## Politics in the Streets

The origins of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland

> by Bob Purdie (1990)

Originally published by The Blackstaff Press, Belfast

PDF version included on CAIN with the permission of the author http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/crights/purdie/

## INDEX

Action Committee for a Peaceful	tricolour demonstration, 30
Protest (QUB), 208	Wolfe Tone Society, 130-1
Agnew, Kevin, 135	Connolly commemoration, 131
Aiken, Frank, 53	population, 162
Ali, Tariq, 235-6	barricades, 236
Allen, Cecil, 67–8	Belfast and District Trades Union
Alliance Party, 58	Council, 79-80, 133
Amalgamated Engineering Union, 167	Belfast City Council, 61-2
Amalgamated Union of Engineering	elections, 60, 62
Workers Technical and	'Sunday swings' scandal, 72
Administrative Staffs Section	Belfast Corporation, 27
(AUEW TASS), 133, 152	Belfast County Grand Orange Lodge,
An Phoblacht, 47-8	10, 22, 23-4, 66
An tÓglach, 125-7	Belfast Telegraph, 46, 63, 88-9, 140,
anarchists, 233	149-50
Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH),	Bell, Geoffrey, 209
17-18, 43, 50-1, 135	Bell, J. Bowyer, 46
Anderson, Albert, 162, 187	Bennett, Jack, 122, 130, 132
Andrews, J.L.O., 86	Bing, Geoffrey, 40
Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement	Blaney, Neil, 220
(1965), 124, 127	Bleakley, David, 18, 69, 72, 168
Anti-Internment League, 200	Bloody Sunday, Derry, 4, 247
Anti-Partition League, 38-9, 40, 41	Blythe, Ernest, 54, 76
Anti-Partition of Ireland League (GB),	Boal, Desmond, 13
105-6	Boland, Kevin, 220
Antrim Unionist Association, 35	Bose, Mr Justice, 121
Apprentice Boys of Derry, 139-40,	Boyd, Tom, 69, 70
148 A-dill Assets 20	Boyd, William, 62, 72
Ardill, Austin, 29	Boyle, Kevin, 99, 200, 209
Ardoyne Tenants' Association, 133	and PD, 201, 207, 233-4
Armour, Rev. J.B., 75	and Newry march, 218
Arthur, Paul, 198, 216-17, 219-20	NICRA executive, 223
Asmal, Kadar, 132	on Farrell, 233, 234
	Boyle, Louis, 201, 203
B Specials, 101, 215, 222	Braddock, Bessie, 227-8
Bacon, Alice, 103, 113, 116	Bradley, J. Conor, 15-16
Bailie, Robin, 16, 66, 237	Breaky, Rev. J.C., 19
Banks, Ken, 152	Breitman, George, 231-2, 237
Barnett, Anthony, 237	Brennan, John, 60
Barr, Ivan, 241	Brett, Charles, 65, 84
Beattie, Jack, 39-40	and NILP, 68-9, 72, 73, 117-18, 168
Behal, Richard, 45, 46	Brick, Ian, 204, 208
Belfast	British Army, 3, 4, 197
sectarian violence, 10, 26-7, 31-2,	Brockway, Lord Fenner, 105, 109
197	Brookeborough, Lord, 9-13, 37, 65,
I about water 10	72 70 107
Labour vote, 10	73, 79, 107

Bruce, Steve, 157 Catholic Students' Association (QUB), Bunting, Major Ronald, 192, 193, 54 213, 217 Burke, Liam, 130 Burntollet Bridge ambush, 101, 196, 214–15, 221, 240 pamphlet on, 200 Butler, Rab, 121 Byrne, Paddy, 70-1, 108-10, 118, 119–20 Calvert, H.G., 98 Cameron Report, 199, 207 on Coalisland-Dungannon march, 137 - 8on Derry march, 145 on NICRA, 149 on Burntollet, 215 on Newry march, 218 Campaign for Democracy in Ulster (CDU), 5, 69-71, 100, 103, 107-12, 114-20 aims, 108 visit to Northern Ireland, 111 conference, 111-12 weaknesses, 118-20 effects of, 247-8 Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), 80-1, 143 Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland (CSJ), 5, 82, 86,

134, 135

and CDU, 110

and PD, 221-2

results of, 247-8

Campbell, Robert, 173

Carraher, Ben, 58-9

membership, 93-4 launched, 94-6

publications, 96-101

and Connolly Association, 103

Campaign Newsletter (CSJ), 96

Campbell, Thomas, KC, 41 Carlin, Roderick, 183

Casey, Fr Eamonn, 178-9

and Wilson government, 117, 118 and NICRA, 133, 140, 155

Casement, Roger, commemoration of,

Catholics, 1-2, 35; see also discrimination and sectarianism and civil rights movement, 33 distrust of O'Neill, 33-7 voting registration, 38 republican votes, 43 distrust of RUC, 215 Caughey, Sean, 31, 121-2 Church of Ireland, 19, 20 Citizens for PR, 140 City of Londonderry and Foyle Unionist Party, 165 civil rights movement (NI) beginnings, 1-3 failure of, 2-3 Protestant opposition to, 32-4 and NILP, 68-9 and Liberals, 75-8 and Wilson government, 117-18 British support, 119-20 republican involvement, 127-30, 148-52 growth of, 155-6, 219 QUB committee, 162 in Derry, 197 tensions within, 198, 238, 240-2 student activity, 199-208 demonstrations, 205 marches attacked, 212, 213-17 loss of control, 214, 217-18 position of PD within, 226-7 seen as sectarian, 239-42, 247 civil rights movement (USA), 91-3 model for NI, 2-3, 217, 231 tactics of, 134 inappropriate model, 156-7, 244-5 civil service recruitment, 101-2 Clann na Poblachta, 230 Clarke, Major C.B., 23 Clarke, Sir George, 17-18, 23 Clulow, William, 204 Cole, Robin, 133 Comerford, Jeremy, 225 Commonwealth Labour Party, 74, 75 Communism, 123, 247 and NICRA, 148-9, 152-4, 155 Communist Party of Great Britain, 80, 228

Communist Party of Northern Ireland (CPNI), 80, 122, 131, 155 and NICRA, 148, 152-4 Communist Youth League, 131 Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, 12 Connellan, James, 76, 79 Connellan, Joseph, 50, 53 Connolly, James, 61, 106, 229, 230 commemorations, 80, 131, 139, 184-5 Connolly, Roddy, 131, 185 Connolly Association, 63, 103, 123 contacts NCCL, 80, 106-7, 121 and CDU, 110, 112 protest marches, 148 Conservative and Unionist Association (QUB), 133, 199, 201, 202, 203, 224, 226 Conservative Party (British), 38, 103 - 4Consolidated Fund Bill (1966), 114 - 15Cooper, Bob, 13, 16-17 Cooper, Ivan, 140, 141, 142, 168, 189 and DHAC, 185-6 and DCAC, 192, 194-5 Co-operative Development Trust, 124 Corrigan, Jim, 90-1, 92 Coughlan, Anthony, 123-4, 130 Council of Labour in Ireland, 110 County Londonderry Grand Lodge, 23 Cowley, Martin, 144 Coyle, Vincent, 195 Craig, Canon C.H.B., 19 Craig, William, 80, 123, 173, 224 reads IRA document, 125 bans commemoration, 134 bans marches, 139-40, 147-9, 192 attacks NICRA, 154-5 bans Republican Clubs, 202-3, 204-5 house picketed, 204, 205, 210 on IWG, 228 Craigavon, Co. Armagh, 14, 34, 165 Cumann na mBan, 46 Curran, John, 85 Currie, Austin, 36, 76, 85, 105, 204, 241

Nationalist candidate, 51-3 Caledon housing protest, 135, 136 on Derry march, 140, 141 Cush, Peter, 201

Dáil Éireann, 43, 125 Daley, Mayor, 147 Daly, Glen, 62 de Valera, Eamon, 45, 105, 229 Defamator, 225 Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), Derry, 173 RUC baton charge, 3 Bloody Sunday, 4, 247 university question, 69, 165-6 local government, 97-8, 159-60 marchers attacked, 100, 101, 110, 120, 138-9, 171, 188-9 Connolly parade banned, 131 civil rights movement in, 159-97 unemployment, 160-1 population, 161-2 labour movement in, 166-70 republicanism in, 171-3 housing, 174-9, 196 Springtown Camp, 175, 177-8 NICRA in, 180 Sub-Tenants' Committee, 181 tenants' associations, 183-4 demonstrations, 189-90 sectarian violence, 194, 197 Development Commission appointed, 195-6 PD march attacked, 214-15 election results, 219-20 barricades, 236 Derry Citizens' Action Committee (DCAC), 5, 78, 163, 190-7, 198, 213, 214, 239 demonstrations, 193-5, 196-7 and PD, 221, 223 and NICRA, 227 effects of, 248 Derry Housing Action Committee (DHAC), 5, 169, 171, 173-4, 179-84 and NICRA, 135 Derry march, 138, 140, 146, 148,

189

demonstrations, 180-6 Dungannon protest march, 135-8, arrests, 182 146, 150 Derry Housing Association, 178-9 Dungannon Urban District Council, Derry Journal, 144, 145, 162, 185, 189-90, 193 housing discrimination, 82-3, 86-93, Derry Unemployed Action Committee 102 (DUAC), 5, 172-3, 180, 194 test case, 99 Derry Young Republican Association, 172, 183 Easter Rising commemorations, 30, 42-3, 76, 171 Detonator, 225, 233 1966, 31, 44, 45, 80, 229 Devlin, Bernadette, 94, 138, 169, 199, 207, 246 banned, 134 elections, 220, 238-9 ecumenical movement, 18-22 on Farrell, 232-3 education, 77, 101 and PD, 233, 234 Egan, Bowes, 162, 200, 215 New Left Review interview, 237, Elder, Nelson, 133 elections attack on civil rights movement, 241 Belfast City Council, 60, 62 Diamond, Harry, 36, 39-40, 43, 46, Derry by-election, 169-70 61, 62, 203, 227 East Tyrone by-election (1964), 51-3 Director of Public Prosecutions, 249 local elections (1967), 168-9 discrimination, 1-2 National Unity, 57-8 used by nationalists, 40 PR introduced, 249 opposed by NILP, 65-70 QUB constituency, 74-6 housing, 76, 83-8, 175 Stormont 1962, 22, 48, 60-1, 65 opposed by Liberals, 76-7 1965, 15, 37, 72-3, 81, 169 investigation called for, 80 legal aspects, 97, 98-9, 101, 102-3 1968, 197 changing context, 249-52 1969, 218-20 in Britain, 250 violence, 27-8 Discrimination - Pride for Prejudice (NI Westminster Society of Labour Lawyers), 71 1962, 67,69 Doherty, James, 181, 186, 194 1964, 28, 103-4 Doherty, John Anthony, 183 1965, 59-60 Doherty, William, 90 1966, 62-4 Dolley, Michael, 132 Electoral Reform Society, 110, 112 Donegan, P.S., 51 Electrical Trade Union, 80 Donnelly, J.J., 84-5 Elizabeth II, coronation of, 41 Donnelly, James, 91 Ellis, James, 67 Donnelly, Peter, 90 Ennals, Martin, 106, 121-2 Donoghue, Oliver, 109 Enniskillen Borough Council, 84-5 Douglas-Home, Sir Alec, 97, 98, Enniskillen Rural District Council, 85 99 Equal Opportunities Commission, Dowling, Michael, 201 248, 249 Down and Dromore, Bishop of, 20 Erskine, Lord, 25, 31 Dublin Corporation, 43 European Court of Human Rights, 228 Dúchas, Council of Irish Tradition, European Economic Community 131 (EEC), 51, 75, 80, 127 Duffy, John, 56 Evangelical Protestant Society, 23 Evangelist, The (Thompson), 67 Dungannon Observer, 83, 91-2, 93

Fabian Society (TCD), 74 Faceless Committee (PD), 207, 234 Fair Employment Act (1976), 149 Fair Employment Agency, 248 Farrell, Michael, 141, 200, 217 letter from McCann, 139, 153, 227 and Newry march, 218 on NICRA executive, 223 influence of, 226, 235 career, 230-1, 232-3 New Left Review interview, 237 Faul, Fr Denis, 76 Faulkner, Brian, 10, 23, 25, 93 picketed, 173 on Burntollet, 216 Feeney, Vincent, 93 Fenian Rising 1867, commemoration, 76, 134 Fermanagh Welfare Committee, 85 Fianna Fáil, 220, 230 Fitt, Gerry, 28, 46, 76, 95, 105, 227 and Paisley, 25-6 on O'Neill, 36-7 and IRA prisoners' campaign, 43 and RLP, 59-60, 61, 62, 227 wins Dock seat, 60-2, 65 wins West Belfast seat, 62-4, 111, 230-1 and CDU, 70, 111, 112 on Section 75, 114-15 housing protest marches, 136-7 Derry march, 140-1, 146 and DHAC, 185 and DCAC, 194-5 Fitzherbert, Giles Eden, 28 flags and emblems, 28-31, 41, 48, 131, 185 Flags and Emblems (Display) Act (1954), 30, 44 Fletcher, Sir Eric, 114 Forrest, George, 23 Fortnight, 250 Foster, Alec, 130 Free Presbyterian Church, 21 Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 94 Freeson, Reg, 115-16 Friel, Patrick, 174-5, 187

Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), 43, 135 Gaelic games, 88, 90, 91 Gallagher, Charles, 168 Gallagher, Rev. Eric, 19 Gallagher, Frank, 100 Gallagher, James, 173 Garda Síochána, 154 Garland, Sean, 47, 124 Garrett, Brian, 68 gerrymandering, 69, 100-2, 106, 159-60 Gilligan, Conor, 94 Gilroy, Freddie, 92 Glen and Claudy Young Unionist Association, 168 Glover, Major Gerald, 164, 165 Gogarty, Frank, 130, 216, 222 Gormley, Patrick, 14, 37, 57-8, 59, 164, 165-6 Gormley, Thomas, 57-8, 59 Goulding, Cathal, 42, 46, 47, 124, 132, 147 on civil rights movement, 149-50 Government of Ireland Act (1920), 122, 245 Section 75, 40, 63-4, 96, 114-16, and discrimination, 97, 99-100 enquiry into working of, 112-18 Grace, Paul, 194 Graham, Ken, 109 Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, 17-18, 23 Greaves, C. Desmond, 103, 107 Green, David, 140 Gregory, Brian, 94-5 Grey, Lord, 210 Grimond, Jo, 77 Group Theatre, Belfast, 67 Guardian, 147

Hadden, Tom, 99
Haldane Society (of Socialist
Lawyers), 110
Hall Report, 11–12, 79
Hamill, George, 195
Hanna, Vincent, 68
Hardcastle, William, 147
Harris, Noel, 152
Hassard, Jack, 70, 137
Haughey, Denis, 201

Hayter, Teresa, 236 Healy, Cahir, 14, 22-3, 41, 48, 51 on housing, 85-6 pamphlet, 100, 101 Healy, Margaret, 144 Heaney, Seamus, 206-7, 246-7 Heany, Henry, 54 Heath, Edward, 105 Heatley, Fred, 122, 140 Wolfe Tone Societies, 123, 130-1, 132 and NICRA, 133-4, 135, 246 Derry march, 141, 144, 145 resigns from NICRA, 153 Heenan, Dr John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 18 Hegarty, James, 164, 174, 175, 180, Hibernia, 53, 54 Holland, Mary, 105 Holmes, Erskine, 137, 219 Home Rule movement, 2 Homeless Citizens' League (HCL), 82-3, 87-93, 96, 178 main demands, 90-1 Hope, Ann, 134, 246 Hopkins, S.S., 31 housing, 213 discrimination, 76, 83-8 test case, 99 and csj, 102 Caledon protest, 135 Derry, 161, 172, 174-9 promise of reform, 213, 222 Housing Act (1956), 177 Hume, John, 51, 59, 60, 166, 189 Derry university controversy, 165 Derry Housing Association, 178 and DHAC, 183 and DCAC, 191-2, 193, 195 Newry march, 218 defeats McAteer, 219 Humpidge-Moorman, Dr J.R., Bishop of Ripon, 21, 133 Indivisible Island, The (Gallagher),

International Commission of Jurists, 121

International Federation of Jurists, internment, 4 Ireland Act (1949), 39, 40, 112 Ireland Today, 128-9, 150 Ireland's Path to Socialism (CPNI), 152 Irish Action (McAteer), 41 Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, 132 Irish Association of Labour Students' Organisations, 230 Irish Club conference, 111–12 Irish Communist Group, 228 Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) Northern Ireland Committee, 12, 70, 78–9, 80, 103, 107 Irish Democrat, 106-7 Irish Labour Party, 39, 61, 125, 167, Irish language, 48 Irish Militant, 170, 229 Irish National Foresters, 135 Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), 251 Irish News, 19, 20-2, 35, 51, 90, 101, 132, 144, 209-10 Irish Pacifist Association, 132 Irish Republic and O'Neill, 14, 15, 34 economic changes, 16 call for end to partition, 39 pressure on Nationalist Party, 53-4 northern policy, 220 Irish Republican Army (IRA), 154-5; see also Official IRA and Provisional IRA border campaign, 2, 41, 42, 246 and civil rights movement, 33, 149-51 cease-fire, 37, 42, 44-7 release of prisoners' campaign, 43 split, 47 development of strategy, 124-7 and protest marches, 148 Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 45, 46 Irish Society, The Honourable The, Irish Times, 51, 147-8 Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (rrgwu), 167

Irish Union, 122 Irish Weekly, 36, 48, 101 Irish Workers' Group (IWG), 170-1, 228-30, 231, 240 Irish Workers' League, 123 Irish Workers' Party, 185

Jenkins, Roy, 116-17, 118 John XXIII, Pope, 18, 21, 25, 164 Johnston, Roy, 123-4, 130, 132, 150 Joint Action Committee Against the Suppression of Liberties (QUB), 202, 203-4

Joint Memorandum on Citizens' Rights in Northern Ireland (NILP), 71 Jones, E.W., QC, 76, 98, 165

Kaufman, Gerald, 119 Keenan, Sean, 42-3 Kennedy, Bobby, 92 Kennedy, Paddy, 141 Kerr, Ann, 140 Kerr, Russell, 140 Kilfedder, James, 31, 62-3 King, Martin Luther, Jr, 3, 134, 217, 245 Kirk, Herbert V., 50

Labour Group (QUB), 201, 202, 203, 225, 228, 230 labour movement need for unity, 127-8 in Derry, 166-70 Labour Party (British), 39, 104, 105, 167, 248 Friends of Ireland, 39-40 and Northern Ireland, 77, 116-18 and CDU, 103, 107 Lafferty, John, 183 Larne gun-running commemoration, Law Society of Northern Ireland, 99 Lawless, Gerard, 228-9, 230 legal aid scheme, 98-9 Legal Aid to Oppose Discrimination -Not Likely! (CSJ), 96, 98-100 Lemass, Sean, 16, 127, 229 meeting with O'Neill, 14, 15, 34, 36, 37, 117 Lennon, James, 17-18, 41, 52

Les Temps Modernes, 235 Liberal Association (QUB), 202 Liberal Group (QUB), 201, 203 Liberal Party (British), 103; see also Ulster Liberal Party Linfield Football Club, 26-7 Lipton, Marcus, 11 Lisnaskea Rural District Council, 85 local government franchise, 67, 69 gerrymandering, 69, 100-2, 106, 159-60 need for reform, 71, 77 in Derry, 97-8 Commissioner for Complaints, 249 reorganised, 249 Lockwood Report, 165 London Poster Workshop, 236 Londonderry see Derry Londonderry. One Man, No Vote (CSJ), 96, 97-8 Londonderry Corporation, 102, 162, NILP contests seats, 168-9 boundary extension, 176-9 DHAC demonstrations, 180-1, 185-8 prorogued, 188, 195-6, 213, 222 Londonderry Improvement Bill, 159-60 Londonderry Sentinel, 162 Londonderry trades council, 167 Long, William, 210 Loy, Christopher, 43 Loyal Citizens of Ulster, 192 Lubbock, Eric, 77, 115 Lynch, Jack, 14, 220

Mac an Ailí, Ciarán, 132 Mac Aonghusa, Proinsias, 140 Mac Giolla, Tomás, 42, 43 Mac Stíofáin, Seán, 42, 47, 123, 150 - 1McAllister, Ian, 49, 55-6 McAnerney, John, 140, 152, 153 McAteer, Eddie, 37, 48, 50, 105, 118, 163, 164, 189, 203 advises civil disobedience, 41 leader of Nationalist Party, 49, 51,

and NDP, 60 and NCCL, 121 and NICRA, 140 Derry march, 141-4 Derry university question, 165 election results, 167 on housing, 174, 175, 178 on Burntollet, 216 defeated by Hume, 219 McAuley, Jack, 21 MacBride, Sean, 251 MacBride Principles, 250-1 McCabe, T.J., 175, 176 McCafferty, Nell, 161 McCann, Eamonn, 162, 172, 234, 235, 236 Derry march, 138-9, 142, 146, 189 letter to Farrell, 139, 153, 227 on 1968 Derry by-election, 170 career of, 170-1 and DHAC, 182, 184, 188 Connolly commemoration, 185-6 housing agitation, 186 and DCAC, 190, 195 at QUB, 199-200, 233 election result, 219 and rwg, 228-9 Easter Rising anniversary, 229 New Left Review interview, 238, 239 critique of civil rights movement, 240-1, 242 McCann, Joe, 137 McCartney, J., 98 McClean, Dr Raymond, 190, 194 McClure, W.J., 20 McCluskey, Dr Conn, 82, 89, 93, 94-5 and CDU, 110, 118-19 and NICRA, 140 resigns from NICRA, 153 McCluskey, Patricia, 82-3, 93, 94, letters from Wilson, 100, 104-5 and CDU, 110, 118 on Section 75, 112-13 and PD, 221-2 McConnell, Brian, 23 McCormack, Inez, 209 McCormack, Vincent, 215 McCracken, Henry Joy, 131

MacDermott, Lord, Lord Chief Justice, 31 MacDonnell, D., 36 McDyer, Fr James, 124 McElroy, Rev. Albert, 28, 33, 73-6, 78, 81, 170 McFarlane, Tony, 230 McGettigan, John, 183 McGonagle, Stephen, 166, 167, 168, 180, 189 McGuffin, John, 235 McGuinness, Micky, 191 McGuire, Michael, 115 McHugh, John Patrick, 99 McKeague, John, 131 McKee, Billy, 44 McKeown, Ciaran, 59, 62, 199 at QUB, 199, 201, 202, 203, 206 McKeown, Michael, 76 Mackintosh, J.P., 113 McManus, Patrick, 45 McMillen, Billy, 44, 62, 132 McNamara, Kevin, 103, 105, 114-15 McQuade, John, 25 McRea, Jack, 90 McRoberts, Brian, 22-3 McShane, Rory, 204, 225, 229 McSparran, James, 41 Magee College, Derry, 165, 209 Mallett, Jerry, 182 Mansion House Conference (1949), 39 Margaret, Princess, visit of, 45, 58 Marxism, 5, 42, 106, 123, 200, 234 Mater Hospital, Belfast, 68, 69, 77, 110 Matthew Plan, 34 Maxwell, Paddy, 163 Meharg, County Inspector William (RUC), 140, 142 Melaugh, Eamonn, 172, 173 Derry march, 144 and DHAC, 182, 183, 186, 187 and DCAC, 192 Melly, Mick, 109 Methodists, 19 Midgley, Harry, 74 Miller, Maurice, 111 Mills, William Stratton, 25, 237 Minford, Nat, 21, 32, 213 Mitchell, Tom, 42

Monday Club (QUB), 224
Morgan, Elystan, 114-15
Morgan, W.J., 85, 174
Morrison, Brian, 90
Movement for Colonial Freedom, 105, 110
Mulvey, Fr Anthony, 178
Murnaghan, Sheelagh, 74, 77-8, 206, 219
Murphy, John, 90
Mutilation of a Nation, The (Healy), 100, 101

Nairn, Ian, 160 Napier, Sam, 15, 28, 69, 71, 73, 110 National Assistance Board, 61 National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL), 80, 95, 133 Northern Ireland visit, 106, 121-2 and NICRA, 132-3 National Democratic Group (QUB), 201, 202, 203 National Democratic Party (NDP), 77, 110, 131, 133, 201, 232 origins, 55, 58-60 elections, 62, 63, 76 and protest marches, 135, 137, 145 National Economic Development Council (UK), 11 National Front, 224 National Graves Association, 43-4 National Political Front, 57, 58 National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, 167 National Unity, 54-8, 94 nationalism, 1-2, 239 fight against partition, 38-42 commemorations, 131-2 Nationalist Party, 36, 49, 51, 77, 241 becomes official opposition, 16, 37, 49-50 Orange-Green talks, 17-18 elections, 27-8, 57-60, 65, 219 anti-partitionism, 35, 38-9, 40 abstentionism, 39, 48 and republicans, 41-2, 48-9 traditional patterns, 48-51 sectarianism denied, 53 pressure towards activism, 53-5, 58 and unemployment, 79

and housing, 86, 88, 91, 174, 175-7, 186 - 8seen as ineffectual, 93, 95 protest marches, 135 in Derry, 163-6, 175-7, 186-8, 189 Derry university question, 165-6 attacks on, 170, 238, 239 and NICRA, 180 and DHAC, 181, 183 Nelson, Sarah, 32-3, 66 Nelson Pillar, Dublin, 31, 45, 46 New Ireland, 15-16, 200 New Ireland Society (QUB), 15, 52, 200-1, 203 New Left Review, 236-7 New University of Ulster, 208-9, 238 Newe, Gerard, 54 Newry trades council, 79 News Letter, 18, 31, 67, 89-90 Nixon, Dr Robert, 165 Nolan, Sean, 185 Northern Ireland modernisation, 9-10 economy, 11-12, 13-15, 37, 65, 68 dependent on subsidies, 14 UK position guaranteed, 39 possibility of constitutional change, 40, 63-4, 96, 107 as seen at Westminster, 40, 77-8 cultural and artistic world, 66-7 and EEC, 75 housing provision, 83-4 royal commission called for, 100, 106 CDU visit, 111 population, 161-2 reports on, 248-9 reforms, 249 problem internationalised, 250 Britain takes control, 250 Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), 4, 82, 100, 121-58, 198, 250 public demonstrations, 78, 134-5, 244, 245 origins, 123, 130, 132-4, 149, 151-2 Coalisland-Dungannon march, 135-8, 146, 150, 171, 246 Protestant involvement, 137 Derry march, 138-49, 162, 189, 246 Communist involvement, 148, 152-4

republican involvement, 148-52 and PD, 153, 221-2, 223, 239, 242 growth of, 155-6 in Derry, 162-3, 172, 180 calls truce, 213 Burntollet ambush, 216 move to civil disobedience, 222-3 and DCAC, 227 failure of, 247-8 opposed to terrorism, 251 Northern Ireland Council for Civil Liberties (NICCL), 121-2 Northern Ireland Housing Executive, 68, 249 Northern Ireland Housing Trust (NIHT), 83, 84, 174, 178, 249 Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP), 15, 18, 28, 37, 63, 74, 90, 185, 201, 230 elections, 10, 65, 81, 231 economic policies, 11-12 decline, 39, 102 and Nationalist Party, 50 and Fitt, 62 Protestant support, 65-70, 72-3 manifesto, 67 and CDU, 70-1, 110, 112 and civil rights movement, 71-3, 75, 129 'Sunday swings' scandal, 72 and unemployment, 79 Young Socialists, 81, 228, 232 supported by Wilson, 104-5 delegations, 117, 187 and NICRA, 133, 155 protest marches, 135, 137, 138, 140 in Derry, 166-70, 239 and republicanism, 171 perspectives document, 188 and PD, 227 Trotskyism alleged, 227-8 Northern Ireland parliament see Stormont Northern Ireland Police Authority, 248, 249 Northern Ireland Society of Labour Lawyers, 71

Ó Brádaigh, Seán, 42 O'Brien, Conor Cruise, 53 O'Brien, Terence, 162-3 Observer, 105 O'Connor, T., 137 O'Doherty, Finbar, 171-2, 173, 182-3, 185, 186, 192 O'Donnell, Neil, 183 O'Donnell, Turlough, 68 Official IRA, 42, 44, 247 Oglach, An t-, 125-7 O'Hare, P.J., 51, 85, 86 Old Fianna Veterans' Association, 43 O'Leary, Matt, 180, 181, 182 ombudsman, 213, 249 O'Neill, Phelim, 21, 23, 148 O'Neill, Captain Terence, 18, 64, 69, 77, 89, 185, 240 leadership, 9-10, 24 policies, 13-15, 34-5, 165 meeting with Lemass, 14, 15, 34, 36, 37, 117, 127 contacts with Irish Republic, 14, 15, and Paisley, 25, 33-4 resignation, 32 disillusion with, 33-7, 71, 246 Pottinger speech, 35 and NILP, 73 defuses protests, 81 and Fitt, 115 and Wilson, 116-17, 118 'crossroads' speech, 195, 212-3 picketed, 210, 211-12, 224 promises reform, 213, 222, 241 and PD, 215-16 calls election (1969), 218-20 Orange Order, 10-11, 50 talks with AOH, 17-18 opposed to ecumenism, 20-2 tensions within, 22-4 role in Unionist Party, 35 and NILP, 66 Orbinson, Kenneth, 143 O'Reilly, James, 36, 48 Orme, Stan, 111 O'Shaughnessy, Bill, 108, 109 Over the Bridge (Thompson), 67

Paisley, Eileen, 26 Paisley, Ian, 31, 32, 67, 208, 224 DUP, 13

attacks ecumenism, 21, 133 rise of, 24-6 demonstration against tricolour, 30 Ulster Protestant Volunteers, 135-6 and civil rights movement, 156, 212 counter-demonstrations, 194, 204, and student demonstrations, 204, 205-6meeting attacked, 214 leadership, 245 Paisley, Rev. Kyle, 19 Paisleyism, 25-6, 76, 196, 207 demonstrations, 23, 210 influence of, 32-4 Paris (1968), 235-6, 237 partition, 38-42, 51 Patrick, William, 54 Patterson, Brian, 204 Patterson, Floyd, 92 Patton, John, 196 PD Voice, 240 People's Action League, 172 People's Democracy (PD), 5, 196, 198-243, 205, 220-1 and NICRA, 153 objectives, 209-10 demonstrations, 210-12 arrests, 211-12 Belfast-Derry march, 213-17 strategy, 216-17, 236-42 Newry march, 217-18 election campaign, 218-20 move to civil disobedience, 222-3 and NICRA, 222-3 moves away from QUB, 223-4 seen as extremist, 224-6 and Farrell, 230, 232-3 and RSSF, 233 influences on, 233-6 effects of, 248 People's Democracy Agenda, 210 Peters, Derek, 152, 162, 172 Philbin, Dr William, Bishop of Down and Connor, 18 Phoblacht, An, 47-8 Pius XI, Pope, 93 Plain Truth, The, 1st and 2nd eds (csj), 96, 100, 101 Police Complaints Board, 248, 249

Political Prisoners Release Committee, 122 Porter, Norman, 23 Presbyterians, 19-20, 21 Prevention of Incitement to Hatred Act (1970), 249 Prices and Incomes Act (1966), 99-100 Pritt, D.N., QC, 107 proportional representation, 159, 249 Protestant Telegraph, 32 Protestants; see also sectarianism and civil rights movement, 33, 237-9, 240 unemployment, 79, 161 and nationalist pageantry, 131-2 and NICRA, 137 Provisional IRA, 1, 3-4, 42, 44, 247, 250, 251 Provisional Sinn Féin, 122 Public Order Bill, 222-3 Purdy, J., 89 Pyle, Fergus, 139-40, 141, 142, 145, 155

Quadragesimo Anno, 93 Queen's University Belfast (QUB), 19, 58, 63, 113, 130 political societies, 5, 15, 25, 52, 54, 131, 134, 199-205, 230 by-election, 69, 76 abolition of seats, 76 Liberal constituency, 74-5 protests, 80-1 civil rights working committee, 162 student activity, 198-208, 233 Republican Club recognition, 202-5, 233-4Faceless Committee (PD), 207 and PD, 223-6, 224-6 Irish Workers' Group (IWG), 229 Quinn, Seamus, 167, 168

Race Relations Act, 108, 150, 169
Rea, Desmond, 15
Red Mole, 236
Release the Prisoners Committee, 171
Representation of the People Act, 63
Republican Club (QUB), 131, 202-3, 203-5, 233-4

Republican Clubs, 76, 131, 133 and nationalist commemorations, banned, 134, 202 and protest marches, 137, 138, and student demonstrations, 204, 205-6, 208 and NICRA, 155 and PD demonstrations, 210-11, Republican Congress, 109 213-15, 217-18 Republican Education Department, call to disarm, 222 128 - 30Catholic distrust of, 247 Republican Labour Party (RLP), 39, Royalist Society, The Honourable the 77, 94, 133, 230-2 (QUB), 224 and Fitt, 59-60, 61, 62, 227 Ryan, John, 140, 143 and protest marches, 135 Republican News, 122 Saor Uladh, 228 republicans, 76 Scarman Report, 124 electoral tactics, 41-2 Scots-Irish Association of Philadelphia, 35 commemorations, 42-4, 185 violent tradition, 44-7 Sean McCaughey Club, Belfast, 46 and Nationalist Party, 48-9 sectarianism, 238 share of vote, 62-3 violence, 26-8, 31-2, 212 and civil rights movement, 127-30 flags and emblems, 28-31 and NICRA, 135, 148-52 increasing, 31-2, 246 in Derry, 171-3 elections, 65 Revolutionary Socialist Students' and NILP, 65-70, 72-3 and unemployment protests, 79 Federation (RSSF), 211-12, 225, Sex Discrimination Order (1976), 249 Richardson, Eddie, 79 Shankill Defence Association, 131 Richmond, David, 250 Sharkey, John, 166 Riddell, Patrick, 149 Shearman, Hugh, 83 Shepherd, James, 132-3 Ripon, Bishop of, 21, 133 Robinson, Alan, 160-1 Sheridan, Anthony, 99 Rose, Paul, 71, 108-9, 110, 111 Signposts to the New Ulster (NILP), 69 Rose, Richard, 84, 102, 223 Silent Valley reservoir, 32 Round Table, 15, 16, 65 Simpson, Dr Robert, 22 Rowan, Peter, 201, 206 Simpson, Vivian, 11-12, 69, 168 Royal Belfast Academical Institution, Sinclair, Betty, 80, 136, 140 opposed to demonstrations, 135, Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), 28, 139, 185, 244 Derry march, 141-2 and Derry march, 3, 140-9, 155, and NICRA, 152-4 192 Sinn Féin, 41-2, 43, 122 Smyth, W. Martin, 21 and Paisleyite march, 26 opposed to sectarianism, 26 Smythe, Tony, 132-3 and Belfast riots, 30-1 Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), 52, 60, 62, 201 flags and emblems, 41, 44 and IRA, 46-7 socialism religious divisions, 101 in Northern Ireland, 39, 58, 65, 66, 152, 228-30, 232 and NICRA, 134 and Coalisland-Dungannon march, Socialist Labour League, 228, 232 135 - 8Socialist Republican Party, 39, 227 reports, 154 Spanish Civil War, 70, 109

Special Powers Act, 69, 77, 80, 101, 196 enquiry into, 106 NCCL on, 122 Spotlight Ulster, 119 Springtown Residents' Association, 177 - 8Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights, 249, 250 Stewart, Charles, QC, 74, 77 Stewart, Joseph, 43, 50-1, 89 Stewart, William, 89, 135 Stormont, 14, 43; see also under elections Hall Report debate, 11-12, 79 Nationalist Party in, 16, 37, 64 election violence, 27-8 abstentionism, 41-2 greater powers proposed, 56-7 possibility of united opposition, 64 discrimination bill, 77-8 and housing discrimination, 85-6, 96, 174 political system, 102-3 royal commission called for, 106 IRA document read, 125 Derry university question, 165-6 PD protest, 210 Strabane Civil Rights Committee, 241 Stronge, Sir Norman, 11, 50 Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (USA), 231 Student Representative Council (QUB), 199, 202-3 and PD, 224 Sunday News, 144 Sunday Times Insight Team, 247 Sweeney, Malachy, 91

Taggart, Fred, 201, 206
Tariq Ali, 235-6
Taylor, John, 135
Temps Modernes, Les, 235
terrorism, 251
Thompson, Sam, 66-7
Thorpe, Jeremy, 77
Times, The, 164-7
Toman, Cyril, 221, 230, 233, 234, 235, 238
Tomlinson, Mike, 86

trade unions, 12, 13, 43, 78–80, 103, 222
and civil rights movement, 129, 132, 133
in Derry, 167
travellers, 134
tricolour see flags and emblems
Trinity College Dublin, 74
Trotskyism, 227–8, 231–2, 235–6, 240
Tuairisc, 127–8, 151
Turner, Brian, 201, 204
Twelfth of July celebrations, 22–4
Twenty-second of March Movement, 235

Ulster Constitution Defence Committee (QUB), 25 Ulster Covenant commemoration, 10-11, 13 Ulster Labour and the Sixties (NILP), Ulster Liberal Association, 77 Ulster Liberal Party, 33, 37, 81, 232 elections, 28, 65, 169, 219 revival, 73-8 discrimination bill, 77-8 and civil rights movement, 78 and NICRA, 133 Ulster Protestant Action, 24 Ulster Protestant Volunteers, 26, 135 Ulster Special Constabulary see B Specials Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), 25-6, 31, 132 unemployment, 11, 72, 78-9 Derry, 160-1, 173 Unionist Party (Ulster), 17, 57, 60, 74, 115, 239 and civil rights movement, 2, 132, 137, 156, 248 elections, 10, 31, 62-3, 64-5, 74 tensions within, 13, 16, 36, 42, 65-6, 222 and UVF, 26 influence on O'Neill, 34-5, 36-7 Westminster representation, 38, 40, 103 - 4traditional, 50 challenged, 75-6, 80, 81, 164, 169

and labour movement, 80 and housing, 86, 174, 175-7 possible coalition against, 102 and NICRA, 133 Derry university question, 165 attitude to Derry, 179, 195-6 HQ picketed, 210 and PD, 232, 236-7 Unionist Trade Unionist Association, United Ireland Association, 105-6 United Irishman, 45 United Irishmen commemoration, 41 United States; see also civil rights movement (USA) Irish-American lobby, 38, 40 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 196 University College Dublin, 204 University for Derry Action Committee, 5, 165, 189

Vatican II, 19, 24 Vick, Dr Arthur, 203, 225

Wallace, Martin, 113, 114 Ward, Margaret, 209 Warnock, Edmond, 12 Westminster, 11, 43, 103, 245; see also Campaign for Democracy in Ulster (CDU) and elections subsidies for NI, 14 Labour government and NI, 38, 62, Unionist representation in, 38, 40, 103 - 4Friends of Ireland, 39-40 support for civil rights, 40, 69-71 National Unity contests election, 57 NDP contests election, 59-60 Fitt in, 63-4 and Ulster Liberals, 77-8

powers over Northern Ireland, 107, 112 - 18Section 75 debated, 114-16 MPs on Derry march, 140, 146 reports, 248 What the Papers Say (CSJ), 96, 98 White, John, 172, 183 Why Justice Cannot Be Done (CSJ), 96-7 Whyte, John, 84 Willcock, Janet, 169-70, 182, 185 Wilson, Harold, 62, 73, 116, 117-18, 195, 248 and csj, 100, 104-5 and CDU, 118-19 Wilson, Paddy, 62 Wilson family, 182 Wilson Plan, 34 Wilton, Claude, 78, 169, 170, 189, 219 Wolfe Tone commemorations, 30, 43, 44 Wolfe Tone Societies, 122, 123-4, 130, 132, 133, 149 protest marches, 135 and NICRA, 151, 155 Wolseley, Raymond, 166 Woods, Fergus, 219 Workers' Republic, 228 Working Committee on Civil Rights in Northern Ireland (QUB), 199-200 Wright, Frank, 67, 72, 156-7 Wylie, Rev. John, 208 Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 232, 237, 240 Young Socialists, 81, 110, 131, 228,

Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), 232, 237, 240 Young Socialists, 81, 110, 131, 228, 232, 239 protest marches, 137, 139, 141, 146, 148, 153 Young Unionists, 13, 133 'Worse was to come: a little further on two groups of attackers, armed with cudgels, lengths of lead piping, crowbars and iron bars were concealed in and around Ardmore Road at its junction with the Derry-Claudy road, just before it reaches Burntollet Bridge. Since the police were grouped at the head of the march, they offered little or no protection when these attackers leaped out and assaulted the marchers. The attack was brutal and relentless: the unresisting marchers were beaten, knocked down and kicked, prevented from seeking shelter, pursued and further assaulted.'

The civil rights movement of the 1960s profoundly transformed the political situation in Northern Ireland. Exposing injustice at the very heart of the Northern Ireland state – political favouritism, gerrymandering, sectarian discrimination in housing and job allocation – the civil rights protests were a militant but constitutional challenge to Unionist domination.

Based on extensive research and interviews with leading activists like Eamonn McCann and Michael Farrell, Politics in the Streets tells the compelling story of the growth of the civil rights movement from its hopeful origins in the early 1960s to the mass street demonstrations of 1968 and 1969. Incisive in his analysis

Marxism – Bob Purdie examines how a confused reaction to the bitter Unionist backlash contributed to its eventual breakdown. An invaluable account of the revolutionary events of the 1960s.

of the movement's internal contradictions - its politics ranged from conservative nationalism to radical

Cover photograph: student civil rights demonstration, Beffast, October 1968 Courtesy of Pacemaker Press International

> 198W 0-85640-437-3 9 \*780856\*404375\*

\$9.95