

*Ch. 5 - Chichester-Clark
Becomes Prime Minister and the
Beginning of the 'Troubles',
1969-1972*

PATRICK V. DOHERTY .. AGED 31 YEARS
GERALD V. DONAGHEY .. AGED 17 YEARS
JOHN F. DUDDY .. AGED 17 YEARS
HUGH P. GILMOUR .. AGED 17 YEARS
MICHAEL G. KELLY .. AGED 17 YEARS
MICHAEL M. Mc DAID .. AGED 20 YEARS
KVIN G. Mc ELHINNEY .. AGED 17 YEARS
BERNARD Mc GUGGAN .. AGED 41 YEARS
JAMES G. Mc KINNEY .. AGED 31 YEARS
WILLIAM A. Mc KINNEY .. AGED 27 YEARS
WILLIAM N. NASH .. AGED 19 YEARS
JAMES J. PRAY .. AGED 22 YEARS
JOHN P. YOUNG .. AGED 17 YEARS
AND TO JOHN JOHNSTON .. AGED 59 YEARS
WHO DIED LATER AS A RESULT OF INJURIES RECEIVED THAT DAY

WHO WERE MURDERED BY BRITISH PARATROOPERS ON BLOODY SUNDAY 30TH JANUARY 1972

Learning Intentions

In this chapter you will learn about:

- James Chichester-Clark's and Brian Faulkner's leadership of Northern Ireland
- The escalation of violence
- The foundation of the Provisional IRA and loyalist paramilitaries
- Political developments, including reforms and the founding of the SDLP
- Internment and Bloody Sunday
- The end of Stormont and the introduction of direct rule

Chichester - Clarke Takes Over

Chichester-Clarke Takes Over From O'Neill

- Two prominent Unionist MPs emerged as likely candidates to replace Terence O'Neill as Northern Ireland Prime Minister: the former Minister for Commerce, **Brian Faulkner**, and O'Neill's distant cousin, former Minister for Agriculture **James Chichester-Clark**. Both men had resigned in protest at O'Neill's leadership. Chichester-Clark's resignation had contributed in no small part to O'Neill's downfall.
- The leadership ballot was held on 1 May 1969. Chichester-Clark won by a single vote. Now in the role of Prime Minister, Chichester-Clark faced the task of dealing with the mounting sectarian tensions and civil unrest that were spreading through the North.
- To quell the unrest, Chichester-Clark announced an amnesty for all those who had been involved in the riots during the early part of 1969. People arrested during the violence were freed, including Ian Paisley, who had been arrested for holding a banned demonstration. In response to this measure, NICRA agreed to refrain from holding demonstrations.
- During the first few months of his leadership, it appeared that Chichester-Clark's measures were having an effect, with only small outbreaks of violence recorded in flashpoints of sectarian tension where Catholics and Protestants lived close to one another. However, as the marching season, which ran from April to August, took hold, tensions heightened.

The Battle of Bogside, 12 August 1969

- The British government deployed a battalion of over 500 soldiers to Northern Ireland, called Operation Banner, to support the RUC should violence break out during the marching season. The head. of the RUC, Anthony Peacock, insisted that the police were more than capable of dealing with any violence that might occur, but from April on there were outbreaks of sectarian violence in Belfast and other areas as Orange Order marches passed Catholic areas. Despite the escalating violence, Harold Wilson was reluctant for the Westminster Government to get involved in Northern Irish affairs for fear it would be difficult to later withdraw. British Home Secretary, James Callaghan recalled: *'The advice that came to me from all sides was on no account to get sucked into the Irish bog.'*
- It was the **Apprentice Boys of Derry's march** on 12 August that led to widespread riots. The march, which involved the Apprentice Boys parading around the city's walls and past the Catholic Bogside area, often ignited sectarian tensions. Because of the events of previous months, the 1969 march was to prove even more inflammatory.

The Battle of Bogside, 12 August 1969

- On the morning of 12 August, some 15,000 Apprentice Boys, as well as members of the Orange Order, assembled in Derry to begin their parade. These parades commemorated key events of Protestant history and were a central part of unionist identity. However, for Catholics, the parades came to be seen as assertions of dominance and control by the unionists. The atmosphere in the days leading up to the parade was tense. Nationalist leaders such as John Hume, as well as the Irish government, requested that the parade be cancelled, or at least prevented from passing Catholic areas of the city. The Northern Irish government rejected these requests and instead issued assurances that the parade would be well stewarded.
- As the march passed over the Bogside, Apprentice Boys threw coins down on the poorer Catholic areas below. Catholic youths retaliated, throwing stones and petrol bombs at the Apprentice Boys. Despite calls for calm from nationalist leaders, the violence escalated into a full-scale riot. The RUC were unable to contain the situation and were forced to retreat after they came under a hail of missiles from Catholic youths.
- Catholics barricaded their streets, preventing the RUC from entering. As early as January 1969, nationalist residents of the Bogside and Creggan had declared an autonomous nationalist area of the city known as **Free Derry**. The RUC responded by firing CS gas (tear gas) at the crowds, but this only inflamed the situation further. It was clear by that evening that the RUC was incapable of dealing with the disturbances, and Chichester-Clark called on the B-Specials to support them. Nationalists despised the B-Specials, a largely sectarian force, and their presence on the streets made matters worse. The violence in Derry lasted two full days, and caused extensive damage to the city.

The Irish Government Responds to the Violence

- The violence in Derry caused an outcry in the Irish Republic, where it was seen as a deliberate attack on the Catholic population. On 13 August, Taoiseach **Jack Lynch** gave a televised address in which he condemned the behaviour of the Northern Irish government:
- *It is evident that the Stormont Government is no longer in control of the situation. Indeed the present situation is the inevitable outcome of the policies pursued for decades by successive Stormont Governments. It is clear, also, that the Irish Government can no longer stand by and see innocent people injured and perhaps worse.*
- Lynch's speech appeared to indicate that the Irish government would intervene in the situation if the Northern government failed to bring an end to violence against the nationalist community. In reality, Lynch had hoped that his speech would force the British government to act. Nevertheless, the speech made nationalists hopeful that Lynch might be prepared to help them directly, but while Lynch did send the Irish Army to the border and set up temporary hospitals to care for those injured in the riots, he had no intention of British troops in Derry, August 1969 sending Irish soldiers into Northern Ireland. Meanwhile, Lynch's speech was condemned by unionists, who believed that the Taoiseach was threatening them. There were also serious divisions in the Irish government, with some ministers calling on Lynch to use the Irish Army to intervene. Lynch refused to take such a drastic step, however, for fear it would further destabilise the situation.
- The violence of July and August had resulted in the deaths of ten people. One hundred and fifty-four suffered gunshot wounds while a further 700 were injured. One hundred and seventy homes were destroyed and a further 400 were damaged, as were many businesses, resulting in £8 million worth of damage. Almost 2,000 families fled the violence, with Catholics making up three-quarters of this figure. Stormont and Westminster also faced the difficult task of taking the army back off the streets while at the same time maintaining peace.

The Irish Government Responds to the Violence

- As the RUC and B-Specials attempted to deal with the disturbances in Derry, nationalists coordinated fresh protests to stretch the police services and ease the pressure on Derry's nationalist community. The most serious of these occurred in Belfast on 13 August, when nationalists from the Falls Road and Ardoyne launched a demonstration that turned into a riot when a unionist crowd came out on the streets to oppose them. When the RUC attempted to intervene, they were attacked with stones and petrol bombs. As rioting intensified, a unionist mob, allegedly supported by the B-Specials, began burning Catholic homes and businesses, beginning four days of rioting, which resulted in the deaths of six people, with over 130 injured by gunfire. There was also extensive destruction of property. Over 420 homes and businesses were damaged or destroyed, the vast majority belonging to Catholics. As a result of the violence, 1,500 Catholic and 300 Protestant families were forced to flee the area.
- It was clear to observers that the RUC had lost control. Chichester-Clark turned to the British for assistance. Wilson responded by ordering the British soldiers in the North to take charge of the situation in Derry and Belfast.
- The army arrived in Derry on 14 August. They were largely welcomed by the nationalist community, who saw them as less sectarian than the RUC and B-Specials. The army restored order on the streets quite quickly, separating Protestant from Catholic areas with barricades. However, the General Officer Commanding (GOC), **Lieutenant-General Sir Ian Freeland**, recognised that the people were unlikely to tolerate the army's presence for long: *the 'honeymoon period between troops and local people is likely to be short-lived,'* he noted.

Chichester-Clark Introduces More Reforms

- British Home Secretary **James Callaghan** informed Chichester-Clark that he needed to introduce reforms quickly if things were not to deteriorate further. Subsequently Chichester-Clark's government introduced a series of reforms, which included the introduction of **proportional representation (PR)** voting in local elections and the ending of the property qualification in favour of one man, one vote (this, however, would not come into effect until 1973). A new **Housing Executive** was appointed to take over the allocation of housing from local councils. The government also took steps to reform policing.
- In October 1969 the **Hunt Report**, *Report of The Advisory Committee on Police in Northern Ireland*, was published. The report recommended that:
 - the B-Specials should be disbanded
 - the RUC should be relieved of all military duties and disarmed • more Roman Catholics should be encouraged to join the ranks of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and offer themselves for service in the new part-time forces
 - military operations should remain under the control of the Westminster government and a new part-time military force should be created that would be representative of the Protestant and Catholic population. (In practice this did not happen. The army was deployed on the orders of the Unionist government to support the RUC, which had the effect of destroying the army's standing among the nationalist community.)

Chichester-Clark Introduces More Reforms

- Following the Hunt Report the RUC were disarmed. However, the force was eventually rearmed in 1971. The number of Catholic members of the RUC continued to decline.
- In April 1970 the B-Specials were disbanded and replaced by the **Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR)**. The UDR was to serve as a part-time military force to assist the British Army. Despite the hope that its membership would reflect Northern Ireland's population, only one quarter of its members were Catholic by 1971. By the mid-1970s most Catholics had left the UDR as it came to be dominated by former members of the B-Specials.

Exam Question

- Would you agree that there was considerable social and economic change in Northern Ireland, 1949-1969, but that nothing changed politically? (2015) HL

Violence Grows

- Once again, these new reforms were welcomed by civil rights groups and Catholics in general, but were strongly opposed by unionists, who felt threatened by the loss of the B-Specials. Loyalists rioted in Belfast the day after the Hunt Report was published. As a loyalist gang moved towards the Catholic Unity Flats, the RUC attempted to halt them. The loyalists opened fire on the RUC, killing **Constable Victor Arbuckle**. Arbuckle was the first policeman to be killed in what came to be known as the '**Troubles**'.
- The army was again called on to restore order. They came under fire from loyalist groups, and in the fighting that resulted, the army killed two protestors. Chichester-Clark appeared on television and appealed for calm from loyalists. However, he later claimed that it was the IRA that was responsible for the unrest. Both the RUC and the army acknowledged that the IRA was incapable at that stage of orchestrating such violence. However, it wasn't long before the IRA did take a more active role in the Troubles.

The Provisional IRA

- In late December 1969, it was reported that the IRA had split. Belfast members were critical of the Dublin leadership for failing to defend nationalist areas during the riots that had taken place over the previous months. The Belfast IRA cut its ties with Dublin and set up the **Provisional IRA (PIRA)**, later known as the **Provos**.
- The IRA leadership held a convention in Roscommon in the same month. At the convention, the IRA voted to recognise both the Dublin and Stormont governments and end the long-standing policy of abstention from both parliaments. The IRA had become increasingly irrelevant over the previous years due to political abstention and its failed military strategy. This change of policy was meant to win back its political influence. However, two men who voted against the change, **Seán MacStiofáin** and **Ruairí Ó Brádaigh**, subsequently made contact with the Provisional IRA in Belfast, and, having won the support of the majority of Belfast's IRA units, formed a 'Provisional' Army Council, which acted as the governing body of the Provisional IRA. The Army Council viewed itself as the legitimate governing authority of the 32 counties, refusing to recognise the legitimacy of either the Northern or Southern State.
- **Sinn Féin**, the political wing of the IRA, split the following January, when a large minority of members opposed the IRA's proposal to recognise the Dublin and Stormont governments. MacStiofáin became leader of the Provisional IRA and Ó Brádaigh became head of **Provisional Sinn Féin**.

The Provisional IRA

- After the formation of PIRA, the original IRA took on the name the **Official IRA (OIRA)** so as to separate themselves from the Provisionals. The Official IRA went into decline in the years that followed. It eventually abandoned its militant activity and became a solely political Marxist organisation, which supported other left-wing parties, including Sinn Féin and the Workers' Party. The Provisionals held to traditional republican beliefs. Their goal was to end partition and establish a 32-county republic, as had been declared in 1916. While the Provisionals claimed to represent all Irish people, Provisional Sinn Féin did not have majority support among Northern Irish nationalists and was a small fringe party in the South.
- During the marching season of 1970, the Provisional IRA became increasingly active in defending nationalist areas from loyalist attacks. They also launched attacks on loyalists. This was part of a PIRA strategy to gain new support for a terrorist campaign. Three Provisional activists and two young girls were killed on 26 June when an IRA bomb exploded prematurely. The following day the Provisional IRA killed five Protestants, following loyalist attacks in the Short Strand and Ardoyne areas of Belfast.

Key Concept: Terrorism

- **Terrorism** is the use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims. Only the State can legitimately use force of arms in a political democracy. Any other group using force can be deemed to be a terrorist organisation. In Northern Ireland terrorism became prevalent during the Troubles.
- Nationalist terrorist groups such as the Provisional IRA and INLA sought to establish a united Irish republic, while loyalist groups such as the UVF and UDA carried out acts of violence in an attempt to defend Ulster unionism. All these groups carried out acts of terrorism, which included gunfights, bombings, assassinations, beatings and kidnappings, to achieve their goals.

The Falls Road Curfew

- To clamp down on Provisional IRA activity, the British Army began a search for weapons in the nationalist **Falls district** of Belfast in an operation that lasted for three days, 3-5 July. The army's presence led to clashes with Catholic youths, who threw petrol bombs and stones at the soldiers. The army responded with CS gas, but when they came under gunfire they opened fire on the youths. A gun battle was soon under way as members of the Official IRA exchanged fire with the army.
- The army sealed off the Falls district and imposed a 36-hour curfew. This was followed by house- to-house weapons searches of Catholic homes. The force used by the army during these searches, and the damage they caused, created huge resentment towards the military. During the curfew the army came under sporadic attack from youths and the Official IRA. The curfew was only ended when women and children from the nearby Andersonstown district arrived on the morning of 5 July with food and provisions for the people of the Falls. During the curfew, four civilians were killed and a further 78 wounded.
- While the operation was largely successful, leading to 300 arrests and the discovery of a large quantity of weapons and ammunition, it destroyed nationalist faith in the British Army. The event was a turning point. The Falls Road curfew led to a groundswell of support for the IRA, particularly among young people, who joined the Provisionals in growing numbers.
- *3-5 July 1970 did convert what was perhaps only an increasingly sullen Catholic acceptance of the Army into outright communal hostility.. In the months that followed, recruitment to the Provisionals was dizzy fast: the movement grew from fewer than a hundred activists to nearly 800 by December. (A History of Ulster by Jonathan Bardon)*
- The role of the British Army during the Falls curfew also led to the Belfast IRA changing their tactics from defending Catholic areas to carrying out attacks on the British army. In February 1971 the first British soldier was killed by the Belfast IRA. Confrontations with the army increased, and by July the Belfast IRA had killed a total of ten soldiers.

The Arms Crisis

- As the situation in Northern Ireland deteriorated, the Provisional IRA sought weapons to continue its campaign. Money came from supporters throughout Ireland and the USA. There were also a number of ministers in the Irish government who wanted Taoiseach Jack Lynch to take a more active role in defending nationalist areas from attack. While Lynch refused to intervene directly in the situation, he did appoint a sub-committee to organise assistance and relief for families fleeing the violence in Northern Ireland.
- Two ministers, **Charles Haughey** and **Neil Blaney**, were appointed to the sub-committee. Unlike Lynch, his two ministers favoured a more interventionist policy in Northern Ireland. Blaney, for example, had called for the Irish Army to be used to protect Catholic areas. In April 1970 the Garda Special Branch informed Lynch that they had reason to believe that Haughey and Blaney were using some of the £100,000 provided to the sub-committee to acquire weapons for the Provisional IRA.
- It was alleged that both Blaney and Haughey, together with an Irish Army intelligence officer, **Captain James Kelly**, had organised a shipment of weapons from Germany with the help of a Belgian businessman, **Albert Luykx**. When Lynch was informed of this, he sacked Haughey and Blaney from the cabinet. In the trial that followed, charges against Blaney were dismissed due to lack of evidence and Haughey was found not guilty. There was no satisfactory account of where the money designated for the relief of Catholics actually ended up. The incident further increased unionist paranoia towards the nationalist community and the South.

The Formation of the Ulster Defence Association

- In the summer of 1971 several meetings took place between loyalist 'defence associations'. These groups were alarmed at the emergence of the Provisionals and sought to create an organisation to defend loyalist areas. They united to form **the Ulster Defence Association (UDA)**. The UDA became the largest loyalist paramilitary organisation to emerge during the Troubles, with a membership of 40,000 at its peak.
- The UDA patrolled Protestant areas and barricaded streets. Within the UDA was a smaller group, who called themselves the **Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF)**. The UFF served as a cover for UDA violence, helping to prevent the UDA itself being labelled a terrorist organisation and being banned by the authorities. The UFF carried out attacks on nationalists and republicans, although the majority of their victims were innocent Catholics. They were responsible for killing more than 300 people during the Troubles.
- The UDA and UFF heightened sectarian tension. From the early 1970s onwards, there were attacks and counter-attacks between loyalists and republicans. These attacks involved bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, intimidation and torture. More often than not it was innocent civilians from both communities who were caught in the violence.

Key Term: Paramilitary

- Paramilitaries are not members of an official army, but join together to form their own organisation that behaves like an army with its own command structure. The term paramilitary is often used as a synonym for terrorist.

Political Developments

Unionist Decisions

- The violence of the Troubles had a significant impact on political developments in Northern Ireland. Chichester-Clark struggled to deal with the crisis. He suffered a major blow when the Protestant Unionist Party's (PUP) Ian Paisley and William Beattie won in two by-elections in April 1970. The PUP's success highlighted unionist dissatisfaction with Chichester-Clark's government. In the British general election in June 1970, Paisley was elected as a Westminster MP for North Antrim. In September 1971 Paisley and some of his supporters formed the **Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)** to replace the PUP. The DUP appealed to working class Protestants who believed that Chichester-Clark and the UPP were ignoring their concerns. Paisley would go on to lead the DUP for the next 37 years.

Edward Heath Becomes British Prime Minister

- The Conservative Party under the leadership of **Edward Heath** won the British general election in June 1970. Unionists welcomed Heath's victory because the Conservatives had traditionally supported the Unionist Party. Once in power, Heath's government took a hard line, and ordered **Harry Tuzo**, the new British Army commander in Northern Ireland, to crack down on those responsible for orchestrating violence.
- In 1971 Heath also began secret talks with the Provisional IRA in the hope of negotiating a peaceful resolution to the situation. These early talks led to the IRA calling a ceasefire in June 1972, paving the way for unofficial talks to be held in London. The head of the Provisional IRA, Seán MacStiofáin, and other delegates travelled to London and met with the British Secretary for Northern Ireland, **William Whitelaw**. The Provisionals demanded that:
 - Britain make a public declaration that it was for all the people of Ireland, voting as one unit, to decide the future of Ireland
 - the British government declare its intent to withdraw from Irish soil, the withdrawal to be completed before 1 January 1975. (Ireland in the Twentieth Century by Tim Pat Coogan)
- The Conservative Party, however, could never agree to such terms. The most that Whitelaw could credibly offer was internal reform to improve the rights of the Catholic minority. The meeting was unsuccessful. It convinced Heath that a solution could only be found through an agreement between the political parties in Northern Ireland.

New Political Parties

The Alliance Party

- 1970 saw the emergence of two new political parties. The first was a cross-community party called the **Alliance Party of Northern Ireland**. Founded in April, the Alliance Party encouraged the government to introduce reforms that would help to break down sectarian divisions. The Alliance Party was a liberal unionist party, and supported Northern Ireland's union with Britain. However, it was non-sectarian and only supported the union as long as the people of Northern Ireland continued to support it. The Alliance Party attracted the backing of moderate Catholics and Protestants who wished to see an end to sectarian divisions. In 1972 the party succeeded in getting three members elected to Stormont, but due to the deep divisions in Northern society, the party remained small.
- It should be noted that the majority of Northern Ireland's Protestants and Catholics remained opposed to paramilitary activity and held to the belief that democracy rather than violence was the best means of securing a solution to the tensions between the two communities.

The Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)

- On 21 August 1970 a new nationalist party emerged out of the civil rights movement when six nationalist MPs and a senator joined together to form the **Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)**. The SDLP united several nationalist traditions, including the socialist, labour movement and the traditional, and more conservative, constitutional nationalist groups. Key members were Austin Currie, John Hume and Gerry Fitt, the party's first leader.
- As a moderate nationalist party, the SDLP campaigned for the peaceful reunification of Ireland, with the consent of the Protestant population. The SDLP became the voice of the large majority of nationalists during the Troubles. The party had six MPs at Stormont, where they sought to raise issues of civil rights and reform. The SDLP also promoted the idea of nationalists and unionists sharing power in Northern Ireland. Despite the SDLP's moderate approach, it did not win support from unionists, who maintained their allegiance to the Unionist Party or the newly formed DUP.

Faulkner Comes To Power

Chichester-Clarke Resigns

- Violent disturbances continued into 1971. While the RUC patrolled the streets, the army carried out patrols of Catholic enclaves in search of weapons. Tension between nationalists and the army intensified. Following the murder of three soldiers kidnapped by the IRA on 10 March, Chichester-Clark, already under pressure to resign, asked Heath to allow the Unionist government more direct control over the army. When Heath refused the request, Chichester-Clark resigned on 20 March 1971.

Faulkner Introduces Internment

- Chichester-Clark was replaced by **Brian Faulkner**. While Faulkner was popular with unionists, nationalists were less impressed. Faulkner did attempt to win over moderate nationalists by offering them a greater role in government. He asked the SDLP to chair a number of parliamentary committees. Faulkner's offer received a guarded response from the SDLP's John Hume, who said it did not go far enough, but represented a good start. However, the SDLP eventually withdrew from Stormont on 16 July when the government refused to hold an official investigation into the shooting dead of two Catholic men by British soldiers earlier that month.
- At the same time as he was trying to win over moderate nationalists, Faulkner took a tough line against the IRA. Faulkner demanded that the British government allow him to introduce **internment**, and threatened to resign if they refused. The British granted Faulkner's request. On 9 August 1971 internment without trial was introduced when the army launched **Operation Demetrius**. The operation was used exclusively against IRA suspects, resulting in the immediate arrest of 342 men, although fewer than 100 were actually active members of the IRA. Many senior IRA leaders managed to avoid capture, as they had been aware of the operation before it began.

Faulkner Introduces Internment

- In the first 48 hours of Operation Demetrius, 7,000 Catholics fled their homes and moved south. Seventeen people were killed. Among those killed were ten Catholic civilians, including a priest killed as he was administering the Last Rites. By the end of the year over 2,000 people had been arrested, all of whom were Catholic. Nationalists reacted with fury to what they saw as an onslaught on their community.
- The policy of internment was a disaster for a number of reasons:
 - Internment was almost exclusively enforced on Catholics, despite the fact that loyalists were also responsible for the ongoing violence. It was only in 1973 that the first loyalists were interned. By then many Catholics saw internment as a sectarian measure taken by the Unionist government. By 1975, when internment ended, almost 2,000 nationalists had been interned compared to just over 100 loyalists.
 - The actions of the British Army destroyed any remaining goodwill Catholics had towards them.
 - Internment actually increased support for republican paramilitaries, as people looked to the IRA for protection from loyalists and the army.
 - The army's intelligence on IRA suspects was out of date. Most of those interned were either older members of the IRA or no longer involved in it. Active members of the IRA avoided arrest by staying away from their homes or crossing the border into the Republic.

Faulkner Introduces Internment

- The SDLP organised a **Rent and Rates Strike** to protest at internment. By October 1971 it was estimated that up to 30% of homeowners in Belfast were withholding their payments.
- Many of the internees were imprisoned at an old army camp at **Long Kesh** or on a prison ship in Belfast Lough. When reports emerged that members of the RUC and army were torturing some internees, there was an outcry from nationalists and civil rights groups, as well as members of the clergy. The Northern Irish government denied the reports and refused to investigate them. The Irish government took a case to the European Court of Human Rights, which later ruled that, though the treatment of prisoners could not be described as torture, it was *'inhuman and degrading'*.
- Faulkner, meanwhile, did nothing to demonstrate that he was prepared to take a tough line with unionists. He failed to re-route the controversial Apprentice Boys marches and permitted a growth in loyalist 'rifle clubs', through which unionists could arm themselves by getting a gun licence from a Justice of the Peace. By the end of 1971 there were over 100,000 licensed guns in Northern Ireland.

Bloody Sunday, 30th January 1972

- Civil rights groups held a number of peaceful demonstrations to protest against internment as the policy continued. The government banned a march organised for Sunday 30 January in Derry, but a large crowd, estimated to number 15-30,000, gathered in open defiance of this prohibition.
- As the march got under way, soldiers of the British **Parachute Regiment** were given orders to enter the Bogside area following a reported sighting of an IRA sniper in the vicinity. The order was also given that soldiers were to use live ammunition. As the Parachute Regiment sighted the marchers they opened fire, hitting 26 civilians, of whom **13 were killed**. One of the injured died from his wounds four months later, bringing the final death toll to 14.
- The soldiers later claimed that they opened fire only after being fired on by the crowd. The IRA denied that any of its members were responsible for firing on the soldiers. An official inquiry was quickly set up to determine who was responsible for the deaths of the 14 civilians. The inquiry was carried out by the Lord Chief Justice, **Lord Widgery**. When he published his findings in April, he failed to find anyone responsible, although he did indicate that he had confidence in the soldiers' account of events.

Bloody Sunday, 30th January 1972

- The Widgery Report was met with shock on the part of the relatives of those who had died and the nationalist community in general. The report was dismissed as **a cover-up**. Claims and counter-claims about what happened on Bloody Sunday continued for almost 40 years. In 1998, the **Saville Inquiry** was established to carry out an extensive investigation into the event. It published its findings in 2010 and concluded that:
 - *Despite the contrary evidence given by soldiers, we have concluded that none of them fired in response to attacks or threatened attacks by nail or petrol bombers. No- one threw or threatened to throw a nail or petrol bomb at the soldiers on Bloody Sunday.*
 - The report also acknowledged that an IRA sniper did fire, but only once the army had fired first. In regard to the civilians killed, the Saville Report went on to say:
 - *The firing by soldiers of 1 Para (members of the Parachute Regiment) caused the deaths of 13 people and injury to a similar number, none of whom was posing a threat of causing death or serious injury.*

Remembering Bloody Sunday, 30th January 1972

- In response to the publication of the report, British Prime Minister David Cameron addressed the House of Commons:

Mr Speaker, I am deeply patriotic. I never want to believe anything bad about our country. I never want to call into question the behaviour of our soldiers and our army, who I believe to be the finest in the world. And I have seen for myself the very difficult and dangerous circumstances in which we ask our soldiers to serve.

But the conclusions of this report are absolutely clear. There is no doubt, there is nothing equivocal, there are no ambiguities. What happened on Bloody Sunday was both unjustified and unjustifiable.

It was wrong.

The Consequences of Bloody Sunday

- The shock and sadness that followed the events of Bloody Sunday gave way to great anger. **Father Edward Daly**, later Bishop of Derry, who had been on the march that day and had administered the Last Rites to some of the victims, said that as a result of Bloody Sunday:
- *A lot of the younger people in Derry who may have been more pacifist became quite militant as a result of it. People who were there on that day and who saw what happened were absolutely enraged by it and just wanted to seek some kind of revenge for it. In later years, many young people I visited in prison told me quite explicitly that they would never have become involved in the IRA but for Bloody Sunday. (Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland by David McKittrick, David McVea)*
- Recruitment and funding for the IRA increased massively. The level of violence climbed higher. Almost 500 people were killed in 1972, the bloodiest year of the Troubles.
- Bloody Sunday also worsened relations between the Northern and Southern governments. Taoiseach Jack Lynch contacted the British Prime Minister, Heath, and told him that he was worried what impact the events of that day would have in the South. On 31 January the Irish ambassador in London, Dr Donal O'Sullivan, was recalled to Ireland. Meanwhile, on 2 February, a crowd protesting against the events of Bloody Sunday set fire to the British embassy in Dublin, burning it to the ground. Pressure was now mounting on Heath to deal with a situation in which violence was intensifying rapidly.

The Consequences of Bloody Sunday

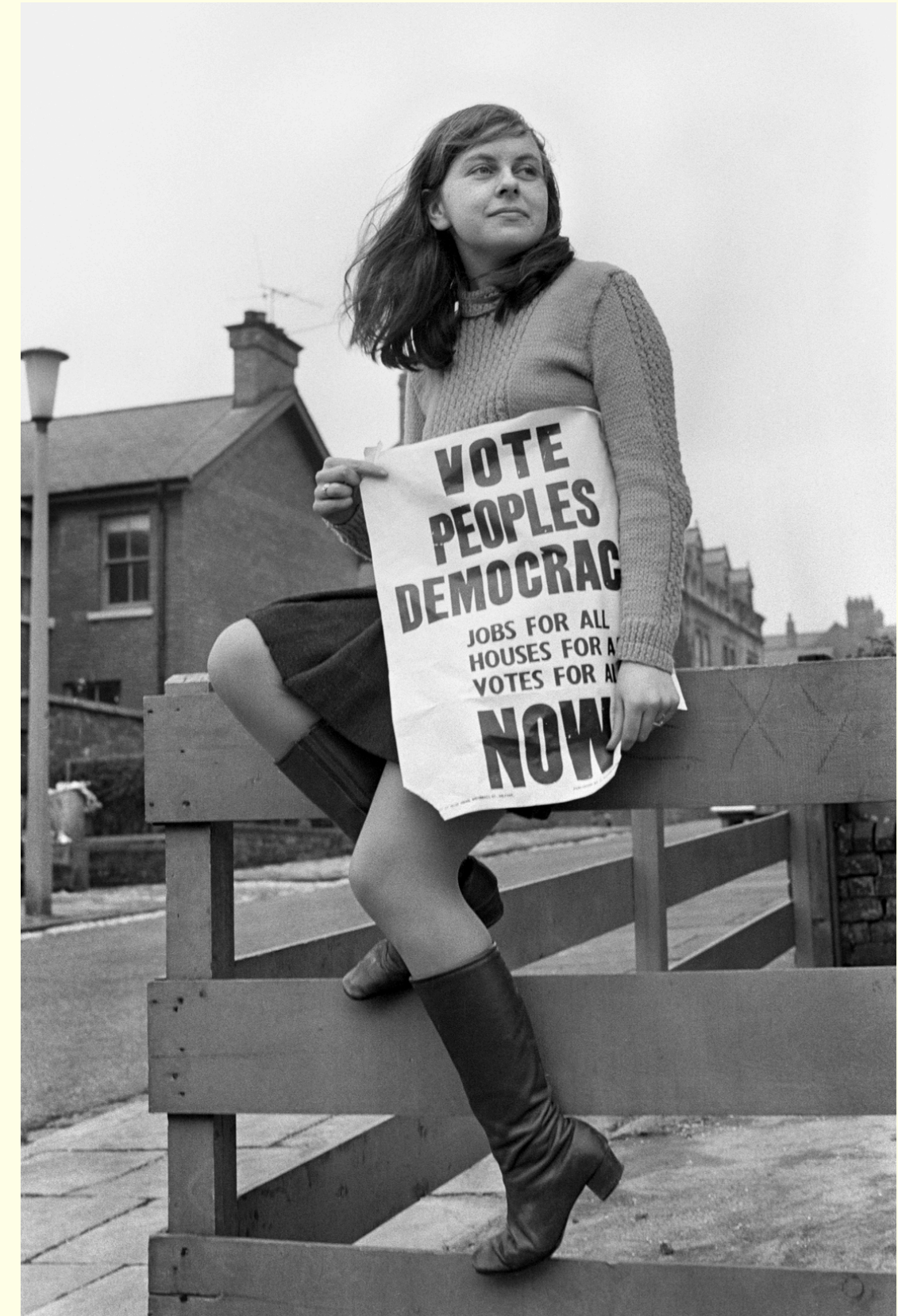
- The shock and sadness that followed the events of Bloody Sunday gave way to great anger. **Father Edward Daly**, later Bishop of Derry, who had been on the march that day and had administered the Last Rites to some of the victims, said that as a result of Bloody Sunday:
- *A lot of the younger people in Derry who may have been more pacifist became quite militant as a result of it. People who were there on that day and who saw what happened were absolutely enraged by it and just wanted to seek some kind of revenge for it. In later years, many young people I visited in prison told me quite explicitly that they would never have become involved in the IRA but for Bloody Sunday. (Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland by David McKittrick, David McVea)*
- Recruitment and funding for the IRA increased massively. The level of violence climbed higher. Almost 500 people were killed in 1972, the bloodiest year of the Troubles.
- Bloody Sunday also worsened relations between the Northern and Southern governments. Taoiseach Jack Lynch contacted the British Prime Minister, Heath, and told him that he was worried what impact the events of that day would have in the South. On 31 January the Irish ambassador in London, Dr Donal O'Sullivan, was recalled to Ireland. Meanwhile, on 2 February, a crowd protesting against the events of Bloody Sunday set fire to the British embassy in Dublin, burning it to the ground. Pressure was now mounting on Heath to deal with a situation in which violence was intensifying rapidly.

Deaths as a Result of the Conflict in Northern Ireland, 1969-1972

Year	British Security	Republican Paramilitary	Loyalist Paramilitary	Irish Security	Civilian	Total
1969	2	1	1	0	12	16
1970	2	6	0	1	17	26
1971	60	20	2	0	89	171
1972	148	70	11	1	249	479

Key Personaility: Benadette Devlin-McAlisky (1947-)

- Bernadette Devlin was born in Cookstown, Co. Tyrone, in 1947. Her father died when she was eight years old and her mother died ten years later. After attending St Patrick's Girls Academy she went on to study Psychology at Queen's University, Belfast, in 1968, at the same time as the civil rights movement was emerging in Northern Ireland.



Radical Activist

- Devlin became involved in radical student politics and helped found a new socialist, largely student-based civil rights group, People's Democracy. She was later excluded from Queen's University due to her activities. In the wake of violent attacks from loyalists, particularly at Burntollet Bridge (which was a breach of the NICRA truce), People's Democracy became an increasingly radical party. Throughout the early 1970s People's Democracy began to associate with hard-left politics, eventually merging with the Movement for a Socialist Republic. Due to its hardline leftist stance, People's Democracy lost the support of moderate nationalists.

Radical Activist

- Devlin became involved in radical student politics and helped found a new socialist, largely student-based civil rights group, People's Democracy. She was later excluded from Queen's University due to her activities. In the wake of violent attacks from loyalists, particularly at Burntollet Bridge (which was a breach of the NICRA truce), People's Democracy became an increasingly radical party. Throughout the early 1970s People's Democracy began to associate with hard-left politics, eventually merging with the Movement for a Socialist Republic. Due to its hardline leftist stance, People's Democracy lost the support of moderate nationalists.

Election Success and Arrest

- Devlin stood unsuccessfully as a People's Democracy candidate in the 1969 general election, in the same constituency as the future Prime Minister, James Chichester-Clark. Devlin won a subsequent by-election in 1969 at the age of 21, when she became the youngest-ever female MP at Westminster at that time. She soon became an iconic figure of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement for her outspokenness on civil rights issues and the determined, if not questionable, actions she pursued. Devlin took an active part in the Battle of the Bogside in August 1969. Afterwards she travelled to the USA, where she met with the Secretary General of the United Nations. On her arrival back in Northern Ireland she was charged with incitement to riot and sentenced to six months in prison for her role in the Battle of the Bogside. The following year she was re-elected as an MP, but nationalist leaders had by now begun to question her radical behaviour. John Hume said of her: *'Bernadette was a disaster. She had gone wholly over to the International Socialists in Britain and lost credibility everywhere.'*

Suspension from Westminster

- In the wake of Bloody Sunday, Devlin requested that she be allowed to make a speech in the House of Commons, but she was denied. She then walked across the floor of the House of Commons and slapped the Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling, when he claimed that the British Army had only opened fire after they were fired upon. She was subsequently suspended from Westminster because of her actions. In 1973 she married Michael McAliskey. When she lost her Westminster seat in 1974, due to her alienation of moderates, the couple helped to establish the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP), a breakaway group from Official Sinn Féin. The IRSP was aligned with the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA).

Subsequent Career

- She was a supporter of the 1981 hunger strikes, and became a spokesperson for the campaign. In January 1981 Devlin and her husband were injured in a failed UDA assassination attempt on her life. This led to accusations of collusion between the UDA and the British Army. This did not deter her from politics and she later ran as a candidate for the European Parliament and the Dáil, but she was unsuccessful in both. She was critical of the peace process and denounced Sinn Féin's involvement in it. In more recent years she has continued to support civil rights and community issues.

Exam Questions

- What was the contribution to Northern Irish affairs of Bernadette Devlin? (2014) HL
- How did Bernadette Devlin influence events in Northern Ireland? (2017 and 2019) OL
- Write a short paragraph on Bernadette Devlin.(2018) OL

Stormont Collapses

- Heath met with Faulkner and Lynch to try to find a solution to the crisis. Heath suggested that there should be more Catholic representation in Stormont - in effect, power sharing but this led to threats of violence from loyalists, who were not prepared to tolerate any dilution of unionist control.
- The extreme of unionist opposition is shown by William Craig, who left the Unionist Party and founded the **Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party (VUPP)**. Craig was utterly against any concessions being offered to the Catholic minority. On 18 March 1972 he addressed a rally of 60,000 unionists in Belfast, where he said: *'We must build up the dossiers (files) of the men and women who are a menace to this country, because one day.. if and when the politicians fail us, it may be our job to liquidate the enemy.'*
- On 21 March Heath summoned Faulkner to Westminster and informed him that internment was going to be phased out gradually and that the RUC, the courts and prisons were going to come under the direct control of Westminster.
- When Faulkner rejected Heath's proposal, on 28 March 1972, the British government took **direct control** of Northern Irish affairs, bringing Faulkner's government to an end. The IRA saw the collapse of Stormont as a victory, and believed that it marked the beginning of a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. The end of Stormont outraged unionists. The Unionist Party had controlled Northern Ireland for over 50 years. That dominance was now gone.
- Heath now had the task of attempting to negotiate a political solution that would be acceptable to all sides in the conflict.

Recap

You should now be able to:

- Assess why the years 1969-1972 saw violence escalate and the beginning of the Troubles
- Underline why the Unionist government's handling of the Battle of the Bogside in August 1969 drew criticism from the Irish government and increased tensions between North and South
- Discuss why tensions increased when Southern ministers were accused of helping the IRA to procure arms
- Explain why Chichester-Clark asked British Prime Minister Harold Wilson for assistance and the British Army was sent to restore order
- Assess the reforms introduced by Chichester-Clark, including the disbanding of the B-Specials, and explain why they did not succeed and were not enough to prevent further violence
- State why the IRA split in late 1969 and the Provisional IRA emerged
- Recognise why the Provisionals' campaign led to the British Army taking on a greater security role, which further alienated the nationalist community
- Identify why loyalists were also disaffected, and formed new paramilitary organisations
- Understand that as the violence intensified, new parties, such as the Alliance Party and the SDLP, offered new political initiatives
- Describe how the Unionist government, under Brian Faulkner, took a tougher line against paramilitaries and introduced internment and why this was counterproductive
- Illustrate why the British government suspended the Stormont parliament and introduced direct rule after Bloody Sunday

Questions: Revision

1. Briefly outline the steps taken by British Prime Minister Edward Heath to restore peace to Northern Ireland.
2. What early attempts did Chichester-Clark make to bring an end to sectarian violence?
3. Why did the Apprentice Boys march on 12 August 1972 ignite sectarian violence?
4. How did the Irish government respond to the 'Battle of the Bogside'?
5. Why did the British Army come on to the streets of Northern Ireland and how did the Catholic community react to them initially?
6. What were the recommendations of the Hunt Report?
7. What was the Ulster Defence Regiment?
8. Briefly describe the formation of the Provisional IRA.
9. Why did the Falls Road curfew change Catholic attitudes towards the British Army?
10. What impact did Jack Lynch's government have on developments in Northern Ireland?
11. What was the Ulster Defence Association?
12. What divisions occurred in the Ulster Unionist Party in the early 1970s?
13. What was the Alliance Party and what support did it attract?
14. What were the goals of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)?
15. Why did Chichester-Clark resign in 1971?
16. Why did Faulkner introduce internment and why did it prove to be controversial?
17. What was the impact of Bloody Sunday, 30 January 1972?

Higher Level Questions

1. What difficulties did Chichester-Clark face as Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and how successful was he in dealing with them?
2. During the period 1969-1972, how did nationalists respond to continuing discrimination?
3. What factors contributed to the introduction of direct rule from Westminster?
4. What divisions emerged in unionism during the period 1969-1972?

Ordinary Level Questions

1. Write a short paragraph on one of the following:
 - a. The Provisional IRA
 - b. The UDA
 - c. The SDLP
 - d. Bloody Sunday.
2. What reforms did Chichester-Clark's government introduce and did they succeed in restoring peace?
3. Why did Brian Faulkner bring in internment, and what was its impact?
- 4.