

Politics in the Streets

The origins of the
civil rights movement
in Northern Ireland

by
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NOTES

Where the title of a book, article or pamphlet is not given fully, the complete reference will be found in the bibliography. In some cases collections of papers in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland had not been fully catalogued when I consulted them and it has not been possible, therefore, to give a fuller reference than the general accession number.

ABBREVIATIONS

HC Deb.	Westminster House of Commons <i>Debates</i> (Hansard)
NIHCD	Northern Ireland House of Commons <i>Debates</i>
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
UCD	University College Dublin Archives Department

CHAPTER I

- 1 *Belfast Telegraph*, 31 October 1962
- 2 For this debate see NIHC 52: 702-16, 30 October 1962
- 3 See Bew, Gibbon and Patterson, 1979, pp. 63-128, for a discussion of Unionist 'populism'.
- 4 *Irish Weekly*, 17 February 1962
- 5 *Ibid.*, 29 May 1965
- 6 O'Neill, 1969, p. 42
- 7 *Irish Weekly*, 5 September 1964
- 8 Rea, 1966, pp. 7-8
- 9 Bailie, 1964, p. 15
- 10 McCafferty, Niall, 1966, p. 30
- 11 Bleakley, 1964, p. 104
- 12 Boulton, 1973, p. 53
- 13 Smethwick was a parliamentary constituency in the English Midlands made (in)famous by the victory of the Conservative candidate in the 1964 general election, after what was widely interpreted as a racialist campaign.
- 14 However, members of the UVF may have been partly the victims of political manipulation. Many years later, UVF leader Gusto Spence told a journalist of how 'frightening' had been reports of an IRA plot in 1966. This referred to a ludicrous scare story of the time about a planned 1916-style takeover of the main Belfast post office, combined with infiltration by republicans of, among other bodies, the Protestant churches, the Salvation Army and the Freemasons. The reports seem to have been a highly coloured interpretation of the rather more modest plans which the republicans did have, and which will be outlined in Chapter 3. Since the Ministry of Home Affairs had copies of the relevant documents, suspicion about the source of the reports must fall on it; see Belfrage, 1988, p. 265, for Spence's statement.
- 15 Nelson, 1984, p. 72
- 16 PRONI D 3342/N/3
- 17 The Matthew Plan, or the *Belfast Regional Survey and Plan* of 1963 was drawn up for the

Brookeborough government by Professor Sir Robert Matthew of the University of Edinburgh. It established a 'stop-line' to limit the growth of Belfast and introduced the first comprehensive urban planning seen in Northern Ireland. The Wilson Plan was commissioned by the O'Neill government and was published in 1965. Drawn up by Thomas Wilson, a distinguished economist of Northern Ireland origins, and Adam Smith, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Glasgow, it introduced regional planning and was designed to encourage growth outside the Belfast area, including the new university and the new town of Craigavon.

- 18 The Larne gun-running took place in February 1914, when Major Fred Crawford, aboard the *Clyde Valley*, landed 35,000 Mauser rifles and 2,500,000 rounds of ammunition obtained from Germany to arm the UVF to resist Home Rule for Ireland. The incident holds a place in Unionist and loyalist mythology somewhat parallel to that which the landing of guns for the Irish Volunteers by Erskine Childers in July 1914 has for nationalists.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 For a discussion of the APL, see Purdie, 1986.
- 2 See Purdie, 1983
- 3 *Irish Weekly*, 28 April 1962
- 4 Thayer, 1965, p. 204
- 5 Ó hÁgáin et al., 1975, p. 3
- 6 Bell, 1970, p. 341
- 7 Rooney, 1984, p. 80
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 81
- 9 Not to be confused with the *An Phoblacht* published by

Provisional Sinn Féin after the republican split in 1970.

- 10 McAllister, 1977, pp. 13-15
- 11 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 14
- 12 See Thayer, 1965, pp. 215-16
- 13 Quoted in White, 1984, pp. 43-4
- 14 Johnson, 1964, p. 3
- 15 O'Brien, 1972, p. 141
- 16 McAllister, 1975, p. 358
- 17 Duffy, 'Cross Roads'. *New Nation*, July 1964, p. 11
- 18 Duffy, 'A Reviving Proposal . . . Should the Northern Ireland Parliament Have More Powers?', *New Ireland*, March 1963
- 19 Thayer, 1965, p. 216
- 20 White, 1984, pp. 53 and 56
- 21 McKeown, Ciaran, 1984, p. 24
- 22 *Ibid.*, p. 29
- 23 *Irish Weekly*, 12 August 1967
- 24 McKeown, Ciaran, 1984, pp. 30-1
- 25 *Irish Weekly*, 4 March 1967
- 26 Harkness, 1983, p. 185
- 27 See Elliott, 1973, pp. 93-4
- 28 Brett, 1963, p. 19
- 29 Nelson, 1984, pp. 46-7
- 30 Long, 1963, p. 19
- 31 The Mater Hospital was a Catholic voluntary hospital on Belfast's Crumlin Road which received no financial assistance from the Government.
- 32 Brett, 1978, p. 62
- 33 PRONI D 3026/1
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 *Ibid.*
- 36 Wright, 1973, p. 267
- 37 *Ibid.*, p. 268
- 38 Brett, 1978, p. 131
- 39 McAughtry, 1981
- 40 Gillespie, 1985, p. 11
- 41 *Belfast Telegraph*, 14 December 1962
- 42 McElroy, 1964, p. 22
- 43 PRONI D 3342/A/7
- 44 PRONI D 3342/A/2
- 45 Gillespie, 1985, p. 26
- 46 PRONI D 3342/A/2

CHAPTER 3

- 1 *Ulster Year Book 1963-5*
- 2 Birrell et al., 1971, pp. 125-6
- 3 Rose, Richard, 1971, p. 294
- 4 Whyte, 1983 and Brett, 1986
- 5 *Irish Weekly*, 14 November 1963
- 6 See Tomlinson, 1980, pp. 128-9
- 7 *Dungannon Observer*, 21 September 1963
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 *Ibid.*, 18 May 1963
- 10 *Ibid.*, 15 June 1963
- 11 *Ibid.*, 31 August 1963
- 12 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 50
- 13 Feeney, 1976, pp. 4-5
- 14 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 50
- 15 Interview, 26 August 1981
- 16 *Irish News*, 18 January 1964
- 17 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 53
- 18 Interview, 26 August 1981
- 19 CSJ *Campaign Newsletter*, no. 10, 28 December 1969
- 20 PRONI D 2993
- 21 At this time the franchise in Northern Ireland was different for Westminster, Stormont and local government elections:
 - a. For Westminster it was the same as in the rest of the United Kingdom, that is, all adults who had reached the age of twenty-one and whose names were on the register were entitled to vote, except that there was a qualifying period of three months' residence in Northern Ireland.
 - b. For Stormont it required electors to have been born in Northern Ireland or to have been resident in the United Kingdom for seven years (a provision mainly intended to exclude citizens of the Irish Republic). There were also additional votes for the occupiers of business premises in the constituency, with a value of at least £10 per annum (electors with

premises in several constituencies could only use one extra vote in a constituency of their choice). Graduates of QUB resident in Northern Ireland could vote both in their constituency of residence and for the three Stormont MPs elected to represent the university. (Graduates entitled to a business vote could not use that *and* the University vote.)

c. For local government the franchise was restricted to householders and their spouses who were on the Stormont register. This excluded tenants and other adults living in only part of a house. There were additional votes for businesses, which could nominate up to six electors to use one extra vote each.

R. J. Lawrence (1965, p. 26) found that more than a quarter of the parliamentary electors had no local government vote. It should also be noted that the local government electoral boundaries were drawn up in such a way as to ensure greater representation for those paying the greatest amount in rates. This, for example, was the reason given to two Quakers, Denis Barritt and Charles Carter, for the apparently anomalous division of the wards in Derry, when they investigated allegations of discrimination (1962, pp. 121-5). It is not easy, therefore, to decide exactly how far the electoral laws discriminated against Catholics. They were not the only ones to be disqualified from the local government franchise but they were disproportionately affected by the ward boundaries which delivered

- into Unionist control some local authorities which might otherwise have been controlled by Nationalists. However, Unionist defences of the system have the unmistakable ring of special pleading, and there seems to be no common-sense reason to doubt that there was discrimination against Catholics and that it was deliberate.
- 22 Charles Brett, in a commentary on the Legal Aid and Advice Bill, noted that one of the few unanimous recommendations of the Steele Committee, which had been responsible for drawing up its main proposals, had been the provision of a special form of legal aid, without financial limit, for cases involving matters of public interest, brought before the Court of Appeal and the House of Lords. This had been ignored when the legislation was drafted; see Brett, 1964.
- 23 Boyle, Hadden and Hillyard, 1975, p. 12
- 24 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 53
- 25 Rose, Richard, 1976, p. 251
- 26 Greaves, 1963, p. 518
- 27 Interview given to Ken Pringle, January 1984, and kindly made available to the author
- 28 HC Deb. 736:225, 15 November 1966
- 29 Quoted in *The Plain Truth*, 2nd ed.
- 30 *Irish News*, 3 October 1964
- 31 Interview given to Ken Pringle, January 1984
- 32 *Irish Weekly*, 4 August 1962
- 33 *Ibid.*, 10 November 1962
- 34 *Civil Liberties*, January 1948
- 35 Connolly Association, *Our Plan to End Partition*, p. 9
- 36 Introduction to CDU Papers, PRONI D 3026/1
- 37 PRONI D 3026/3
- 38 PRONI D 3026/1
- 39 Rose, Paul, 1981, p. 178
- 40 PRONI D 3026/1
- 41 PRONI D 3026/2
- 42 Rose, Paul, 1981, p. 194
- 43 *Ibid.*, p. 180
- 44 *Ibid.*, pp. 197-8
- 45 PRONI D 3026/1
- 46 Government of Ireland Act, 1969
- 47 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 53
- 48 Wallace, 1967, pp. 168-9
- 49 Mackintosh, 1968, p. 173
- 50 Wallace, 1967, p. 161
- 51 For this debate see HC Deb. 733:1296, 8 August 1966
- 52 Wilson, 1971, p. 270
- 53 O'Neill, 1972, p. 83
- 54 Brett, 1978, pp. 134-5
- 55 *Irish Weekly*, 9 December 1967
- 56 PRONI D 3026/1
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 At that time Gerald Kaufman was Harold Wilson's personal press officer.
- 59 PRONI D 3026/2
- 60 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 4

- 1 *Irish Weekly*, 22 September 1962
- 2 Johnston, 1966, p. 1
- 3 Johnston, 1968, p. 30
- 4 The Scarman Tribunal, presided over by Mr Justice (now Lord) Scarman, was an inquiry into the riots and shootings in the summer of 1969. Its report was published in April 1972.
- 5 Scarman Report, vol. II, p. 48
- 6 See NIHCD 70:191-4, 13 June 1968. Van Voris wrongly identifies this document as the one which was annexed to the Scarman Report. For a description of the incident referred to, which took place in Derry, see Chapter 5.
- 7 Irish Universities Press, *Northern*

- Ireland Political Literature*
(microfiche collection), fiche 42
- 8 *Ibid.*
- 9 Johnston, 1972, p. 17
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 Anthony Coughlan has informed the author that this was, in fact, the *Tuairisc* document already referred to, and that he was its author although he was not present at the Maghera meeting (letter, 12 August 1988).
- 12 Interview, 6 April 1986
- 13 NICRA, 1978, p. 20
- 14 Heatley, *Fortnight*, 22 March 1974, p. 11
- 15 Hope, 1976, p. 33
- 16 NICRA, 1978, p. 11
- 17 *Irish News*, 26 August 1968
- 18 *Irish Times*, 26 August 1968
- 19 Cameron Report, para. 35. The Cameron Commission was a three-man commission of inquiry, presided over by Lord Cameron, set up by Terence O'Neill in January 1969 to investigate the violence since 5 October 1968. Its report was published in September 1969.
- 20 Devlin, 1969, p. 92
- 21 McCann, 1974, p. 37
- 22 Copy of undated letter written by Eamonn McCann and sent to Michael Farrell before 5 October 1968. Permission to quote from the letter kindly given by Eamonn McCann.
- 23 Unless otherwise stated, the information given here about these events, and the quotes, are taken from Fergus Pyle's superb report in the *Irish Times* of 7 October 1968, or from the *Irish News* report of the same date.
- 24 At the time the Fianna Fáil government was proposing to abolish proportional representation for elections in the Irish Republic.

- This would probably have guaranteed Fianna Fáil a permanent Dáil majority and opponents saw this as a civil liberties issue parallel to those raised by the civil rights movement in the north.
- 25 *Sunday News*, 13 October 1968
- 26 NIHCD 70:108-9, 16 October 1968
- 27 *Derry Journal*, 10 December 1968
- 28 *Irish News*, 7 October 1968; Goulding proved that he was actually in Dublin at the time. Fred Heatley recalls that Goulding had originally intended to take part but that his car had broken down.
- 29 NIHCD 70:1014, 16 October 1968; in fact no members of the DHAC or the Young Socialists were involved in NICRA at this time, nor was the Connolly Association, which has never been organised in Ireland. Craig meant the Connolly Society of Derry, which was a purely nominal body used by the left republicans to get extra representation on the organising committee for the march. Craig had a habit of quoting politically inept police reports as if they were matters of indisputable fact.
- 30 Riddell, 1970, p. 139
- 31 Mac Stíofáin, 1975, p. 108
- 32 See Stewart, James, *The Struggle in the North*
- 33 NIHCD 70:1008, 15 October 1968
- 34 Morrissey, 1983, p. 129
- 35 BBC Radio 4, 'Ireland: the Spark that Lit the Flame', presented by Mary Holland and broadcast on 28 February 1988.
- 36 Wright, 1988, p. 165
- 37 Bruce, 1986, p. 266

CHAPTER 5

- 1 Nairn, 1967, p. 115

- 2 Robinson, 1970, pp. 217–18
- 3 McCafferty, Nell, 1979, p. 157
- 4 *Irish Militant*, April 1967
- 5 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 38
- 6 UCD P29a/158(3)
- 7 McGonagle was to become Northern Ireland's first ombudsman and later a member of the Irish Senate.
- 8 *Derry Journal*, 3 May 1968
- 9 *Irish Militant*, June 1968
- 10 Mitchel McLaughlin in the BBC Radio 4 programme, 'Ireland: the Spark that Lit the Flame', presented by Mary Holland and broadcast on 28 February 1988.
- 11 McCann, 1974, p. 29
- 12 It was on this occasion that links were first established between McCann and the Derry republican militants. He was living in London at the time and helped them to organise their campaign.
- 13 Workers' Research Unit, 1978, p. 16
- 14 *Derry Journal*, 2 February 1962
- 15 *Ibid.*, 23 November 1962
- 16 *Ibid.*, 19 May 1967
- 17 *Ibid.*, 19 November 1968.
O'Leary was not a member of the CPNI, which had no members in Derry at this time.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 2 April 1968
- 19 *Ibid.*, 31 May 1968
- 20 McCann, 1974, p. 33
- 21 *Derry Journal*, 5 July 1968
- 22 McCann, 1974, pp. 34–5
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 35
- 24 *Derry Journal*, 19 July 1968
- 25 *Ibid.*, 23 July 1968
- 26 *Ibid.*, 10 September 1968
- 27 *Ibid.*, 1 November 1968
- 28 McCann, 1974, p. 33
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 Curran, 1986, p. 85
- 31 McCann, 1974, p. 32
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 McClean, 1983, pp. 47–8
- 34 This provoked the resignation of the DCAC's first press officer, the independent liberal Unionist and department store owner, Major Campbell Austin. He could not associate himself with what was, technically, an illegal protest.
- 35 *Derry Journal*, 22 October 1968
- 36 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Arthur, 1974, p. 23
- 2 *Varsity*, 1969/70, p. 14
- 3 Devlin, 1969, p. 74
- 4 *Ibid.*
- 5 *New Ireland*, 1966, p. 7
- 6 McKeown, Ciaran, 1984, p. 20
- 7 *Belfast Telegraph*, 5 April 1967
- 8 *Irish Militant*, April 1967
- 9 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, pp. 60–1
- 10 It is a measure of his anonymity that NICRA's official history (NICRA, 1978) published a photograph in which he was identified merely as a 'bespectacled megaphone carrier'.
- 11 *Impact*, Spring 1964
- 12 NIHCD 66:1063, 9 May 1967
- 13 NIHCD 67:1794, 14 November 1967
- 14 NIHCD 67:1796, 14 November 1967
- 15 *Belfast Telegraph*, 6 November 1967
- 16 McKeown, Ciaran, 1984, p. 50
- 17 Heaney, 1968, p. 522
- 18 Devlin, 1969, pp. 100–1
- 19 McKeown, Michael, 1986, p. 47
- 20 Cameron Report, para. 195
- 21 PRONI D 3297
- 22 *Irish Times*, 10 October 1968
- 23 *Irish News*, 11 October 1968
- 24 See Farrell (ed.), 1988, pp. 26–8 and 90–3
- 25 PRONI D 3297
- 26 See Farrell (ed.), 1988, pp. 124–5

- 27 Paul Arthur noted the conflicting accounts of the origins of the name but accepted the statement of the PD printer, John D. Murphy, that he had thought of the name when he had to put out a printed announcement (1974, p. 37). This version was supported by Bernadette Devlin in her autobiography (p. 102), and in a slightly different form by Ciaran McKeown (p. 47).
- 28 O'Neill, 1969, pp. 143-4
- 29 This account of the march is largely based on that in Egan and McCormack, 1969.
- 30 *Irish News*, 6 January 1969
- 31 Faulkner, 1978, p. 50
- 32 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 90
- 33 PRONI D 3253
- 34 Devlin, 1969, p. 120
- 35 Arthur, 1974, p. 41
- 36 Farrell, 1976, p. 249
- 37 Interview, 4 July 1987
- 38 Five years later there was a macabre footnote to the events in Newry. The body of Kenneth Lennon, a Newry-born Luton car worker, was found in a Surrey ditch. He had been murdered by the Provisional IRA after having been exposed as an informer. A police photograph submitted to the Cameron Commission showed him attacking police barriers in Newry, raising the possibility that he may have been acting as an *agent provocateur*; see Robertson, 1976, p. 18.
- 39 Cameron Report, para. 118
- 40 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, pp. 97-8
- 41 Arthur, 1974, p. 47
- 42 Rumpf and Hepburn, 1977, p. 193
- 43 Quoted in Arthur, 1974, p. 119
- 44 *Irish Weekly*, 8 March 1969
- 45 PRONI D 3297
- 46 PRONI D 3253
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 A London branch and later a Dublin branch were also set up. These were composed mainly of northern exiles and concentrated on publishing information and statements on behalf of the PD.
- 49 PRONI D 3297
- 50 Comerford, 1982, p. 41n.
- 51 PRONI D 3297
- 52 Comerford, 1982, p. 74
- 53 See Milotte, 1984, pp. 189-215
- 54 NIHCD 70:1022, 16 October 1968
- 55 *Irish News*, 18 October 1968
- 56 The name did not signify any affiliation with what has since become known as the 'Militant Tendency'. Both the British *Militant* and the *Irish Militant* took their names from the American publication of the same name, the oldest English-language Trotskyist newspaper in the world, published in New York since 1928.
- 57 Lawless, 1966
- 58 *Irish News*, 21 May 1966
- 59 *Campus*, 3 May 1966
- 60 Breitman, 1981, p. 16
- 61 The name was adopted from an American Trotskyist youth movement which was prominent in student radicalism and protests against American intervention in Vietnam.
- 62 Baxter, et al., 1969, p. 118
- 63 Quoted in Van Voris, 1975, p. 61
- 64 *Ibid.*, p. 81
- 65 *Ibid.*
- 66 Quinn, 1971, p. 18
- 67 'The PD of that time was strongly reminiscent of the 22 March Movement'; Levy, 1972, p. 2011.
- 68 Gombin, 1970, p. 420
- 69 He meant the *Black Dwarf*; the *Red Mole* was not published until 1970.
- 70 Callaghan, 1984, p. 137

- 71 Ali, 1972, p. 229 and Hayter,
1971, p. 105
72 Interview, June 1988
73 Baxter et al., 1969, p. 4
74 *Ibid.*, p. 5
75 *Ibid.*

- 76 *Derry Journal*, 8 November 1968
77 *Ibid.*
78 Baxter et al., 1969 p. 6
79 *Derry Journal*, 29 November 1968
80 *Irish Weekly*, 5 July 1969
81 McGuffin Papers