Later Modern Ireland

Topic 5, Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993

Documents for case study:

The Sunningdale Agreement and the power-sharing executive, 1973-1974
PREFACE

The topic, Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993, is prescribed by the State Examinations Commission (SEC) for the documents-based study for the 2010 and 2011 Leaving Certificate examinations.

The case studies for the topic are:

- The Coleraine University controversy
- The Sunningdale Agreement and the power-sharing executive, 1973-1974
- The Apprentice Boys of Derry

The set of documents selected for each of the case studies, and presented herein, is varied in nature and represents varying points of view, enabling students to look at the case study from different perspectives.

Each set of documents is accompanied by an introduction which gives an outline of the case study and the relevance of each of the documents to the different aspects of the case study.

A series of biographical notes relating to people mentioned in the documents is provided, along with a glossary of key terms. Since there is significant overlap of personalities and terminology between the three case studies, these notes are unified and repeated for each of the case studies.

The basic template employed is one devised for an initiative of the National Library of Ireland (NLI) and the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA), which produced sets of documents for the topics prescribed for documents-based study in the 2006 and 2007 examinations. The success of that initiative prompted the History In-Service Team (HIST) to commission Dr. Jane Finucane to compile sets of documents on the topics prescribed for the 2008 and 2009 examinations along similar lines to the NLI/NCCA initiative.

The current sets of documents were selected by Dr. Jane Finucane, Lecturer in Early Modern History, University of Glamorgan, who also prepared the biographical notes, the glossary of key terms and the questions on the documents. The materials were edited for publication by the National Coordinator of the History Support Service, John Dredge.

John Dredge,
National Coordinator,
History Support Service.
July 2009.

Online help: The director of CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet), Dr. Martin Melaugh, has compiled a page that will be of assistance to teachers of Leaving Certificate History at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/leaving_certificate/

For further assistance, see the History Support Service website at www.hist.ie.
INTRODUCTION

The Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 was an attempt to respond to divisions in Northern Ireland by establishing new structures for government which would institutionalise cooperation between nationalist and unionist parties, and between the Northern Ireland and the Republic. The Agreement followed the suspension of the Stormont Parliament (Document 2), coming at a time of increasing tensions between loyalists and the Establishment (Document 1, Document 3) The Sunningdale Agreement was negotiated by the British and Irish Governments, and by representatives of willing Northern Irish parties: the Ulster Unionist Party, the S.D.L.P and the Alliance Party (Document 5). Its most controversial elements were a power-sharing executive, which would see members of unionist and nationalist parties share ministerial responsibilities, and a Council of Ireland, on which representatives of Northern Ireland and the Republic would cooperate in proposing and discussing shared policies, mostly socio-economic (Document 6). These elements made the agreement unacceptable to many unionists (Documents 7-9, Document 12), whose protests culminated in an organized strike (Documents 7-9). No effective response to the strike was found (Document 10), so that the Executive collapsed after an upsurge in violence which affected the Republic as well as the North (Document 11).

The Sunningdale Agreement and the Power-Sharing Executive is a case study for the Politics and Administration perspective of the topic, Politics and society in Northern Ireland, 1949-1993. A number of the documents presented here offer government perspectives: cabinet papers (Document 2), political memoirs (Document 5), government press statements (Document 7) and broadcasts (Document 10), and formal agreements (Document 6). Others provide an opportunity for examining public opinion and grassroots political movements, through a political scientist’s survey (Document 1), a political journal (Document 3), press statements (Documents 7 and 12), and television appearances (documented in Document 9). Newspaper reports and commentary link this case study with other elements of the Politics and Administration perspective: the fall of Stormont and Direct Rule; Republican and Loyalist terrorism and Responses in the Republic (Document 4, Document 8, Document 11).

Key personalities and key concepts have been introduced where possible: Brian Faulkner’s account of the negotiations provides his own perspective and his comments on the approaches of participants such as John Hume (Document 5). Ian Paisley’s role in the agitation is discussed by the anonymous commentator in The Irish Times (Document 11). The Documents for this case study are of course relevant to the concept of power-sharing, but are also particularly useful for the study of propaganda (Documents 3, 12 for Loyalist propaganda; Documents 7, 10, 11 for public statements which aim, to an extent, to counteract these messages.)
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Commander Albert W. Anderson
Elected representative of the Ulster Unionist Party, Mayor of Derry, 1963-8, Member of Parliament for the City of Londonderry 1968-72

John Andrews
Leader of the Northern Ireland Senate, 1964-72, in which capacity he frequently acted as deputy prime minister

Jim Callaghan
A member of the British Labour Party who held a number of senior posts in government in the 1960s and 1970s, and was Prime Minister from 1976-1979. He was Home Secretary in 1969, and sent British troops to Northern Ireland to restore order. The Labour Party was in opposition in 1972, when Callaghan described the introduction of Direct Rule as a ‘historic blunder’: he argued that the British Parliament would not be able to deal effectively with Northern Ireland.

James Chichester-Clark
Leader of the Ulster Unionist Party and Prime Minister of Northern Ireland from 1969 to 1971, when he resigned from both offices, citing the impossibility of containing the I.R.A. with the resources and support available.

Brendan Corish
Leader of the Labour Party in the Republic from 1960 to 1977

Colmcille/Columba/Columb
Sixth-century Irish saint, said to have founded a monastery in Derry, and considered the patron saint of Derry city

William [Bill] Craig
Loyalist leader who established the Ulster Vanguard Party and was one of the organisers of the Ulster Workers’ Council strikes

Austin Currie
Civil Rights activist, founder member of the Social Democratic Liberal Party (SDLP) in 1970 and Minister for Housing in the Northern Ireland power-sharing executive established under Sunningdale

Seamus Deane
Poet and academic, born in Derry in 1940

Paddy Devlin
Civil Rights activist, founder member of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in 1970 and elected representative of the party in the Stormont Parliament and the Northern Ireland Assembly of 1973-4

W. T. Ewing
Civil Servant in the Northern Irish Education Ministry and secretary to the Lockwood Committee
Brian Faulkner
Member of the Ulster Unionist Party who was Prime Minister of Northern Ireland from March 1971 - March 1972 and Chief Executive of the Northern Ireland power-sharing executive of 1974. Faulkner attempted to contain republican violence, introducing internment without trial in 1971. He protested when the Stormont government was suspended in 1972, but took part against the wishes of many of his party in the negotiations which led to the Sunningdale Agreement. He resigned under pressure from the UWC strikers in May 1974.

Gerard [Gerry] Fitt

Garret FitzGerald

Major John Glen
John Glen, member of the Lockwood Committee. He had acted as assistant-secretary of the Northern Irish Ministry for Education.

Major Glover
Gerard Glover, Unionist Party Member and Mayor of Derry from 1950-1 and 1961-3. Glover attempted to persuade the Northern Irish government of the need to support Magee College after the publication of the Lockwood report, although he was accused of not doing enough in this regard.

Paddy Gormley
Nationalist M.P. 1953-69, representing mid-Londonderry for most of his time as parliamentary representative. He spoke at parliament against the decision to site the new University in Coleraine, describing this as a tactic by the Northern Irish government to restrict Derry’s development.

Lord Hailsham / Quintin McGarel Hogg
Conservative and Lord High Chancellor from 1970 to 1974, and from 1979-1987. In this position, he was speaker in the House of Lords, head of the judiciary and the most senior officer serving the crown. He defended the introduction of Direct Rule in 1972 as a short-term, necessary measure which was fully legal.

Edward [Ted] Heath
Conservative Party MP; British Prime Minister 1970-74; Heath suspended the Stormont Parliament in 1972 and presided over the establishment of the Northern Ireland Assembly (1973-4) and power-sharing executive (1974).

R.B. Henderson
R. B. (Brum) Henderson. Member of the Lockwood Committee and managing director of Ulster Television (UTV).

John Hume
A schoolteacher who became one of the leaders of the Northern Irish civil rights movement and was elected to the Stormont Parliament in 1969. He led the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) from 1979 to 2001.
Willis Jackson  
Member of the Lockwood Committee, Professor of Electrical Engineering at the Imperial College of Science and Technology (London)

Edward Warburton Jones  
Ulster Unionist, M.P. representing the City of Londonderry 1951-68. Attorney-General, 1964-8. He warned the government of potential trouble in Derry if Magee College was not safeguarded and suggested that the College should become part of the new university.

James II  
King of England, Ireland, and Scotland from 1685-1688: he was suspected of plans to force a Catholic revival on his subjects and was overthrown by his daughter Mary and her husband William III. Plans for James to establish a base for counter-revolution in Ireland failed after his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.

John Lockwood  
Chairman of the Lockwood Committee which reported on higher education in Northern Ireland in 1964. Master of Birkbeck College in London, 1951-65. Lockwood had chaired the Secondary Schools Education Council and had helped to create new universities in Asia and Africa.

Robert Lundy  
Commander of the Derry garrison committed to defending the city against James II. When Derry came under attack, Lundy attempted to surrender to James’s forces, but was prevented from declaring the surrender and removed from office by some of Derry’s inhabitants. A figure representing Lundy is burned at commemorations of the siege.

Martin Luther King  
American civil rights campaigner, prominent in the movements for equal opportunity for African Americans, known for his opposition to violent protest

Jack Lynch  

Eddie MacAteer  
Derry politician, leader of the Nationalist Party in Northern Ireland from 1964-1969, prominent campaigner for a University for Derry

Séamus Mallon  
Civil rights campaigner, member of the SDLP from 1970 and Deputy Leader of the party from 1979-2001. He represented Armagh in the Northern Ireland assembly (1973-4) and sat on the Armagh District Council (1973-89). He argued that Northern Ireland’s crisis could not be resolved without the assistance of the government of the Republic of Ireland.

W.H. Mol  
Member of the Lockwood Committee, Headmaster of Ballymena Academy and President of the Ulster Headmasters' Association
Miss A. R. Murray
Member of the Lockwood Committee. Vice-President of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women and Tutor-in-Charge of the University of Cambridge College, New Hall.

Keith Murray
Chairman of the British University Grants Committee from 1953 to 1963

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh [Rory O'Brady]
President of Provisional Sinn Féin (PSF), the political wing of the Provisional I.R.A. 1970-83

Terence O'Neill
Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, 1963-9

Ian Paisley
Clergyman and Politician, founding member of the Free Presbyterian Church in 1951 and of the Democratic Unionist Party in 1971. The DUP rejected the Sunningdale Agreement and Paisley was active in the UWC strike of 1974.

Denis Rebbeck
Member of the Lockwood Committee, Managing Director of Belfast shipbuilding company, Harland and Wolff

Sir Peter Venables
Member of the Lockwood Committee. Principal of the College of Advanced Technology, Birmingham.

George Walker
Clergyman who helped to organize Derry’s defence against the forces of James II in the 1689 siege of the city

King William III
King of Britain and Ireland from 1689-1702, following a revolt which deposed his Catholic father-in-law, James II. Battles between the forces of James and William were fought in Scotland and Ireland: Derry survived a siege by James’s supporters in 1689.

Harold Wilson
Labour Party MP, British Prime Minister 1964-70 and 1974-76. Harold Wilson became Prime Minister for the third time in February 1974, replacing Ted Heath whose Conservative government had overseen the introduction of the Northern Ireland Assembly and power-sharing executive. His speech on 25 May 1974 condemning the UWC strike aroused huge resentment among unionists.
GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Act of Union
The Act of Union of 1800 united Great Britain and Ireland under the parliament at Westminster, abolishing a separate Irish parliament. It came into effect on 1st January, 1801.

Apprentice Boys of Derry
Brotherhood founded in 1814 to commemorate and celebrate two events of Derry’s siege: the shutting of the city gates by the thirteen apprentices (December 1688) and the end of the siege without surrender to James II (August 1689). The society has branches throughout the UK and in North America.

Barry’s Law
Peter Barry was Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Republic of Ireland 1982-7: ‘Barry’s Law’ was a phrase used by some Unionists hostile to the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985 to describe the prospect of being ruled from Dublin.

Battle of the Boyne
Battle between the forces of William III and James II in 1690 which ended with a decisive victory for William III. Orangemen celebrate the anniversary of the battle on 12th July.

Bogside
An area outside Derry’s city walls. By the 1960s, the Bogside was an estate where part of Derry’s Catholic population lived in overcrowded council housing. The Bogside became a centre of radical nationalism during the Troubles.

St Columb’s Cathedral
Church of Ireland Cathedral in Derry, built in 1633. Celebrations by the Apprentice Boys of Derry traditionally feature services at St Columb’s.

Council of Ireland
An institution to be established under the Sunningdale Agreement. Members would be representatives from the governments of Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. The council would focus on discussing common policies in certain areas, mostly related to shared economic problems and ventures. The council’s functions were disputed, and were to be limited, but it was significant because it would represent an attempt to introduce formal cooperation in the governance of the North and the Republic.

Direct Rule
The administration of Northern Ireland from Westminster instead of a regional parliament. Direct rule was introduced to Northern Ireland in 1972 when the Stormont Parliament was suspended. Since 1972, the British Government has appointed a Secretary for Northern Ireland to oversee direct rule.

Exchequer
The British government department responsible for government income and spending: informally, the word is used to refer to the money spent by this department on public projects.

Fountain Estate
A traditionally strongly Loyalist area of Derry
Grammar School
Selective secondary school: those existing in Northern Ireland in the 1960s were designed to cater for the top 25% of students.

Hansard
The printed record of British Parliamentary sessions

H.N.C.
Higher National Certificate: work-related higher education qualification, reformed in the 1960s so that it could act as one route to university programmes

Internment
Internment without trial was used against the IRA on several occasions. Most controversially, in August 1971, the Northern Irish Prime Minister Brian Faulkner introduced a new law authorizing the holding of suspected terrorists without trial, and without any limit on the term of imprisonment. The policy targeted nationalists, with a far smaller number of unionists interned and led to an immediate escalation in sectarian violence. Internment did not lead to stability and was suspended in 1975.

IRA
The Irish Republican Army: the main republican paramilitary group involved in the conflict in Northern Ireland. The I.R.A. had existed in several forms before 1972: in that year the Provisional I.R.A. emerged as the leader of violence in the republican cause. The I.R.A. is thought to have been responsible for over 1,750 deaths between 1969 and 1993.

Jalopy
Slang term for an old, battered car

Lampeter
The oldest university in Wales: a small institution for which the Robbins Report recommended expansion. It built stronger ties in the 1960s with the University of Wales, of which Cardiff University was a member.

LAW
The Loyalist Association of Workers: founded in 1971 and active until 1974. The organisation was especially active in protest against the Sunningdale Agreement, and was to a great extent absorbed into the Ulster Workers’ Council (UWC) in 1973. A journal, also called the Loyalist Association of Workers was published by this group.

Liberal Arts College
A type of third level institution common in North America, usually focusing on teaching rather than research, emphasising the virtues of a broad education rooted in the humanities, and small in comparison with other universities. Liberal Arts Colleges tend to have lower running costs than research-intensive universities.

Lockwood Committee
The Committee established in 1963 to consider the future development of higher education in Northern Ireland. The committee’s recommendations, presented in 1965, included the foundation of a second university, to be located in Coleraine, and excluded the option of granting university status to Magee College.
Magee College
Founded in 1865 to prepare students to enter the Presbyterian ministry, the College eventually began to send students wishing to earn degrees in arts and sciences to Trinity College Dublin for the last two years of their studies. It was hoped that Magee would be raised to university status (and able to grant its own degrees) as part of a new institution in Derry. After the Lockwood report recommended that a second Northern Irish university should be founded in Coleraine, protest at the sidelining of Magee led to the decision in 1969 to incorporate the college into the New University of Ulster.

Minister in the Senate
Cabinet member who represented the Northern Irish Prime Minister in the Northern Ireland Senate.

New City
Craigavon, County Armagh, founded as a new town in 1965 to relieve pressure on Belfast.

Northern Ireland Assembly
For 1973 and 1974, this refers to the elected assembly established to govern Northern Ireland: the Northern Ireland Constitution Act, 1973, sought to ensure that it would function under a power-sharing executive, so that Ministers came from both nationalist and unionist parties. The assembly was closed down with the executive in May 1974 after the UWC strike.

Northern Irish Civil Rights Association
Founded after meetings between representatives of all of Northern Ireland’s political parties, the NICRA campaigned publicly in support of the rights of the Catholic minority between 1967 and 1972. NICRA organised the anti-internment march of 30th January 1972 which saw thirteen protesters shot dead by soldiers from the First Parachute Regiment of the British Army.

Provisional IRA
See I.R.A.

Queen’s University Belfast
Queen's University Belfast was founded as one of three ‘Queen’s Colleges’ in 1845, receiving full university status in 1908 and was the only university in Northern Ireland until 1968. It had 3570 students in 1960. The Queen’s University’s Student Representative Council was in favour of Derry as site of the new university.

Robbins Report
The Robbins Report on Higher Education was produced by a committee chaired by Lionel Robbins between 1961 and 1964. It called for the creation of over 100,000 new university places within the following decade.

Stormont
Popular name for the Parliament Building, in the grounds of Stormont Castle, which was opened in 1932. The word was also used to refer to the Northern Ireland parliament itself which was suspended in 1972.

Sunningdale
The ‘Sunningdale Agreement’ was a set of proposals agreed at a conference in Sunningdale, Berkshire, on 9th December, 1973. The conference was held to resolve the question of an ‘Irish dimension’ which had been demanded by nationalists who were involved in the prior agreement to establish a power-sharing executive. The conference was attended by the parties supporting the...
establishment of the executive, as well as representatives of the British and Irish governments. The most contentious proposal was the planned establishment of a ‘Council of Ireland’.

**UDA**
Ulster Defence Association: The main Loyalist paramilitary group active during the ‘Troubles’, established in 1971, operating under the cover-name of the Ulster Freedom Fighters when admitting to illegal activities. Cooperated with Ulster Vanguard and the L.A.W. in protesting against direct rule and power-sharing in 1972-4. The U.D.A. was essential to the success of the U.W.C. strike, during which it organised the road-blocks which paralysed economic life.

**Ulster Vanguard**
The Ulster Vanguard movement, led by William Craig, was most active in the early 1970s: it brought together Unionists from several parties who attempted to exert pressure on their fellow Unionists, believing that Northern Ireland must be prepared to act independently and defend itself.

**University Grants Committee (U.G.C)**
The University Grants Committee (1919-88) was responsible for judging the needs and performance of British universities and making recommendations on government policy and funding.

**UWC**
Ulster Workers’ Council: Loyalist organisation founded in 1974 by workers previously attached to the Loyalist Association of Workers. The U.W.C directed the strike which brought down the Northern Ireland Assembly and power-sharing executive in that year.

**Westminster**
Westminster is the seat of the UK Parliament, and the word is often used to refer to the Parliament itself.

**Whitehall**
Whitehall Street in London is associated with the civil service attached to the UK parliament.
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<td>Report to Northern Ireland Cabinet of meeting with Mr. Heath, British prime minister, March 1972</td>
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<td>Photograph of soldiers with strikers, <em>The Irish Times</em>, 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; May 1974</td>
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<td>Interview with UWC leader, Glen Barr, on ITV News at Ten, 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; May 1974</td>
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<td>Extract from text of broadcast made by Harold Wilson on 25&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1974</td>
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<td>UWC press statement repeating calls for scrapping of Sunningdale and setting out the latest strike sanctions, 28&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; May 1974</td>
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Survey showing political attitudes of Northern Ireland Protestants, from Richard Rose, *Governing without Consensus* (London, 1971)

Loyalty Questionnaire

Sample 757 Protestants, 534 Catholics: survey conducted 1965-71

[QUESTIONS FOR] PROTESTANTS ONLY

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<td>7a  Do you think that it was right about 50 years ago, for people in the North to take up arms and stand ready to fight to keep Northern Ireland British?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b  Sometimes you hear people say today that it would be right to take any measures necessary in order to keep Northern Ireland a Protestant country. Are you inclined to agree or disagree with this view?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.K.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7c  Why would that be? …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7d  Sometimes you hear of the government banning meetings or parades planned by Protestant groups. When this happens, do you think it is still all right for these to be held?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.K.</td>
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Now I would like to ask you about different decisions that public leaders might some day take about the Border problem. After I describe each decision could you tell me whether you would approve, disapprove, or have no opinion?

HOW WOULD YOU REACT:

| 8a  If the Government announced it was in favour of a United Ireland governed from Dublin? |
| Approve | 6 |
| Disapprove | 84 |
| D.K. | 10 |
If the Government increased co-operation across the border with people in the South?

Approve  78  
Disapprove  12  
D.K.     9


**Exploring the evidence**

1. Do the results of this survey suggest general hostility among Northern Protestants to the Irish Republic?
2. Which question has the highest positive response? Why might this be?
3. On which question are people least willing to commit themselves? Why might this be?
4. What attitude to law and order can be inferred from the results of this survey?
5. Questions 7a and 7b are close but not identical in subject matter. Why do you think that the responses to these questions are so far apart?
6. Is this survey extract useful for historians studying Protestant reactions to Sunningdale?
SECRET

Main points made by Mr [Edward (Ted)] Heath at the Downing Street Meeting on 22 March 1972 about the Northern Ireland situation

In his opening statement Mr Heath said he was grateful for the opportunity of a full discussion with Mr [Brian] Faulkner and Mr [John] Andrews. He proposed that this should be as frank as their previous discussions had been and it should of course be kept on a completely confidential basis until the outcome had been agreed. A lot of Press speculation had taken place lately and he suggested that the contradictory nature of Press comment was indeed proof of its speculative character. He and his colleagues had been completely over the whole ground and their only purpose was to retain Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom in terms of the 1949 Act; it was fully recognised that until the majority decide otherwise Northern Ireland would remain an integral part of the Kingdom. It was their aim and hope that peace should be restored as soon as possible.

He intended to have the GOC [General Officer Commanding] and the CGS [Chief of the General Staff] present later in the discussion to go into the military assessment, but broadly this could be taken as indicating that in Belfast considerable progress had been made in curbing and disrupting the IRA; the Border remained difficult; and Londonderry would require a major military operation if it was to be cleared. The casualties that had occurred on 30 January would be minute compared with what would happen if there were to be an attempt at a military pacification. At present there were 17 Battalions in Northern Ireland; the Army presence had existed there for 2½ years and it was now becoming apparent that while the Army could deal with the IRA up to a point they would not be able to deal with the individual bomber; nor was it practicable to consider closing the Border. The firm conclusion they had reached was that there could be no purely military solution. The drain on United Kingdom resources was very considerable and there had been a massive interference with the British Government's international commitments.

On the political front, despite all attempts to bring the two communities together the gap had widened and there had been a noticeable hardening on both sides of the sectarian divide. Internment and the problems it had given rise to were a major factor in the division; internment could not be considered a purely Northern Ireland matter because it affected the United Kingdom and had bad repercussions on its international relationships. It was true that at the time of United Kingdom agreement to the institution of internment his Government had fully accepted that there would be serious consequences. At Westminster very considerable difficulties were arising for the Government out of the continuous debate and consideration of Northern Ireland matters. The United Kingdom Government had a situation where they had the responsibility and the blame for what happened as regards internment and on the security front but were without real power; this was a very unsatisfactory situation which was accentuated by the growing financial dependence of Northern Ireland. The United Kingdom Government had been willing to help and had done so in many ways but the burden was becoming extremely heavy.

He and his colleagues had gone over all these factors and had reached the conclusion that they must make a fresh attempt to break through the deadlock. The Home Secretary's attempt to bring the parties round the table had failed, despite all efforts. It was desirable, if possible, to maintain the bi-partisan approach at Westminster and it would be difficult to do so unless one could achieve a
definite break through in the present deadlock. The United Kingdom Government had studied the
Northern Ireland proposals very carefully and would want to put forward certain suggestions of
their own.

Source: Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI): CAB 4/1647/14, 7-8

Exploring the evidence

1. What hopes does Heath express in the first paragraph, and what does he identify as his priority?
2. What, according to Heath, would be the consequences of attempts by the British army to win
control of Derry?
3. What problems for the United Kingdom government did Heath attribute to internment?
4. What does Heath mean when he refers to "the bi-partisan approach"?
5. Does the first paragraph suggest a relationship of trust between Heath and the visiting ministers?
6. In what ways does Heath suggest that the situation in Northern Ireland has deteriorated? Does
he give any grounds for optimism?
7. How does this statement prepare the ground for the main elements of the Sunningdale
agreement?

L.A.W. Calls For Ulster Opinion Poll

SPONSORED BY L.A.W. and U.D.A.

Dear Sirs,—It must be clear by now that the minority of this country will be satisfied with nothing less than a United Ireland. Since ALL POLITICAL PARTIES IN WESTMINSTER have acknowledged this as a legitimate demand and have JOINTLY begun to ensure its success, we MUST make the position of the Ulster Protestant crystal clear to all concerned.

To this end I propose that L.A.W. and U.D.A. carry out a research programme to highlight the GRASSROOT opinion of the Ulster Loyalists. If such an opinion poll was successfully conducted and very well PUBLICISED it could lay a FIRM foundation for future policy. Would the E.C. examine the enclosed sample POLL SHEET and consider the merits of such a survey. If such a survey were conducted in L. A. W., U. D.A., D. U. P. VANGUARD, UNIONIST PARTY, ORANGE, BLACK, etc. we could obtain a fair indication of Loyalist feeling on the future of Ulster. It would only be necessary to poll a sample of 100 from each organisation or more if the E.C. think it necessary.

Yours for Ulster,
J. S., Joint Chairman,
Rolls Royce Branch of L.A.W.

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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
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<td>Should the British Government abandon its policy of Political Appasement and defeat the I.R.A. by Military means?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Would you be prepared to Fight the British Army if Westminster decided to Force the Loyalists into a United Ireland?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>If the British Government refuses to engage and defeat the I.R.A., thus allowing the present Campaign to continue against the Ulster Protestants—Would you Support the Unilateral Declaration of an Independent British-style Ulster?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Setting aside the I.R.A. Campaign—if the British Government persists in advocating the Unification of Ireland (short or long-term) would you Support the Unilateral Declaration of an Independent British-style Ulster?</td>
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<td>Would you ever accept a United Ireland?</td>
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Source: Loyalist Association of Workers (LAW). (1972), Vol.1, No.29, [Page 3]. From the Northern Ireland Political Collection of the Linen Hall Library, Belfast

Available at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/uwc/uwc-pdfslaw1-29a.pdf

Exploring the evidence

1. What, according to this document, is the position of the UK parliament on a United Ireland?
2. What is ‘the minority’ referred to in the first paragraph?
3. Who will be asked to respond to this survey?
4. What indications are given here as to how the survey will be conducted?
5. How useful would such a survey be as an indication of Protestant opinion?
6. Apart from discovering opinions on the questions asked, what uses could this survey have for the LAW and UDA?
7. To what extent do the questions posed here reflect directions in British policy on Northern Ireland indicated by Heath (document 2)?
8. What conclusions can be drawn from this document about the state of organised unionism in 1972?
Exploring the evidence

1. Who is the figure moving towards Whitehall?
2. What does the signpost pointing to Whitehall suggest about this figure's priorities?
3. Why does the cartoonist show this figure tiptoeing?
4. What potential role does the cartoonist attribute to the IRA and UVF?
5. What threats to the planned Northern Ireland Executive are identified by this cartoon?
6. What group(s) would tend to sympathise with this cartoonist’s presentation?
7. With reference to this and other sources, explain why is it important for the historian to consider the mood cartoonists and photographers create with images?
It was agreed that [the council of Ireland] should be a North/South institution with arrangements to protect the interests of the United Kingdom Government where these were involved. The fact that it never even occurred to Unionists to argue that it should be tripartite and that we would in fact have regarded that as weighting the whole structure against us may be illogical, but it underlines yet again how important it seemed for our security to have our future relationship with the Republic firmly in our own hands, and how unenthusiastic Westminster was thought to have become about Northern Ireland’s position within the United Kingdom. I said we would agree, reluctantly, to a second tier Consultative Assembly, but I insisted that representation on this must be equal from North and south. The SDLP supported me very strongly, and this was agreed.

We also agreed that there should be a small permanent staff to service the Council, and there was some good-humoured banter about where it should meet. Austin Currie proposed Armagh, which seemed to be the official SDLP line, but Paddy Devlin suggested Ahogill, a small County Antrim village which, because of its name, is drawn into many Ulster jokes. The only real problem area seemed to be on the ‘executive and harmonising’ functions of the Council of Ministers. John Hume said he regarded harmonization of laws in North and South as very important, and Garret FitzGerald pointed out that there was much duplication on each side of the border on matters such as tourism, electricity grids, agriculture, and industrial research which should be eliminated for reasons of economy. I said too much weight should not be given to the term ‘harmonization’, as we in Northern Ireland had to walk in step with United Kingdom legislation. Nor did I see the Council of Ireland having any independent executive power; everything must be delegated from Belfast and Dublin. Gerry Fitt weighed in to argue that if the Council of Ireland had no independent functions it was merely an exercise in propaganda.

This was in fact very near the truth of the whole structure argument. There seemed to be a lot of mystical nonsense surrounding the SDLP approach to the Council of Ireland, and their constant repetition of the word ‘identification’, but if this nonsense was necessary to bring their supporters along I did not see why we should be difficult, provided we could ensure that it meant nothing in practice. Thus all our efforts were directed towards ensuring that, however many tiers and secretaries the Council of Ireland might have, it remained essentially propaganda and in no way impinged upon the powers of the Northern Ireland Assembly. I felt confident that Unionists, being basically a practical people, would judge our final agreement on a practical rather than symbolic level. Later events were to throw considerable doubt on the traditional view that Ulster Unionists were less interested in symbols than their Nationalist fellow-countrymen.


**Exploring the evidence**

1. In the first paragraph, Faulkner explains why Unionists did not argue for a third, British component of the Council of Ireland. What reason does he give?
2. How did Fitt’s expectations for the Council of Ireland differ from Faulkner’s?
3. What did the Irish government and SDLP expectations of the Council of Ireland have in common?
4. Why did Faulkner expect Unionists to accept the establishment of the Council of Ireland?
5. What is Faulkner’s attitude to his fellow delegates?
6. “Later events were to throw considerable doubt on the traditional view that Ulster Unionists were less interested in symbols than their Nationalist fellow-countrymen.” Is this a convincing assessment of Unionist reaction to Sunningdale?

7. What evidence is there here that Faulkner wrote his memoirs with the benefit of hindsight? How may this have affected his text?
The Sunningdale Agreement, December 1973: extract from official communiqué

1. The Conference between the British and Irish Governments and the parties involved in the Northern Ireland Executive (designate) met at Sunningdale on 6, 7, 8 and 9 December 1973.

2. During the Conference, each delegation stated their position on the status of Northern Ireland.

3. The Taoiseach said that the basic principle of the Conference was that the participants had tried to see what measure of agreement of benefit to all the people concerned could be secured. In doing so, all had reached accommodation with one another on practical arrangements. But none had compromised, and none had asked others to compromise, in relation to basic aspirations. The people of the Republic, together with a minority in Northern Ireland as represented by the SDLP delegation, continued to uphold the aspiration towards a united Ireland. The only unity they wanted to see was a unity established by consent.

4. Mr Brian Faulkner said that delegates from Northern Ireland came to the Conference as representatives of apparently incompatible sets of political aspirations who had found it possible to reach agreement to join together in government because each accepted that in doing so they were not sacrificing principles or aspirations. The desire of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom, as represented by the Unionist and Alliance delegations, remained firm.

5. The Irish Government fully accepted and solemnly declared that there could be no change in the status of Northern Ireland until a majority of the people of Northern Ireland desired a change in that status. The British Government solemnly declared that it was, and would remain, their policy to support the wishes of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland. The present status of Northern Ireland is that it is part of the United Kingdom. If in the future the majority of the people of Northern Ireland should indicate a wish to become part of a united Ireland, the British Government would support that wish.

6. The Conference agreed that a formal agreement incorporating the declarations of the British and Irish Governments would be signed at the formal stage of the Conference and registered at the United Nations.

7. The Conference agreed that a Council of Ireland would be set up. It would be confined to representatives of the two parts of Ireland, with appropriate safeguards for the British Government's financial and other interests. It would comprise a Council of Ministers with executive and harmonising functions and a consultative role, and a Consultative Assembly with advisory and review functions. The Council of Ministers would act by unanimity, and would comprise a core of seven members of the Irish Government and an equal number of members of the Northern Ireland Executive with provision for the participation of other non-voting members of the Irish Government and the Northern Ireland Executive or Administration when matters within their departmental competence were discussed. The Council of Ministers would control the functions of the Council. The Chairmanship would rotate on an agreed basis between representatives of the Irish Government and of the Northern Ireland Executive. Arrangements would be made for the location of the first meeting, and the location of subsequent meetings would be determined by the Council of Ministers. The Consultative Assembly would consist of 60 members, 30 members from Dáil Éireann chosen by the Dail on the basis of proportional representation by the single transferable vote, and 30 members from the Northern Ireland Assembly chosen by that Assembly and also on that basis. The
members of the Consultative Assembly would be paid allowances. There would be a Secretariat to the Council, which would be kept as small as might be commensurate with efficiency in the operation of the Council. The Secretariat would service the institutions of the Council and would, under the Council of Ministers, supervise the carrying out of the executive and harmonising functions and the consultative role of the Council. The Secretariat would be headed by a Secretary-General. Following the appointment of a Northern Ireland Executive, the Irish Government and the Northern Ireland Executive would nominate their representatives to a Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers would then appoint a Secretary-General and decide upon the location of its permanent headquarters. The Secretary-General would be directed to proceed with the drawing up of plans for such headquarters. The Council of Ministers would also make arrangements for the recruitment of the staff of the Secretariat in a manner and on conditions which would, as far as is practicable, be consistent with those applying to public servants in the two administrations.

8. In the context of its harmonising functions and consultative role, the Council of Ireland would undertake important work relating, for instance, to the impact of EEC membership. As for executive functions, the first step would be to define and agree these in detail. The Conference therefore decided that, in view of the administrative complexities involved, studies would at once be set in hand to identify and, prior to the formal stage of the conference, report on areas of common interest in relation to which a Council of Ireland would take executive decisions and, in appropriate cases, be responsible for carrying those decisions into effect. In carrying out these studies, and also in determining what should be done by the Council in terms of harmonization, the objectives to be borne in mind would include the following:

(1) to achieve the best utilisation of scarce skills, expertise and resources;
(2) to avoid in the interests of economy and efficiency, unnecessary duplication of effort; and
(3) to ensure complementary rather than competitive effort where this is to the advantage of agriculture, commerce and industry.

In particular, these studies would be directed to identifying, for the purposes of executive action by the Council of Ireland, suitable aspects of activities in the following broad fields:

(a) exploitation, conservation and development of natural resources and the environment;
(b) agricultural matters (including agricultural research, animal health and operational aspects of the Common Agriculture Policy), forestry and fisheries;
(c) co-operative ventures in the fields of trade and industry;
(d) electricity generation;
(e) tourism;
(f) roads and transport;
(g) advisory services in the field of public health;
(h) sport, culture and the arts.

Source: Tripartite agreement on the Council of Ireland - issued after the Sunningdale Conference, December 1973

Available at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/sunningdale/agreement.htm
Exploring the evidence

1. What were the basic positions on Northern Ireland’s status declared by the participants in articles 3 - 5?
2. Were these different positions on Northern Ireland’s status compatible?
3. Does the agreement indicate concerns about the potential expense of the council?
4. What is meant by ‘harmonising functions’, and in what areas will these functions apply?
5. What priorities are suggested by the list of suitable activities “for the purpose of executive functions”?
6. What elements of this agreement might be expected to alarm Unionist groups?
7. Was Faulkner correct in his later claim that the Council was “essentially propaganda”?
Document 7

Press statements from Faulkner and the UWC, 15th May 1974

7a: PRESS STATEMENT FROM THE ULSTER WORKERS COUNCIL. 15 May 1974

The Ulster Workers Council are determined that the Government shall not ignore the will of the majority of the people as to the form of Government or the Sunningdale Agreement. The attitude of Government has made a nonsense of political action.

The Workers have resolved to make an all out effort to bring about a change.

A general industrial stoppage has been called. It is not the intention of the Workers Council to deprive homes, the agricultural food industry of essential services, or basic needs.

Workers in the electrical services here are prepared to see that an adequate supply of electricity would be available for all homes, hospitals, farms and essential services.

The management [of the Ballylumford Power Station], no doubt acting on Government policy, have not accepted the offer.

Unless there is a change of thinking, a more serious situation will arise by midnight.

Source: From the Northern Ireland Political Collection of the Linen Hall Library, Belfast

Available at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/uwc/uwc-pdfs/uwcpres.pdf

7b: PRESS STATEMENT FROM BRIAN FAULKNER

(Cited in Robert Fisk, The Point of No Return. The Strike which broke the British in Ulster (London, 1975, 62)

Today's action by a group of people who have taken on to themselves greater importance than the democratically elected representatives of the people amounts to total abuse of the freedom of the press and television to make the most reckless pronouncements to the public without regard for the consequences. Where do they come from? Who elected them? What is their authority?

Exploring the evidence

1. What action does the UWC claim to have taken in its statement?
2. What reassurances does the UWC offer?
3. Whom does the UWC claim to represent?
4. How does Faulkner seek to undermine this claim with his statement?
5. Why should Faulkner describe the UWC as ‘abus[ing] the freedom of the press and television’?
6. Which of the two press statements uses simpler language? How might this affect reactions?
Document 8

Photograph of soldiers with strikers, *The Irish Times*, 23rd May 1974

Irish Times Photo

Used with the kind permission of *The Irish Times*
The photograph shows two members of the British Army (First Battalion, the Light Industry) alongside loyalists on barricade duty during the UWC strike. The man wearing a hat with his back to the camera is a figure of authority in the UDA, as shown by the stripes on his right sleeve.

Exploring the evidence

1. One soldier’s face is visible: can his expression and his position be used to infer anything about the scene?
2. Is tension between the two parties evident in this image?
3. What may the photographer have been trying to demonstrate in choosing this shot?
4. What does the costume of the UDA sergeant suggest about his organisation?
4. This photograph was published in the Irish Times. What effect might it have had on readers in the Irish Republic?
Another of the Ulster Workers Council leaders, Mr. Glen Barr, was in London for an interview. I asked him what he thought of Mr. [Gerry] Fitt’s remarks that Ulster was being ‘held to ransom by a bunch of fascists.’

BARR: No, we are not a crowd of fascists, Indeed we're quite prepared to and this is indeed one of our conditions, that there should be assembly elections and this is all we are asking for, is assembly elections.

PARKIN: What do you hope to get out of this strike?

BARR: We would hope the British government would see sense, that they would see that the constitution act that they have passed in Northern Ireland is not widely accepted, to use their own words in the Commons tonight; it's not widely accepted by the people in Northern Ireland.

PARKIN: Can I give some figures to you, there was an opinion poll conducted recently which suggested that 41 per cent of the people polled were in fact in favour of a Council of Ireland, 37 per cent were against, surely that discloses that there is a majority of some sort in favour of a council of Ireland in Ulster.

BARR: Well I suppose opinion polls are alright in a sense but the only true way to test the reactions and the feeling of the people is to have an election.

PARKIN: Now there is a widespread feeling in this country if not in Ulster that your (sic) keeping this strike going purely by intimidation, because of your control on movement in Belfast, and so on what do you say to that?

BARR: This is completely wrong. We have been inundated with telephone calls of support, people who felt that the strike was wrongly timed, people who felt that it was wrong, but now have come to the conclusion that this is the best way to do it, this is non violent and indeed this is the best way they feel to try and get the change that is needed, so the will of the people can’t...

PARKIN: How long are you prepared to keep this strike on?

BARR: This strike we have, as I said, we've been inundated with telephone calls of support, people say at the province, particularly those at the agriculture field, farmers etc, who are losing chickens, who are losing food stock, have said to us “keep going, for our sake, keep going and don't stop, because this is now the final punch.”

Source: Interview, Glen Barr with Leonard Parkin. Reproduced in Script for ITV News at Ten, 23rd May 1974

**Exploring the evidence**

1. On what basis does Barr argue that the UWC should not be called ‘Fascists’?
2. How, according to Barr, has support developed since the strike began?
3. Is Barr precise about the aims of the strike?
4. How effectively does Barr deal with Parkin’s question about the role of intimidation in the strike?
5. Faulkner and Wilson responded to the strike by claiming that its organisers were not legitimate representatives of the Northern Irish people. How does Barr deal with this perception in this interview?
5. Can Parkin be considered an impartial interviewer? Is it important to the historian using that source that he should be impartial?
6. Can Parkin be considered an aggressive interviewer?
7. What are the advantages and disadvantages of a television interview over other types of historical source?
We stand by, as our predecessors stood by - and still stand by the decision taken last year that the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Northern Ireland Executive provide the only basis for peace, the only basis for order and good government in Northern Ireland. Today the law is being set aside. British troops are being hampered in tasks which were already daunting and unprecedented within a nation supposed to be enjoying the benefits of peace. Those who are now challenging constitutional authority are denying the fundamental right of every man and woman the right to work. They have decided, without having been elected by a single vote, who shall work in Northern Ireland and who shall not. They seek to allocate food, to decide who shall eat and who shall not. By their action, children are prevented from going to school, essential services are in peril. The payment of social security benefits is reduced to chaos through interference with the methods of payment. By their use of force and intimidation they have condemned hundreds of thousands of workers to involuntary unemployment. What they do not realise - what I hope that they do not realise - is how far they may be imperilling the jobs of Northern Ireland for years to come, and this in a province where unemployment is traditionally one of the greatest social evils. We recognise that behind this situation lie many genuine and deeply held fears. I have to say that these fears are unfounded: that they are being deliberately fostered by people in search of power.

The people on this side of the water - British parents - have seen their sons vilified and spat upon and murdered. British taxpayers have seen the taxes they have poured out, almost without regard to cost - over £300 million a year this year with the cost of the Army operation on top of that - going into Northern Ireland. They see property destroyed by evil violence and are asked to pick up the bill for rebuilding it. Yet people who benefit from all this now viciously defy Westminster, purporting to act as though they were an elected government; people who spend their lives sponging on Westminster and British democracy and then systematically assault democratic methods. Who do these people think they are?

It is when we see the kind of arrogant, undemocratic behaviour now going on that the patience of citizens, parents, taxpayers becomes strained. Tonight I ask for an extension of that patience for as long as it is needed. Tonight I ask for the continued support of a long-suffering people in dealing with a situation in which the law is being set aside and essential services are being interrupted. It is our duty as the United Kingdom Parliament and the United Kingdom Government to ensure that minorities are protected, that those in greatest need are helped, that essential services are maintained, not by the condescension of a group of self-appointed persons operating outside the law, but by those who have been elected to ensure that these things shall be done.

Available at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/uwc/docs/hw25574.htm

**Exploring the evidence**

1. According to Wilson, what are the possible economic effects of the strike for Northern Ireland?
2. What costs to the British taxpayer does Wilson see in Northern Ireland?
3. To what extent is Wilson willing to accept that Unionists are sincerely afraid of the consequences of the Sunningdale agreement?
4. Who are the “people who benefit from all this” (paragraph 2) and what is Wilson’s tone in discussing them?
5. Who are the “long-suffering people” whose support Wilson requests (paragraph 3)? Does he seem to be addressing primarily the people of Northern Ireland or the people of Great Britain?

6. What aspects of Wilson’s broadcast echo Faulkner’s press statement of 15th April? Do these echoes imply that the two were agreed in their handling of the crisis?

7. What effect was Wilson’s broadcast likely to produce in the UWC and its supporters?
... WHICH BRINGS ME to where some of you might have expected me to start this morning: the Sunningdale agreement.

Last week, while you were still shocked and horrified at the carnage of Dublin and Monaghan, I allowed we had two major problems in our island political society. One was security on an all-island basis. The other was how we would go about winning the consent of the new historic third - the ultra loyalists - to be governed. I expressed the confidence that we had on this island, men in politics who would accomplish this task: that no less than the old historic nationalist third, the ultra loyalists were too big a segment to leave outside the institutions. I might have gone on to say what was clearly implied: that compromises would have to be found. Of all the words in the language of Irish politics, ‘compromise’ is the most detested. I have said so many times before that compromise is the essence of politics. As Alistair Cooke said so well, the world's greatest democracy in modern times was created by the Founding Fathers of America on three keywords - compromise, compromise and compromise,

Mr. de Valera made an ideology of not compromising. We had a Civil War over the inability of Irishmen to compromise. We know the compromise which came in the end, even as Mr. de Valera proclaimed he had never compromised. He never did: he merely changed his definitions.

He and his party had twin national aims: Fianna Fáil had 50 years, most of them in office, to achieve those aims and we know the result today. The Border is with us and the Irish language, while it may be alive statistically, is not restored. And within six months of a fledgling assembly making a response we have the great fior-gale republicans who themselves, in the manifestations of their fathers, were no better than the U.W.C, the U.D.A., Bill Craig or Ian Paisley, moaning about a back-down.

HOWEVER MUCH I may regret the dilution or re-phasing of Sunningdale, I exult in the ability of Northern politicians, of whatever brand, to compromise. The North came to its knees because politicians could not compromise: it has over 1,000 corpses today who were the victims of the politics of “No Surrender”. You cannot ever build a political society on a policy of No Surrender: you must build it on compromise. Sunningdale is the essence of compromise

There is a simplistic view held by the warlords like Roaring Rory [O’ Brady] or Bill Craig that violence has accomplished the compromise. There is the hope that greater violence will produce greater results.

I have never feared looking the politics of violence in the eye. If you subscribe to the fact that Provo violence took out Stormont it follows that Orange violence will take out the Council of Ireland. There are more Orange mobsters than there are Provo mobsters. It is as simple as that. Therefore, there will be more dead Green Irishmen than there will be dead Orange Irishmen, in the North and not a few dead in the southern extension of Orange activity. And surely to Christ, six days after the massacre of Talbot Street and the rest, you know what that means in human terms . . .


From The Irish Times digital archive [http://www.irishtimes.com/search/index.html]
Exploring the evidence

1. Why, according to ‘Backbencher’, will it ultimately be necessary to have compromises?
2. What accusations does ‘Backbencher’ make concerning the Fianna Fail party?
3. What results does the columnist predict if violence continues in the North?
4. The columnist discusses the merits of compromise. Does his or her tone make this a document likely to appeal to all parties?
5. What tensions in the politics of the Republic of Ireland are alluded to in this article?
6. What events is the columnist referring to when s/he mentions “Dublin and Monaghan” and “Talbot Street and the rest”? Can these events be related to the “compromise” discussed?
7. Why does the columnist write anonymously, and does this detract from the value of the source?
Document 12

UWC press statement repeating calls for scrapping of Sunningdale and setting out the latest strike sanctions, 28th May 1974

In seeking a political change which will satisfy the aspirations of the Loyalist Community the Council would emphasize that it is not their intention to ignore differing political opinion viewpoints.

It has been the stated policy of the Ulster Workers’ Council that the scrapping of the Sunningdale agreement is necessary because majority opinion is opposed to it, and indeed, as no loyalist politicians were formally invited to attend Sunningdale the agreement could hardly be regarded as binding on the entire population.

The need for fresh elections to the assembly is manifestly exposed by the widespread support for the constitutional stoppage from throughout Northern Ireland, and it is clear that if such unrest prevailed in Britain an election would be inevitable.

Indeed the recent Westminster (sic) elections were brought about by political unrest created by the Industrial Relations Act; legislation which is now about to be scrapped. In the present circumstances it is a grave error by the government to stifle the voice of the people and in our [o]pinion Westminster (sic) have shown little understanding of majority feeling within Northern Ireland.

SANCTIONS

1. Transport All public, commercial transport and taxis to cease forthwith.
2. Passes Only UWC Passes will be valid from Tuesday 21st. One pass per person.
3. Telephone Operators Passed O.K.
4. Medical services Every occupant in the vehicle to show medical indentification (sic).
5. Chemists To operate normally - pharmaceutical supplies permitted.
6. Bread and milk Delivery as normal
7. Pubs and clubs As from and including the 21st May all closed.

Source: Ulster Workers Council press statement, 14th day, Coordinating Committee, News Bulletin (sic), 28 May 1974. From the Northern Ireland Political Collection of the Linen Hall Library, Belfast

Available at http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/uwc/uwc-pdfs/pres-sta.pdf
Exploring the evidence

1. Why, according to the UWC, were the people of Northern Ireland not obliged to submit to the terms of the Sunningdale agreement?
2. What priorities are suggested by the UWC’s list of sanctions?
3. What comparisons does the UWC draw here with recent history in Britain?
4. This statement came late in the UWC’s campaign. In what ways can it be seen as a response to British criticisms of UWC action?
5. Comment on the UWC’s claim that “no loyalist politicians were formally invited to attend Sunningdale”.
6. What does the timing of this statement suggest about the aims of the UWC?
7. “In our [o]pinion Westminster have shown little understanding of majority feeling within Northern Ireland”. Is this a reasonable summary of the handling of the UWC strike by representatives of the UK parliament?