the minority interests in the north. Most notably in mention is the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) which is outlawed in both the north and south, but continues to function rather effectually because of its underground sort of clandestine operations. The role of the I.R.A. will be discussed at further length in a more appropriate portion of the paper.

Vast amounts of historical data have been left for the reader to uncover for himself, although with this basic core of historical facts in mind, it will be possible to further discuss and hopefully understand the contemporary situation in Northern Ireland.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE

It should be noted that as a discussion proceeds on social structure, we must keep in mind that there are some rather marked differences between the north and south of Ireland, the principal difference being in the location, geographically speaking of the two primary religious groups (Catholic and Protestant) which make up most of the population. The Republic of Ireland (Eire) is made up of a population which is approximately 98% Catholic, the remainder being primarily Protestant. Because the Protestants are in such a small minority, they are a tiny voice in the affairs of Eire. From my observation the two groups seem to allow for each other's belief systems and severe clashes over ideology are rare in this part of Ireland. The case in Ulster is very much different. In Ulster is found a Protestant majority of 826,500 contrasted to a Catholic minority of 498,750. These numbers indicate that while the Catholics are vastly outnumbered, they still form a sizeable minority and are a group who knows they are capable of prodding the Protestant majority into some form of social action and hopefully

positive social reform. However, reflecting upon the historical background we have seen that social change has not come easily in Ireland. Because of the large group of Protestants who arrived and settled in the north prior to the plantation system, there has been a constant series of strained relations between Catholic and Protestant. Each group feels that it has a more sacred right to the privileges of social power especially in Ulster. In all of Ireland there is a resentment against the Protestants and they are not considered to be a part of the rightful indigenous population, in terms of sharing in the cultural system in the same way as the Catholic group. The Catholics have always resented the Protestant influx before The Battle of the Boyne (Londonderry 1689) and their arrival was seen to be a way for England to gain firm control of this area of Ireland. It seems that all youngsters are taught this fact of history whether they be Catholic or Protestant. The facts are slightly altered depending upon one's religious identification. From here begins the feelings that form the social identification of any person living in Ireland.

There has always been a drive for one Ireland and Charles Lucey in quoting Prime Minister Jack Lynch makes this idea clear:

> The Irish government ~~does not~~ concede in any way, and never will, Britain's right to jurisdiction over any part of Irish territory. . .the claim of the Irish nation to control the totality of Ireland has been asserted over the centuries by successive generations of Irishmen and women and it is one which will never be renounced. (Lucey, 1970, p. 9)

This particular lesson has been well learned in that any discussion I involved myself in with Irishmen on either side of the border inevitably aroused this issue. It is truly a strong mental concept held and shared widely by the people. It is acted upon by the Catholics in light of the civil disturbances but very understood although not fully accepted by the Protestants of the north who cling to the Union Jack of Great Britain. Although it is untenable at this time, it would seem inevitable that any solution to the Irish unrest will at some time in the future involve the idea of one Ireland with legitimate and proportionate representation for whichever group is in the minority, that is the Protestants because they would become the minority group in an Ireland governed by one government.

As has been said, the young people of Ireland learn their history at a very early age and Figure 1 illustrates the position taken by those young people. In this case two young boys probably not more than ten years of age are carrying wooden batons for what they claim is self defense. I observed a constable questioning the boys about their weapons and their possible use. They seemed

Figure 1. Young boys and violence in Londonderry. Young boys have learned violence from the centuries of religious strife in Ireland. Two boys in this photograph are carrying wood batons as a symbol and possibly for utility should a provocation occur. This is the main street in Londonderry, Northern Ireland. (Author's collection)

taken aback to be questioned about their right to wield these weapons and carry them about in the streets in open defiance of certain restrictions which prohibit the carrying of weapons, primarily at times when religious holidays are being celebrated. The constable asked if the boys' parents knew what they were doing and the answer was affirmative. They were sent home to dispose of the weapons but this mission was probably never accomplished. No one seemed to pay any attention to this small episode other than myself and symbols of violence such as these wood batons are seen often and commonly on the streets. Apparently, there has become a mental acceptance of such displays.

Conrad Arensberg had divided Ireland into a land with four different mental outlooks in an attempt to better understand the social life and culture there. Each of these concepts plays an integral part in the daily life of an Irishman, particularly an Irishman who lives in Belfast, Coleraine, Londonderry or any of the major population areas of the north which have been involved in so much social conflict over the past, almost 300 years.

> Perhaps our first Ireland is the mystic land of the past. This is the land of the 'Celtic twilight,' the country of Synge and Yeats and Stevens. It is the seat of an age old tradition, of the remains of a once brilliant Celtic civilization. . . .A second Ireland is a gay, full blooded picture, though some among the nationalists dislike it. It is the Ireland of the merry and happy-go-lucky present. Handled

> badly, it becomes the land of the 'stage Irishman,' that buffoonish figure which the nations pride so justly resents. . . .The third Ireland most of us know is a more serious scene. One might even call it a grimmee land. It is a sober, hard working land of minute towns and small farms upon a soil not always grateful. It is a land of hard realities. This Ireland is subject to hot flashes of anger and dispute which throw into relief deep-lying hatreds and fierce loyalties. We all know something of the Land War and Sinn Fein and the bitter internecine strife of the trouble. If we know anything of Ireland's history we see these rough upheavals of a tranquil scene as great punctuation marks upon a red page of struggle lasting seven hundred years. . . .Most of us recognize a fourth Ireland as well, especially those who are Catholics. It is the Ireland of the faith, the island of saints and scholars. It is the land of the devout, where word and deed breathe a religious fervor which most of us have forgotten. (Arensberg, 1937, pp. 13-15)

It is this last point which is all important to those of us who are not Irish or who have not experienced being among these people for an extended time. I myself had my greatest difficulty in taking notes and trying to make them meaningful, until I began to feel what the people themselves were feeling toward their religion. Religion is the integral focal point, out of which leaps the very driving force of these people. It is an all important aspect of the culture in Ireland, because it is constantly discussed and compared to its opposite.

Another important point which differentiates the structure of Ireland from other lands is the narrowness and sectarian interest of the people. Their views rarely encompass the world as a whole. Conrad Arensberg has said:

> Yet the question of the organization of the community confronts the social anthropologist. He seeks to analyze the means by which men relate themselves over space and time. In Ireland, the question is important for the student of old custom, too. For tradition works locally.
>
> Irish familism is of the soil. It operates most strongly within allegiances to a definite small area. Life moves within this area for the countryman; he very rarely goes beyond it except on periodic visits to his market town. He counts his fellows from within these same narrow bounds. Beyond the next stream, over the next hill, down the valley, a similar allegiance begins and ends. Across the line are people no different from himself; but they are 'strangers,' from beyond, or 'from the other side.' (Arensberg, 1937, pp. 107-108)

Another very important fact about the structure of Irish life is the age at which marriages occur in Ireland. Because there are not enough jobs for all eligible young men, due to a low proportion of industrialization in Ireland, many men go to England to gain an income. Once there they have a tendency to stay and only infrequently return to their homeland to visit as well as bring the pound notes to distribute to those in need in their family. A family I got to know quite well, and with whom I shared many experiences, told me that their Father returned only a few times each year to visit, usually during holiday periods. Other than on these infrequent occasions or if the family journeyed to England, did the nuclear family enjoy a common togetherness. After several years of working and saving, the young man, by then 27 or 28 years old and sometimes older as in the case of my friends, begins to think of taking a bride. When he

marries he often returns to England to work, leaving his bride behind to live with either his folks or hers, probably on a small farm. He may only return often enough to beget a child, before leaving once again to labor in England. Charles Lucey has taken a look at the statistics on marriage:

> My own estimate would be that in todays more prosperous Ireland change comes again; there has been a steady fall in marriage ages, both male and female, in recent years. In 1946 the average age was 33.1 for males and 28 years for females; by 1963 the figures had fallen to 30.1 and 26.5 and by 1967 to 28.8 for males and 25.8 for females. (Lucey, 1970, pp. 31-32)

This fact is of great importance, in that those who are not married until a later age, have more free time in which to work toward political goals. Sometimes these are constructive and other times they are destructive. With little responsibility, entrance into a group such as the I.R.A. offers much less risk to the individual, as he has no one to look after or be responsible to.

There are other important matters concerning the social structure and culture of Ireland, but these that I have mentioned form an important core in which to understand the case that I am building.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CONCOMITANTS LEADING TO CATHOLIC UNREST

The history has been briefed, and an attempt to peer into the mind of the Irishman was included in Chapter II. Knowing these things, it is now possible to look at the reasons for outbreaks of violence which are caused by social factors, largely because of Protestant domination of the government and social institutions of Northern Ireland. Beyond religion, the reasons are several in number. They include: simple differences in political ideology, discrimination against Catholics in housing, employment opportunities, and voting rights as well as social, religious and welfare allotment discrimination. Some people even mentioned to me that they could tell who was who on the basis of racial appearances between the Catholics and Protestants in the Belfast and Londonderry central cities. There is little by way of investigation to prove this point other than to look historically at the various groups who have come to Ireland to settle from other places on the continent, many years ago. The people that mentioned this fact to me often seemed to be the most bigoted people in their general attitude toward

the 'other' religious group. I only mention it here because it was mentioned to me several times so that I am led to believe it has something to do with the general behavior of the people involved in the conflict. If this area is ever investigated, it will probably be completed by an Irishman due to complexities and the subjectivity accorded by this sort of behavior.

Mr. Paul Rose (Manchester, Blackley M.P.) has said "too little has been done too late." This is probably very close to the truth, because the history is so extensive it sometimes takes a long time in discussion before any solution to a given problem is considered and before any remedial action is taken. Universal suffrage is a good example of too little being done too late. Voting was done by primarily the Protestant citizens of Ulster because the ownership of land was a prerequisite for many years. On top of this the City of Londonderry was gerrymandered in such a way as to perpetuate strict Protestant rule and control over that city which has a Catholic majority. Protestants were often allowed to cast more than one vote, if they were important in industry or held large blocks of land or owned rental properties. Patrick Riddell has noted:

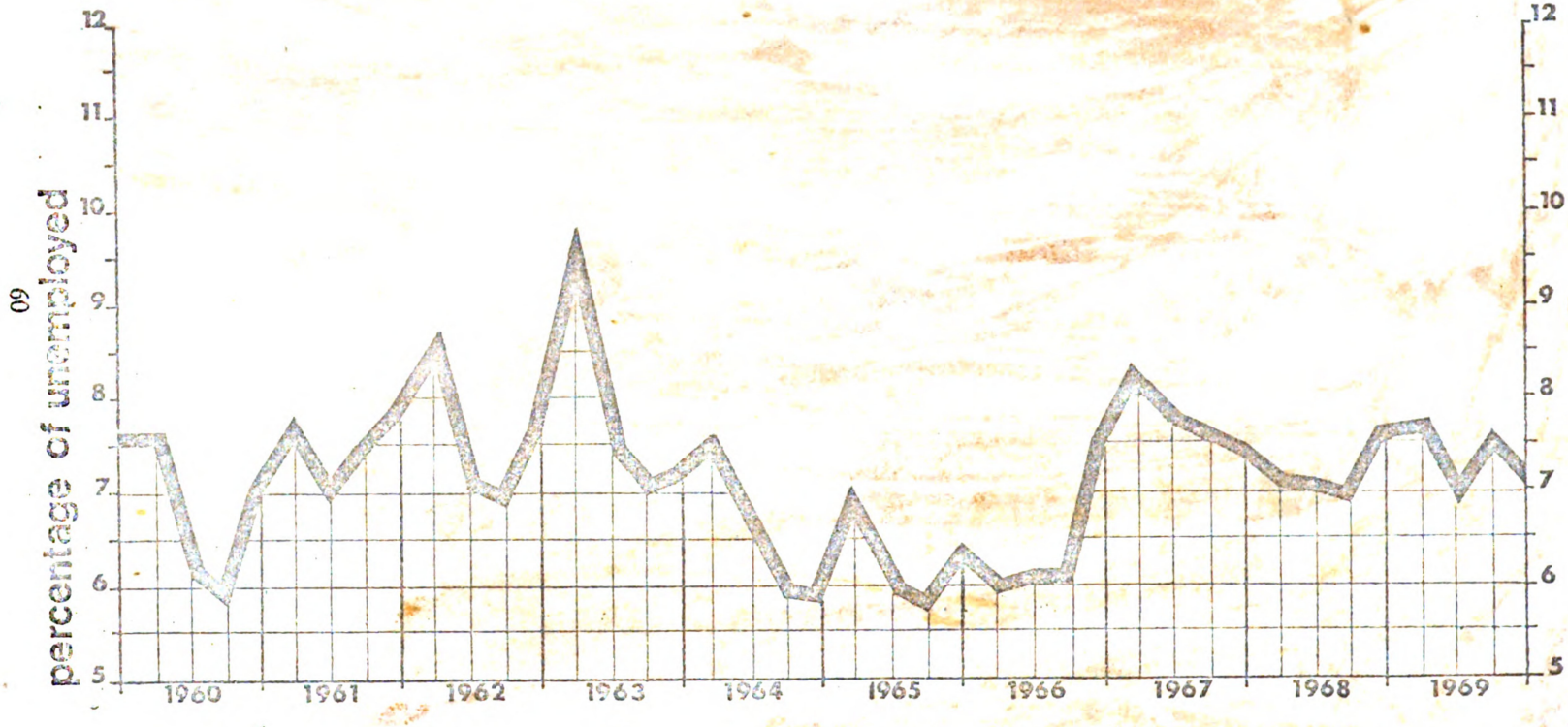
> Londonderry has a big Catholic preponderance in the city's population, yet the local government ward boundaries were so manipulated by the powerful Unionists as to give them control of the Londonderry Corporation. This enabled them to corner the patronage

> market, particularly in the matter of housing allocation, for their own benefit and for that of their similarly blind and stupid followers. Some 15,000 Catholic voters were deliberately so placed that they could not possibly win more than eight Council seats against the twelve seats unvaryingly won by some 9,000 Unionist voters. Whatever excuses may be made by protagonists of the Unionist Party, this was Gerrymandering at its worst. Londonderry, of course, has an appeal of high emotional intensity to thousands of Protestant Ulstermen, especially those who are members of the Orange Order. It is the historic walled city which Protestant Irish adherents of William of Orange held so heroically against the beseiging troops of the Catholic King James II of England--thus helping to establish the Protestant Succession for the English. (Riddell, 1970, p. 143)

Unemployment naturally falls hand in hand with the discordant position allowed the Catholic population in Ulster. One third of the Catholic adult population at Strabane are unemployed. Boys at Newry have little prospect of attaining employment and have never worked before. The charts that follow on pages 22 and 23 indicate the rates of unemployment as well as showing the various types of employment opportunities which are available in Ulster.

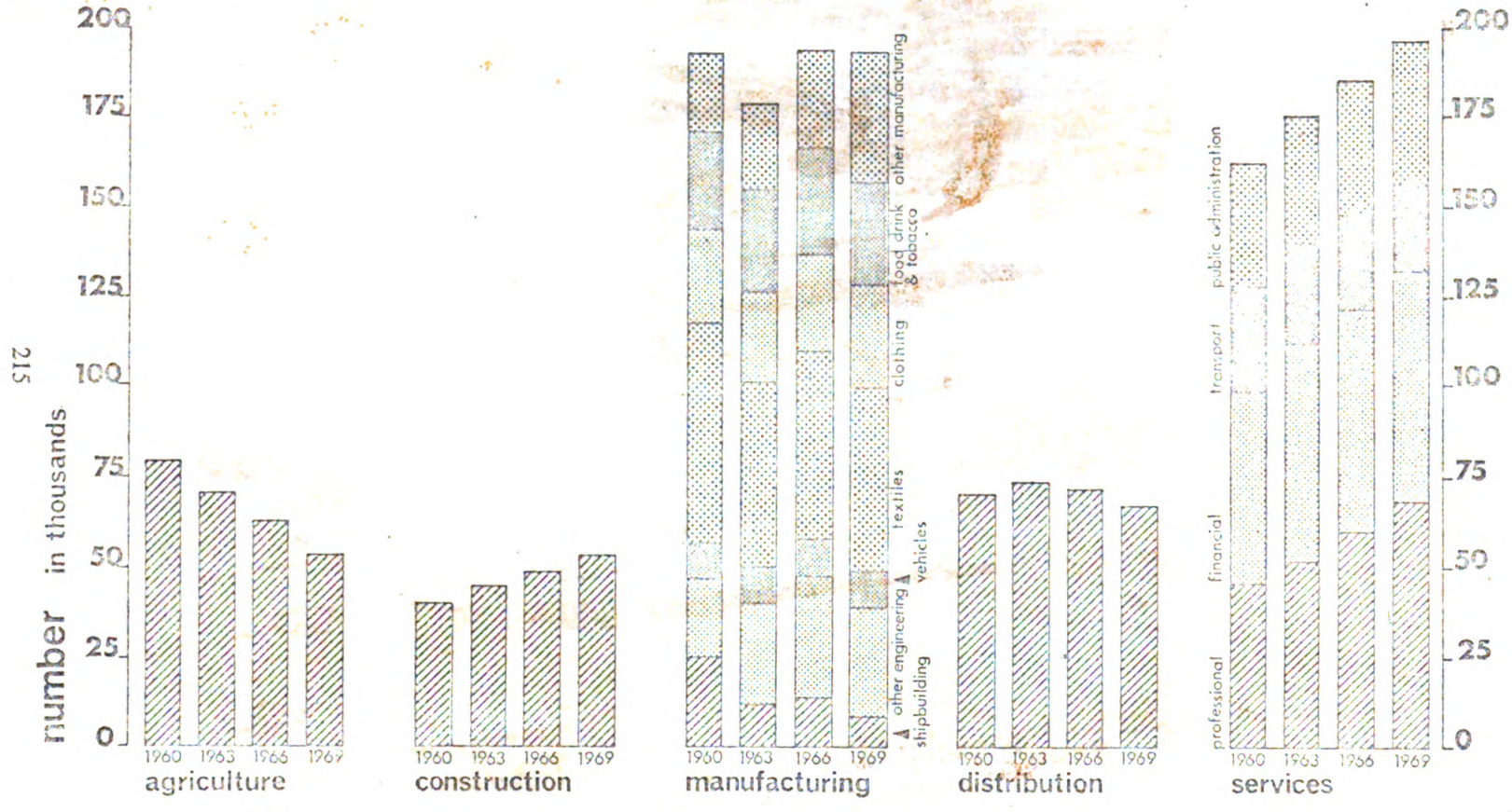
> Although Ulster is touted as the most industrialized area of Ireland, its industrialization is poised on a rapidly obsolescing capital base. Textiles, shipbuilding and machinery production suffer the same old-fashioned management and capital development problems that hamper much of British industry. But the human toll of this industrial fabric is even more depressing. Much of it exists in the context of a cheap, docile labor supply. If the worker is not hired or does not fit in, his option is clear: emigrate to Britain, Canada or the United States. If a Protestant doesn't like his job, to make him conform there is always the threat that he can be ousted in favor of a Catholic. The economic instability adds

PERCENTAGE OF MALES AND FEMALES REGISTERED AS UNEMPLOYED



APPENDIX II

NORTHERN IRELAND CIVIL EMPLOYMENT



> to the psychological insecurity. (Clark, 1970, p. 20)

The housing plans have been equally poorly designed, and Catholics are often discriminated against, even when it is obvious that they are in greater need. Those housing tracts that have been built, have been done in such a way as to benefit the gerrymandering practices of the Protestant Unionist regimes. The following example clearly demonstrates a case of unfair allotment of housing:

> The first opportunity to put one of these resolutions into effect came on 20 June when Austin Currie, a Nationalist MP at Stormont, along with two other men, took possession of a vacant house in the village of Caledon near Dungannon. The house had been allocated by the Dungannon Rural District Council to a 19 year old unmarried typist, who, it was revealed, was secretary to a well known Unionist politician in Armaugh. Currie described the case as a damning indictment of the Unionist system of house allocation. The girl had been given the house in anticipation of her marriage, later that year, yet many families in East Tyrone had been living in unsanitary and condemned buildings for years, while waiting for the Dungannon Rural District Council to provide them with houses.
>
> Durrie and his fellow squatters were supported by the entire Civil Rights movement, and 5,000 people, from many different parts of Northern Ireland, decided to carry the protest further by demonstrating in Dungannon on 24 August. "The people in this area," said Fr. Austin Eustace who addressed the organisers of the demonstration, "are no longer prepared to accept the role of second class citizens." (Boyd, 1969, p. 194)

To further complicate this vexing problem, I was told by any number of Catholics now residing in the Bogside district of Londonderry and the ghetto sectors of Belfast, that they would sooner die than move into the new high

rise apartment complexes which have been built in the last few years (see Figure 2 on following page). The major reason for this being that the family might have to live next door to a Protestant or Catholic depending on the situation. The apartment complexes are seen as a way of forcing integration of the religious groups. When asked if it would be necessary in the future to live side by side, most of those questioned, grudgingly admitted that due to the construction design, it probably would be required. All differences aside I found that Irishmen in general are very resistant to change and cling to the home that so many of their relatives were born in, lived in, and died in. They really do not seem to welcome a new and more efficient living arrangement. This mentality is critical to any system of reform which is so desperately needed in this violence rocked corner of Ireland. The old bigotries are one thing, but the old stubbornness is equally as devastating to improved social relations. Camille Bourniquel tells of the conditions to be found in an average Irish slum, such as are found particularly in Londonderry and Belfast:

> We cast an eye over the single room--usually large and clean; there is a heap of utensils and of matresses; coloured prints on the wall, portraits of the popes washed out by the steam from the boiler. Six, seven, or eight people live there. The men escape from it in the morning. All the women in the house have had the word, and go with us from one lodging to the next, full of explanations. Here the floor is breaking away; there the wall leaks. There

Figure 2. The aftermath of trouble in Belfast. This photograph was taken during the summer of 1970. It depicts the aftermath of trouble which saw so many people killed or hurt and the vast amount of property damage which occurred during the summer of 1969, in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Also seen in the background is the old ghetto housing on the left vs. the new state constructed high rise apartment built hopefully to house both Catholic and Protestant alike. (Author's Collection.)

> is a single tap, sometimes one lavatory for everyone, below in the courtyard. (I once counted forty people for a single house.) The landlord refuses to carry out repairs--the old story. One single advantage sometimes attracts those who could perhaps raise the money to live elsewhere--an absurdly small rent, a few shillings a week. (Bourniquel, 1960, p. 106)

I visited and ate meals with people who lived in exactly the same sort of dwellings as has been described by Bourniquel. It is always alarming to find the toilet facilities out in the courtyard!

Another fact which has ruptured the calm in Northern Ireland is The Special Powers Act, which has been utilized on several occasions including several periods since violence erupted during the summer of 1969. It is considered to be the most intolerable and repulsive of all laws in that it allows for the arrest and detention of any individual thought to be involved in acts against the state. The special powers act has provoked many otherwise law abiding citizens, into acts of civil disobedience. This act allows people to be arrested with no redress to any defense whatsoever. They may be held indefinitely in jail. They may see no attorney, and no charge is named. Habeas Corpus and a court of law are not given to the imprisoned. On top of this, there have been many cases of floggings reported. Relatives may not be seen during the un-named period of indenture. An inquest is strictly prohibited if the prisoner **should** happen to die while in jail.

> In 1922 the Unionist-dominated Parliament passed a bill which became the Special Powers Act. This Act gives the Minister of Home Affairs absolute power to arrest people on suspicion of endangering the State and to imprison them indefinitely without trial. It also empowers him to send police into the homes of the people without warrant, impound property, suspend Habeas Corpus and abolish inquests. (Boyd, 1969, p. 176)

In any case the Special Powers Act has caused a strange sort of polarization which has had the effect of pulling the common and moderate people of both faiths together. Only the very fanatical highly recommend the usage of the Act as a means for preserving control and an attempt to maintain the peace. It may maintain the peace, but it heats up the innards of anyone who respects the rights of free speech and free assembly, and the right to a fair trial in a reasonable amount of time. I do not recall talking to anyone who desired that the Act be used as a means of ending the violence.

All of the above are reasons given particularly by those who are enmeshed in the practice of violence as a means for achieving a political change. Everyone that I talked to, whether he was Protestant or Catholic seemed to basically agree that reform was needed but it is so slow in coming and so token at first, that violence was unable to be held at bay any longer.

Once the violence began, certain backlash feeling more greatly complicated an already impossible situation. It had seemed that improvements were being made and

people were granting concessions mentally they had not or would not grant before. With violence came a tightening of tolerance, and a return to strong feelings of defense through bigotry. In reference to unrest during 1971, it has been said:

> Perhaps the most discouraging feature of Ulster's bloody week was the fact that militants on both sides, who hold the whip hand, were growing in strength while moderates stood helplessly by. As Ivan Cooper, the only Protestant MP among the Ulster Parliament's Catholic opposition, says: "In this country, moderate is spelled c-o-w-a-r-d. We have too much religion and not enough Christianity." Ulster's problem is also that it has all too many extremists, sometimes spelled b-i-g-o-t-s. (Time, August 23, 1971, p. 21)

There is another issue which is of great importance to the people of Northern Ireland. Because Northern Ireland is a part of the British Empire, it also shares a system of welfare benefits styled after the benefits of England herself. The welfare dole as it is called is given to people who are out of work in the form of unemployment insurance. There are also benefits to be received in the form of medical and dental care which is taken care of by the State. This aid is given to all people and of course Catholics reap the Benefits as well as Protestants. If English rule is removed from Northern Ireland, these benefits will disappear. Many Catholics want one Ireland, but one Ireland would not provide the aid and assistance they are now receiving. On top of a loss of assistance those people living in the six counties

would have to content themselves with a lower real standard of living as is found in the twenty-six counties of Erie. This poses just one more conflict for Catholic and Protestant alike in Northern Ireland.

> About £56 million is now being spent annually on health and welfare services in the Province. In the current financial year, £34.6 million is to be spent on the provision of hospital services; £14 million on the general health services provided by general medical practitioners, general dental practitioners, chemists and opticians in contract with the General Health Services Board; and £3.4 million on the local health authority services. In addition, an estimated £4 million is to be spent in the provision of local authority welfare services. Within this total expenditure is included capital expenditure of about £5 million, of which £4.2 million relates to the hospital building programme. (Northern Ireland Govt. Report, 1970, p. 180)

> Additionally, Belfast receives subsidies from London amounting to as much as 160 million dollars annually. No such payments go to Dublin. This helps give Northern Ireland a higher standard of living than exists in the south. (U.S. News & World Report, October 26, 1970, p. 80)

It certainly can be said that partition in and of itself has never been accepted by the majority of the people living in Ireland, north and south, but then again, this majority is made up of Catholics. It seems that the people were shocked to win their independence from Great Britain back in 1921 when the partition was set up, but now after 50 years they have decided that they want the six counties to be included in that independence; if there were not 1,000,000 Protestants in Ulster that might be readily possible.

The typical Protestant thinking of today may be summed up as:

> The real problem has never been social or religious. Instead, this has been a deliberate attempt to destroy the state and to discredit the police and now our Parliament. The only way to end this is to reintroduce the rule of law and order. (Source unknown)

The Catholic viewpoint is somewhat different:

> Another view from a Catholic leader: Calls for Catholics to integrate have really been calls for them to act like Protestants. The reaction among the Catholics has been like that of the black power militants in America. (Source unknown)

A number of people with whom I talked liked modeling their problems after the racial difficulties in the United States, although I am not convinced that the model is accurate other than the fact that two parties with greatly differing ideologies are involved. The actual physical differences involved between the races in the American situation pose drastically different problems. It is unfortunate that spokesmen for the two sides of the issue are very vocal and often whip up trouble where none previously existed. Rev. Ian Paisley who actively campaigns for the Protestants from the doors of his church and Bernadette Devlin who won a seat at Westminster who speaks for the discriminated against Catholics in her role as an MP are examples of those who ignite already flammable emotions in Northern Ireland. This coupled with, as Dennis Clark has said: "Hatemongering, willful

discrimination and fear plague Northern Ireland; they are symptoms of a deep seated cultural malaise." (Clark, 1970, p. 15)

Because of past and present practices, the people are programmed for violence and it takes little to trigger it as the summers of 1969-1971 have proven. With unemployment running between 7-10 per cent, many idle hands are available to join the cause of civil rights, they have nothing more to lose, and possibly something to gain, from this involvement. Unfortunately, many people have made the ultimate sacrifice and laid down their lives for their cause(s).

The individual Protestant or Catholic sees his place somewhat differently in Ireland, when looked at from the point of expected behavior.

> The Presbyterian Ulsterman sees himself as the heir of signal qualities nurtured by Protestantism: hard work, cleanliness, rectitude and the cult of individual achievement. The Catholic is nurtured by his religious ruminations with a sense of deep antiquity of his place on the island, a sense of cultural inspiration and solidarity and a rakish confidence that has surmounted the most awful obstacles. Both religions in Ireland share a tedious conservatism, a puritanical morality and an ardent belief that the whole truth is theirs alone. Only in the light of these premises can one understand the anomaly of Irish religious strife in a world where religious influence has been steadily receding.
>
> But religion is only the beginning. Like the intricate interlacing of floral and animal figures in the great Irish illuminated manuscripts, the Irish situation is interwoven with a variety of fatally contrived elements. They entangle and diverge in a madly elusive pattern. The social structure of the north of Ireland illustrates the point. At the top

> are the Tory barons, heardly changed from the days of Georgian splendor. Some even retain their deer parks. The lord of Antrim is still literally that, a lord of a huge domain. There are also Tory industrialists. Below them is a dogged middle class, exceedingly conscious of propriety and virtue in the victorian sense. Under these is the hapless working class, Protestant and Catholic, toiling in shipyards, textile mills and on tiny farms, to the upper class the regrettable upsurge of nineteenth century democracy, which exploded in Ireland only in 1916 and created a Republic in 26 of the 32 counties, never happened. To the working class, nothing has happened since the religious fury of the 1690's. Poverty, unemployment and emigration are fears that trouble all segments, but they are not as important as the greater fears about democracy, religion and change. (Clark, 1970, p. 16)

Mr. Clark really feels the spirit of this long ongoing and seemingly insoluble conflict. As he has said, the people have and do refuse to forget events which occurred almost 300 years ago. It is extremely troubling to an observer such as myself, when one is not on one side or the other, although it does not take long before you find yourself sympathizing with portions of each stand in the struggle.

Anders Boserup has made an attempt to clarify the race prejudice theory as being a contributor to the violence and mistrust in Northern Ireland. This problem was commented upon in Chapter II.

> The race prejudice theory has been developed by the Marxists. It holds that racialism arose with Capitalism, is inseparable from it and was (and is) a device for creating a readily exploitable sub-human class. Further, by fostering divisions among the workers it also serves as a means of subordinating the major proletarian struggle to artificially intensified minor cultural conflicts. The prejudice of the victimized

> groups (against their oppressors or against other victimized groups) is held to be a secondary defensive or adaptative reaction. There is considerable supportive evidence for this theory if it is taken in a broad historical sense. (Boserup, 1970, p. 23)

I would take issue with Mr. Boserup as to referring in any way to this being a "minor cultural conflict;" this is the deepest and most severe of cultural conflicts and the Marxist analysis is not taking account of the racial bigotry which had been mentioned to me on several occasions, but which as well goes without substantial proof, unless one wants to totally adhere to the Marxist analysis.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSING IRISH VIOLENCE

I would like to devote this chapter to the overt actions which I observed and others that have been brought to attention through the news media. Certain areas within Northern Ireland, particularly the larger cities, have borne the largest share of the violence. The large and industrial city of Belfast and Londonderry, Northern Ireland's second largest city have been the scene of most destruction and violent aggression against other citizens of the northernmost section of the island of Ireland. Ireland had not seen civil strife of such magnitude until the summer of 1969, fifty years after the partitioning of Ireland into the 26 Counties of the Republic and the 6 Counties of Ulster. Many of the smaller cities have been involved in the conflict; however, the media does not seem to mention incidents which occur in these areas, although it is granted that incidents in the small villages and hamlets are lessor in scope and are usually contained before good news coverage can be made. There have been a number of civil rights marches from Belfast to Londonderry and often confrontations have occurred

along the way, usually when the march was midway between the two larger cities. Often the violence was promulgated by the Royal Ulster B Specials, a group formed in Northern Ireland after partition and made up of Protestants dedicated to keeping the order and order that would advance the causes of the ruling Unionist Party, the Protestants in general, and the industrialists almost all Protestant, who are all important to the economic strength of this British held corner of Ireland. The B Specials had their beginning early in the 1920's and were prominent in handling disputes in Northern Ireland until their disbanding after the very violent summer of 1969.

> The USC had its birth in the fiery days of the early 1920's when murder, arson, and pillage were commonplace, particularly in the south and midlands of Ireland.
>
> A number of prominent citizens in Fermanaugh decided to band themselves together and to form a force of loyalists to defend their homes and their Province against invasion by armed bands of irregulars, unruly mobs with guns and bombs who were plundering homes and shops, often shooting their inhabitants in cold blood. (Dane, 1970, p. 3)

As has been said, this group was made up of Protestants and that remained the fact throughout the history of the organization. Prior to the full emergence of the Irish Republic to the south, this police force seemed a non-necessity even though the Irish Republican Army was operating underground.

However, long after the partitioning of Ireland into its two respective halves, and when discrimination against Catholics was being brought to attention as the civil rights movement gained momentum in the late 1960's, the B Specials were still operating. They, in fact, operated ruthlessly when the Catholic-Protestant rift raised its ugly head once again. I was told by people belonging to both groups and people on both sides of the issues, of unnecessary batonings of people who would not succumb to the demands of the B Specials. I think this noteworthy in fact because a number of these people were Protestants talking about other Protestants. Although it is difficult to determine exacting degrees of political affiliation, it is my opinion that these people I was talking to were so common or at least in non-power positions that to rant on to an American observer would serve no-one's end purpose. These people simply seemed sensitive if that is what it takes to be alien to unmerciful beatings by one person or group of persons against any other or others. These overreactionary groups have led to much of the discontent evident in Northern Ireland today. Examples of overreaction and outright hatred are not difficult to uncover.

> Typical of the crimes committed by the Specials was the double murder of the unarmed Magill brothers at Corrogs, near Newry in County Down, on 8 June 1921. Specials entered the house (wrote Dorothy Macardle in the Irish Republic), kicked and beat the

> old man who owned it, threatened his daughter, killed his son Stephen and wounded his second son Owen. After two hours they returned, took the second son out and left him in a hospital, dying or dead.
>
> Between 10 and 15 June the Specials in Belfast killed six Catholic men, of whom one was actually beaten to death. The "uniformed men" who murdered five members of the McMahon family in Belfast, on 23 March, 1922, were never identified but there is little doubt that they, too, were members of the Special Constabulary. (Boyd, 1969, p. 177)

A more recent example of the unforgiving attitude of the B Specials took place in 1969, and was critical in forming the tide of discontent in the struggle in Northern Ireland today. Much discussion has centered around the incident to be mentioned, and it is thought that this could have been the straw that broke the camel's back, if any one such incident can be accrued to be of special significance in this long and heated struggle.

> At the beginning of 1969 members of an organization known as the Loyal Citizens of Ulster savagely attacked a march of the Peoples Democracy at Burntollet Bridge, near Derry. The People's Democracy had set out to walk from Belfast to Derry but were obstructed by these loyal citizens at many places along the route. It was revealed later that members of the B Special Constabulary had joined the loyal citizens and taken part in the violence at Burntollet. (Boyd, 1969, p. 197)

Shortly after this incident, the Specials were dissolved much after the urgings of the moderate Unionist (Protestant) members at Stormont. Since then the British Armed Forces have been called in to control or to attempt to restore some semblance of peace to this beleaguered State.

There was only one period after 1935 when all outward indicators seemed to promise an end to the dispute.

> Belfast returned to an uneasy peace when the riots of 1935 subsided. The second world war, the creation of the Welfare State during the years of post-war reconstruction, and the spread of new industries all encouraged something that seemed to resemble communal harmony and civilization. But beneath the surface old antagonisms still survived. They were to be brought into the open again, in 1964, with the rise of a new wave of militant Protestantism under the leadership of Ian K. Paisley, Moderator of the self-styled Free Presbyterians, and with the growth of a movement demanding full civil rights for all citizens of Northern Ireland, Protestants as well as Catholics. (Boyd, 1969, p. 178)

As easily as Ian Paisley flowed forth with his brand of Protestant militant extremism, so flowed his counterpart in the Catholic extremism, Miss Bernadette Devlin. Although the latter is far more political in that she is an elected Member of Parliament at Westminster and also interested in substituting new government forms in Northern Ireland which she wishes to call socialism, as well as bringing reunification of the two parts of Ireland. Rev. Paisley seems to be content with simply shoring up the old forms of Protestant control. I would question Miss Devlin MP in her avid desire to institute socialism into Northern Ireland, when it is commonly recognized that Northern Ireland shares the common ingredients to the welfare oriented and socialistic form of government found in England itself. Her desires are not made perfectly clear and one must surmise her as

visualizing a different end other than simple reunification and institution of a full welfare state when that end has been practically accomplished now. This would indicate her as being a radical and firebrand possibly as harmful as the very unmoderate Rev. Paisley. So far the moderates of either cause have suffered terribly at the expense of finding the radical spokesmen easily whipping up large portions of the citizenry and causing them to take very strong and not very carefully considered positions on the delicate issues.

Another party to the violence and aggression has been the outlawed Irish Republican Army. It is outlawed in the North as well as the South and has been operating for many years underground. It is interesting to note that the organization seems to win some kind of tacit approval in the Republic even though Prime Minister Jack Lynch speaks against it in his public pronouncements.

Some clarification is needed to understand the IRA and the way it is looked upon by many people.

> It is well to emphasize here that the Irish Republican Army is not, and never has been, what is termed a 'Secret Society.' Its existence constitution and policy are openly declared. Secrecy as to its activities is only maintained to safeguard it from attack. The policy of the Irish Republican Army is published and proclaimed in writing and speech as openly as circumstances permit.
>
> The justification of having an army at all reads:
>
> Until the Republic of Ireland is freed from foreign aggression and can function freely, the necessity for the Irish Republican Army will continue. Only to a

> Government of the Republic can the Army give allegiance. Should the time arrive when its services will be no longer necessary to defend the nation's sovereignty, it will disband. (Coogan, 1970, p. 235)

Tim Pat Coogan makes it quite clear to us as to why the I.R.A. was instituted in the first place:

> To understand it is necessary to turn to Irish history and to look particularly at the Irish Home Rule Movement, the formation of the Ulster Volunteers and the 1916 Rebellion. As taught in the South, Irish history has tended to portray Irish revolutionary movements as occuring in cycles which always ended in disaster until the triumphant self-immolation of the 1916 leaders, whose sacrifice and courageous example put new heart into the Irish people, and gave rise to an independence movement from which came liberation and prosperity. This over-simplified view is true to a certain extent in so far as liberation goes, but it overlooks the central fact that in 1916 Rebellion by the Irish Volunteers was in fact an armed gesture by a body which came into being only in reply to an earlier gesture by the Protestants of Northern Ireland--the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force to frustrate the British Liberal government's plans to introduce Home Rule to all Ireland. Had the Protestants of the North not acted thus Home Rule would have been passed, and it is difficult to see what force would have existed to stage the 1916 Rebellion. It seems certain, however that there would have been no Irish Republican Army; no I.R.A. (Coogan, 1970, p. 2)

It has been again necessary to invoke some historical implications in order to show why this organization came into being and to further indicate what meaning it has today in the unresolved conflict in Northern Ireland. The I.R.A. is currently stepping up its program of encouraging civil disobedience in Northern Ireland and unfortunately, it will not relinquish a hold on the concept of one Ireland, indicating that the future looks dim

indeed; viewed in light of the opposing entrenched forces of Protestant control and majority in the 6 Counties.

So far we have covered the B Specials, Rev. Ian Paisley, Miss Bernadette Devlin, and the Irish Republican Army and noted they are all parties to some of the disagreeable attitudes and happenings in Northern Ireland today and in the past. There are some other forces that also are locked in the dispute although their existence can not be viewed in as clandestine a way, in that they are given credence in a much more bi-partisan fashion. The other parties are the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Royal British Army which is now on hand with 12,500 troops in order that at least an uneasy peace can be kept. The R.U.C. is a police force with no special configuration in considering the Catholic and Protestant religious positions. It has both Protestants and Catholics on the force, although the larger numbers are recruited from the ranks of the protestants.

> The Royal Ulster Constabulary was of course open to Catholics, but Catholics never showed much enthusiasm for it. Though one-third of the force was expected to be Catholic at its inception only about 12 percent ever became so, and if one looks at the careers of some I.R.A. men one can understand why. (Coogan, 1970, p. 165)

Allegations have been drawn against the R.U.C. but never have they been as vehement as those brought against the B Specials. Its activities always were much less

political and more inclined toward simply acting as a police department in settling the disputes involved in and around civil crimes, such as car theft and other felonys and misdemeanors.

The next group to be involved in the strife are the soldiers of the British Army (see Figures 3 and 4 on following pages). They at first were welcomed when they arrived in 1969 by most citizens of Northern Ireland whether they be Catholic or Protestant. They were seen as a very temporary force to bring quick order and then depart for England almost as rapidly as they came when wide scale violence broke out. Once again, unfortunately it was not long before the barbs were being aimed at the Army and they were seen as the terrible forces of imperialism by the Catholic minority. The violence took a nasty turn as the frustrations and aggression began to be aimed directly at them rather as if the old issues of Catholic and Protestant differences had at once been solved and now there was a new enemy to be combatted. The I.R.A. had no small part in whipping up sentiment against the Army for they certainly represent the devil to them and are a major roadblock to a one Ireland. This issue is a long way from resolution and Dublin and London must get together to decide this dispute.

Until now the individuals that belong to various religious groups have not been mentioned but they form

Figure 3. British soldiers on patrol. A large contingent of British soldiers are usually on patrol, in the waterfront district of Londonderry, Northern Ireland. In this case they are looking for roving bands of boys normally aged fifteen to seventeen years who often upset the normal loading and unloading of the ships in the Londonderry harbor. (Author's Collection)

Figure 4. British soldiers in Belfast. A British soldier standing guard in the Falls Road area of Belfast, Northern Ireland, during the summer of 1970. (The author was stopped and queried about the purpose of this photograph. The taking of photographs is technically forbidden unless previous permission has been granted by The Armed Forces of Great Britain. I was given permission to retain this film.) (Author's Collection)

the heart of the grass roots groups that foment disturbing and agitating action upon an already inflammatory situation.

> A venomous drinking toast dating back to the early days of the Protestant Orange Order illustrates how savage feelings were:
> To the glorious, pious and immortal memory of King William the Third, who saved us from Rogues and Roguery, Slaves and Slavery, Knaves and Knavery, Popes and Popery, from brass money and wooden shoes; and whoever denies this toast may be slammed, crammed and jammed into the muzzle of the gun of Athlone and the gun fired into the Pope's belly, and the Pope into the Devil's belly, and the Devil into Hell, and the door locked and the key in an Orangeman's pocket; and may we never lack a brisk Protestant boy to kick the arse of a Papist. (Time, August 23, 1971, p. 20)

These ideas are learned by the little children from the time they learn to talk, and Catholics have similar little dittys about their Protestant brethren.

Every one belongs to some special interest group and no one seems to belong to any group with its founding principles being tolerance and a sense of forgiveness. Conceptually, the only way for change to come about in the Irish conflict, would involve a more forward looking socialization of the young by forgetting a bit of the history and to stop invoking passe slogans which only serve to incite more violence and unhappiness for the people in all Ireland. More suggestions will be made later in the paper but this chapter serves to introduce us to the groups and organizations, both formal and informal who pary in the conflict.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Hugh Sykes in an interview asked Dr. Conor C. O'Brien:

> Is there no alternative other than violence for getting anything done in Northern Ireland? Dr. O'Brien's reply was:
>
> We had long years of entirely non-violent agitation, which were entirely fruitless; it was followed in October 1968 by a period of very strictly non-violent, but militant demonstrations. This in turn, was followed by considerable violence in support of the status quo, which led to what was essentially self-defence on the part of the civil right sympathisers. This chain of events, however it is interpreted, led to changes designed to end the second class citizen set-up, just as non-violence, but determined political agitation in the south, evoked overt violence from a state of latent violence. Whenever one set of human beings is oppressed by another, there's a state of latent violence; some of the violence will boil over, and I think that this is true universally. (O'Brien, 1970, p. 3)

These comments give us a good idea of some of the behavioral implications surrounding the violent activities in Northern Ireland. It painfully became evident to me that there really is no one single solution that could be agreed upon by all of the people living in Ireland, both north and south. If there is to be a solution--and a solution there must be if the situation is to avoid being turned into a full scale civil war--then that solution

will not be singular in nature, but rather a combination of the several plans which have been offered so far. I plan to present the alternatives which have been planned and suggested as well as to offer my own suggestions based on the information I have and on what I have seen as I traveled about in Ireland.

Britain has taken a stance that would indicate that she does not intend to let Northern Ireland become a part of the Republic and abandon the Protestant majority in the north, although it would be much more expedient and vastly less costly if she were to do so. Millions of pounds are pumped into Ulster each year in an attempt to keep it viable and a part of Great Britain. Some writers have suggested Britain would like to abandon this cause but is caught in a web of ironic arguments which make it impossible to let Ulster go. Westminster, Dublin, Stormont, the Catholics, and the Protestants, along with world opinion have all gone together to force a perpetuation of an unhealed wound.

> If the initiative in ending Partition belongs in England, as Jackson argued, then the initiative in guaranteeing democratic conditions of development for Irish territory held within the United Kingdom also properly belongs in England. The fault lies in a bad Constitution. If this does not provide democratic conditions it must be amended so as to do so. But amendment is acceptable only because of the impracticability for the moment of abolishing it in favour of a united Ireland. Any amendment that is acceptable must therefore move in the direction of a united Republic, by providing the facilities necessary

> for the struggle for this objective. A satisfactory temporary expedient would be the passing of a "Bill of Rights" at Westminster writing into the constitution of Northern Ireland (so-called) the guarantee of civil rights not inferior to those enjoyed in England, but recognising the right to leave the United Kingdom and amalgamate with the rest of Ireland. That right is not at present admitted. The proposal with which Mr. Enoch Powell and some Labour men who should know better have flirted, namely the administrative fusion of the Six counties with England, is totally reteogressive. For the only permanent solution of the Irish question is the relinquishment by English Government of all claim to sovereignty in any part of Ireland. If hitherto existing Governments have failed in this duty, a Government of the working class may yet do elementary justice to the interests of a closely neighbouring people. (Jackson, 1970, pp. 483-484)

Other suggestions will be presented but this sort of suggestion seems the most tenable to me. It is a hard and fast realization, but all Ireland has suffered and prospered when that occurred, together, they can not remain apart. The majority of the people are Catholics in all of Ireland, and they must find it in their hearts to reach out and make possible the easiest sort of assimilation of the 1,000,000 or so Protestants who must be allowed to represent their interests in proportion to their numbers, no more, no less; in what would be one government with its seat in Dublin. The Protestants are afraid of a bloodbath if allowed to become a part of the Irish Republic. I highly doubt this because there are several thousand Protestants living in the south already and they live side by side, and work side by side with Catholics in harmony. No, I think it is the fanatical arm

of Ian Paisley and the like that are promulgating a thesis unfounded in fact. Too much bigotry, stubbornness, selfishness, unfounded pride and irrational logic are superimposed over a distasteful history of bloodshed and mistakes, and not to adamantly refuse to allow a period of tolerance and understanding to unfold. It is time to recognize Christian brotherhood as a substitute for the hysterical religious dogma being pursued by both Protestant and Catholic alike in Ireland. If the leaders and common man alike are truly representatives of their respective churches, they should be ashamed of past behavior and be willing to rush headlong into a new period of understanding and a feeling of really desiring to work together for the common good. I shall call this proposal number I.

Another proposal might suggest building a working model of love between the peoples of Ireland, but this seems rather self defeating from the onset, as history has never given us an example of this. If combined, however, with some other pragmatic principles such as those outlined in proposal number one, some good might come of it. This is proposal number II.

Another proposal might incorporate a system of changes within the existing system. This has been widely discussed, but because the deliberation goes on so long, it seems that a new wave of violence rides over the cities of Northern Ireland before anything new is able to be

tried. Then the backlash sets in and the entire deliberative process must be totally repeated. The Stormont Government simply does not move quickly enough to alleviate the numbers of setbacks it seems to suffer. I will call this proposal number III.

Another alternative might be to mix the people more randomly in terms of religious mix: i.e., to get the people to move from their non-integrated housing tracts, move across the mentally and arbitrarily designed dividing lines, and work together in the shipyards and textile mills. Granted there would have to be give and take unlike any that has gone before, as there always must be when there is a negotiated settlement. Unfortunately, this has been what the litigants absolutely would not accept previously and as a matter of fact are resolutely refusing to do to this day in the new government constructed apartment complexes. For this concept to bear fruit, a necessary premise would have to suppose that this plan be integrated with some of the other ideas which have been offered. This is Proposal number IV.

Reform has not come because neither side is willing to accept it as a plan to alleviate the differences that exist. Some of the irony can be seen as the photographs indicate on pages 52-54. The people have chosen to live with this wall dividing them and then are upset when they find that no constructive communication or new

Figure 5. The old city wall in Londonderry. Since the violence which flared up in 1969, many areas of Northern Ireland have been temporarily strung with barbed wire in order to control large crowds who often take to the streets to protest their cause. This photograph is taken looking through the old city wall surrounding the Catholic "Bogside" area of Londonderry, Northern Ireland. (Author's Collection)

Please see the tables in the Appendix to understand the relative size of the two parts of partitioned Ireland, as well as to see where the "Bogside" is located on a city map. Much of the strife has taken place in and around this small but important area of Londonderry.

Figure 6. The "Bogside" in Londonderry. To the right within the old city wall lies the Catholic "Bogside" in Londonderry, Northern Ireland. Also seen in this photograph is the monument to the Rev. George Walker, a Protestant who aided in defending the city in August of 1688. In the battle, King James II, a Roman Catholic, was driven from control of this area by William of Orange, a Protestant. (Author's Collection)

Figure 7. Soldiers on guard. British soldiers at the old city wall in Londonderry, Northern Ireland. Within the walled area lies the Catholic district known as the "Bogside" because it was erected on a peat bog. (Author's Collection)

working alternatives can be found as the people attempt to share in the good this beautiful little island could offer.

Reform plans have been offered, and housing tracts have been built, and the people still want to remain where they are, possibly because they feel safer where they are. This obviously is a false feeling of safety. It seems as if all the people want to do is restore law and order and then sit back and gloat in their strange and prideful bigotry. This bigotry stuns advancement; Boserup and Wallace offer some comments concerning the future and possible new initiatives:

> Whether or not the day will come when international, and particularly British, opinion will be ripe for accepting a temporary regime based on physical force is impossible to tell, but it should be clear that there can be no simple peaceful settlement under the present conditions; for if there appeared to be, if the Catholics appeared to have accepted their inferior position, the Protestants would have to reactivate the conflict in order to maintain their unity. Such is according to this analysis, the delicate balance upon which the social structure of Northern Ireland is based. (Boserup, 1970, p. 31)

> Northern Ireland sorely needs a new initiative, one generated from within its own people. British intervention has been necessary, to restore peace and to institute a move towards a just society, but imposed policies can only go part of the way towards solving Northern Ireland's problems. It is doubtful if a final solution can be found within the present political framework--that is, the framework of party politics as now practiced in Northern Ireland, and the framework of present relations between Northern Ireland, Great Britain, and the Republic. One advance would be to hold tripartite talks in which the governments in Belfast, Dublin, and London could define the points on which they agreed or disagreed. It is apparent

> that, in practice, all three governments accept that Ireland will not be united without the consent of a majority of people in Northern Ireland, whether expressed through Stormont or through a referendum. It might be possible to agree on a formula governing the north's constitutional position, and possibly on an amendment of the Ireland act to give the choice to people rather than Parliament. But within Northern Ireland, there is need for stronger political expression of the will for change. The initiative will never come from the present Unionist Party, which still keeps the Orange card up its sleeve. (Wallace, 1970, p. 144)

The thoughts expressed above are quite reasonable and I have heard these ideas repeated by other authors and some people I talked to suggested similar plans. The ingredients are there for whatever recipe the Irish want to cook up. They can take or be taken, not from an outside force necessarily, but by and of themselves. King George V of England said as he addressed the new members of the Ulster government 50 years ago:

> I appeal to all Irishmen to pause, to stretch out the hand of forbearance and conciliation, to forgive and forget, and to join in taking for the land which they love a new era of peace, contentment and goodwill. (Riddell, 1970, p. 206)

But, I offer sadly, will the Irish ever forget?

* * * * * * * *

> In Belfast they tell of a football game that took place between the Protestants and Catholics. An Englishman attended the game and each time a skillful play on either side was made, he would applaud vigorously. An Irishman sitting behind him could stand it no longer and finally, with a firm tap on the Englishman's shoulder, glared at him and said, "My God, man, have you no religion at all?" (source unknown)

APPENDIX

NORTHERN IRELAND

Area: 5,451 square miles, a little larger than Connecticut.

Population: 1,491,000 – two thirds are Protestants, though Roman Catholics predominate around Londonderry.

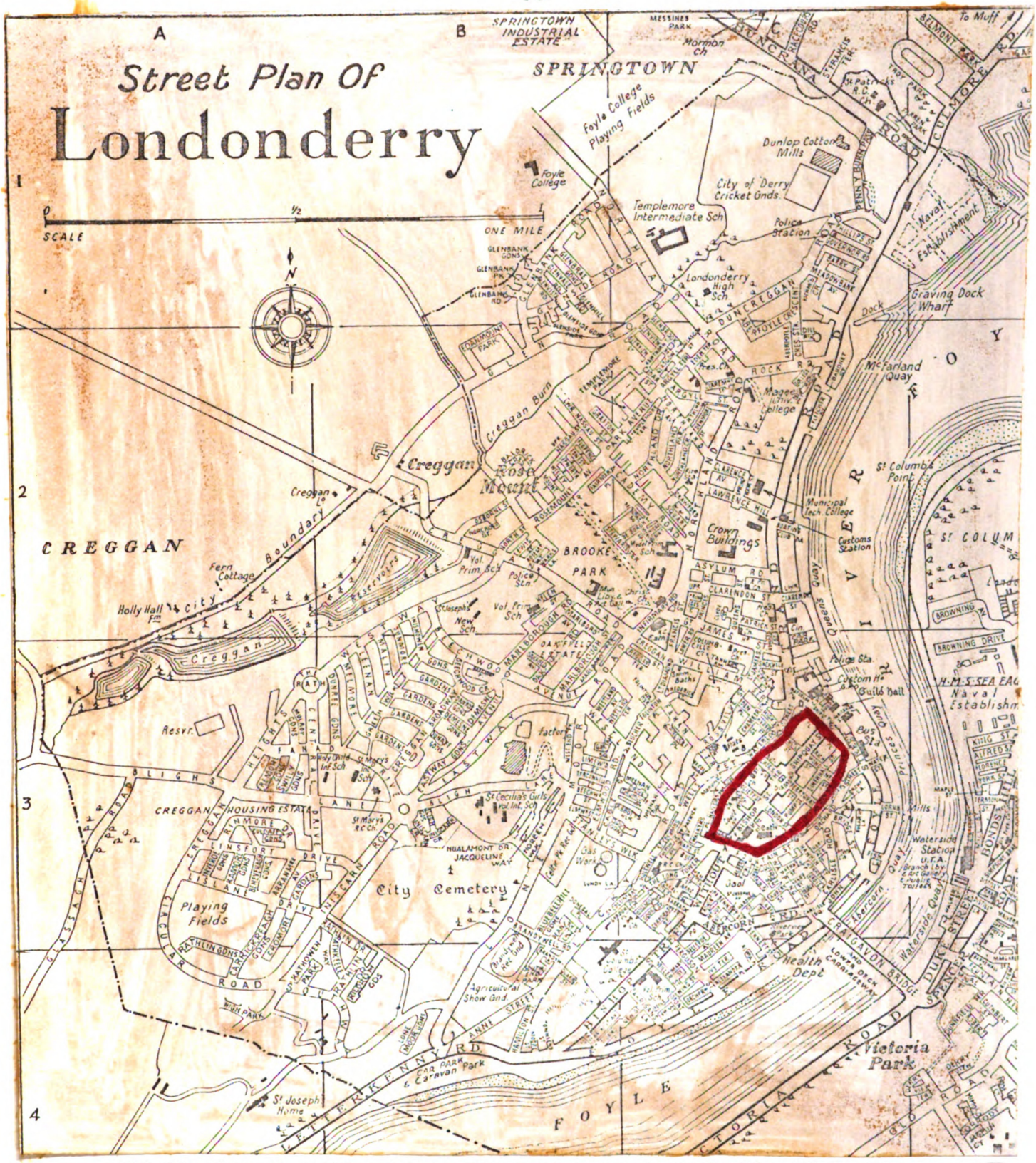
Economy: Tied closely to Britain. Manufacturing is growing. Shipbuilding, centered around Belfast, is the leading industry, linen making second. Livestock grazing and farming – grains and potatoes – are also major occupations.

REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

Area: 27,136 square miles, about the size of West Virginia.

Population: 2,910,000 – 94 per cent Roman Catholics.

Economy: Still heavily agricultural, but industry is spreading. More than one third of the people work on farms. Mining has been booming since discovery of lead, zinc, silver deposits in mid-1960s. Construction, brewing, food processing, electrical machinery, textiles are major industries.



*Indicates Bogside Area--Site of Recent Catholic Disorder--also the site of the Battle of Londonderry (Boyne) in 1689.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Arensberg and Niehoff. Introducing Social Change. Chicago: Aldine, 1964.

Arensberg, Conrad M. Family and Community in Ireland. Harvard Press, 1940.

Arensberg, Conrad M. Irish Countryman. New York: Peter Smith, 1950.

Beckett, J. C. The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923. London: Faber and Faber, 1969.

_____. A Short History of Ireland. London: Hutchinson University Library, 1952.

Bestic, Alan. The Importance of Being Irish. London: Cassell, 1969.

Boserup, Anders. "The politics of protracted conflict." Transaction. March, 1970.

Boyd, Andrew. Holy War in Belfast. Tralee, County Kerry: Anvil Books Ltd., 1969.

Chauvire, Roger. A Short History of Ireland. New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1956.

Clark, Dennis. "Religion and politics in Northern Ireland." Transaction. March, 1970.

Coogan, Tim Pat. The I.R.A. London: The Pall Mall Press, 1970.

Costigan, Giovanni. A History of Modern Ireland. New York: Pegasus, 1970.

Dane, Mervyn. The Fermanaugh "B" Specials. Reprinted from The Impartial Reporter, 1970.

Derry Journal. Articles on the riots, (18 August, 1970), pp. 5-6.

Devlin, Bernadette. The Price of My Soul. New York: Knopf, 1969.

Edwards, Owen Dudley. The Sins of Our Fathers, Roots of Conflict in Northern Ireland. Dublin: Gill and McMillan, 1970.

Egan, Bowes and McCormack, Vincent. Burntollet. LRS Publishers, 1969.

Everyman. Articles on the North (several authors), Number Three, 1970.

Fitzgibbon, Constantine. Out of the Lion's Paw. London: Purnell and Sons, Ltd., 1969.

Free Citizen. Newspaper of the People's Democracy. August 7, 1970.

Gray, Tony. The Irish Answer--An Anatomy of Ireland. London: Heinemann, 1966.

Hurst, Michael. Parnell and Irish Nationalism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.

Irish Independent. August 12, 1970, p. 11.

The Irish Times. August 13, 1970, p. 1.

"Irish vs. Irish--Why They Keep Fighting," U.S. News & World Report. October 26, 1970.

Jackson, T. A. Ireland Her Own--An Outline History of the Irish Struggle. New York: International Publishers, 1970.

Lamont, Lansing. "Northern Ireland: The Children's War." Time. February 22, 1971.

_____. "Ulster's Unending Feud" and "Two Sides of a Troubled Belfast Street." Time. July 20, 1970.

Liam de, Paor. Divided Ulster. Middlesex: Penguin, 1970.

Lucey, Charles. Ireland and the Irish. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970.

Lyons, Ha A. "Psychiatric Sequelae of the Belfast Riots." Reprinted from The British Journal of Psychiatry. 118:544, March, 1971.

Martin, F. X.; Moody, T. W. The Course of Irish History. Cork: Mercier Press, 1967.

McCaffrey, Lawrence J. The Irish Question 1800/1922. University of Kentucky Press, 1968.

Northern Ireland--A Government Report from Belfast, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Development Programme, 1970-1975.

Northern Ireland--A Government Report--Review Body on Local Government in Northern Ireland 1970, From Belfast, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

"Northern Ireland: Violent Jubilee." Time, August 23, 1971.

O'Brien, Conor Cruise. Ireland. New York: McGraw Hill, 1969.

O'Neill, Terence. Ulster at the Crossroads. London: Faber and Faber, 1969.

Political Quarterly. (C. E. B. Brett). The Lessons of Devolution in Northern Ireland. 41:3, July-September, 1970.

"Religion: The Great Divide." The Economist, July 11, 1970, 17.

Riddell, Patrick. Fire Over Ulster. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1970.

Rose, Harold. Your Guide to Ireland. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1968.

Simms, J. G. The Siege of Derry. Dublin: APCK, 1966.

"Ulster: Back to the Brink." The Economist. June 20, 1970, 20.

"Ulster: One Peaceful Day Does Not Make a Peace." The Economist. July 18, 1970, 19-20.

"Ulster: The Troops Stand by for the Inglorious Twelfth." The Economist. July 11, 1970, 15-17.

Waddell, Martin. A Little Bit British. London: Tom Stacey, Ltd., 1970.

Wallace, Martin. Drums and Guns--Revolution in Ulster. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1970.

"Who Cares about Ulster?" The Economist. July 4, 1970, 17-18.

Wilde, James. The Knights in the Shebeen and Northern Ireland: The Powder Keg. April 5, 1971.

Younger, Calton. Ireland's Civil War. London: Fontana, 1970.

Other Sources of Information:

1. Maps of the various towns and counties of Northern Ireland

2. My own notes and observations as well as discussions with the people of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (summer 1970 and the Christmas Holidays 1970-1971).

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES
31293101923567