The Impact of History, Culture and Structures and Responses of State and National Governments on the Civil Rights Movements in Northern Ireland and the United States: A Comparative Study of Divergent Paths to Social Reform

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ABSTRACT

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Daniel Butler

The civil rights movements in the United States (1953-68) and Northern Ireland (1963-72) demonstrate how campaigns with similar goals and methodologies can take divergent paths. The history and culture combined with the governmental structures and responses were the primary factors influencing the course of action. Evidence from interviews was used to draw conclusions about the attempts at societal reform by both movements.

The role of history and culture are analyzed as they pertain to the success or failure of the non-violent methodology implemented in both movements. The relationship between the minorities and their religion was pivotal as to each movement's success or failure. While the close correlation between Biblical teachings and the goals of the movement in the United States was crucial to success, no such relationship existed in Northern Ireland.

The maintenance of a discriminatory governmental infrastructure and the relationship of each minority to such was prevalent to both the African Americans and the Northern Irish Catholics. Grievances leading to the inception of the reform movements are analyzed as well as examples of three demonstrations and the outcomes of each. Analysis is focused on local and state attempts to prevent the minority from attaining equality under the law and the federal response to the events, demonstrating in

both movements the significance of federal intervention as a barometer of success or failure to the movement.

The history and culture combined with the governmental structures and responses were the primary factors influencing the divergent paths taken by the civil rights movements in the United States and Northern Ireland.

DEDICATION

For Lisa,
MVOW, thank you for all your love and support throughout this journey.
Especially for keeping the wheels on and the radio working throughout it.
And for Bridelise, Declan and Cormac

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CHAPTER 1

THESIS AND PURPOSE

The twentieth century is marked by an ongoing struggle toward establishing and maintaining human rights for people worldwide. This struggle accelerated after World War II. The world witnessed the effects of total war and the ramifications of millennia of stereotypes that generated hatred for specific people, resulting in the Armenian genocide and the Holocaust. The adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the newly formed United Nations was a clear sign of the importance of human rights had on the world stage. In the United States, steps were taken to advance equality for African Americans, as evidenced by the desegregation of the military and, later, schools. In Northern Ireland, steps were taken to provide free university education for those who could not afford it, which affected the Catholic minority population. These changes in the United States and Northern Ireland would lead to civil rights movements that sought to achieve equality under the law. However, while attempting to use similar methodologies to achieve the same goals, the United States and Northern Ireland civil rights movement ended up on divergent paths. When comparing the civil rights movements of Northern Ireland and the United States, it becomes evident that their history and culture combined with the structures and responses of the respective local, state, and national governments were the primary factors influencing the different directions taken by the two social reform movements.

Human rights studies have grown significantly since World War II, and those researching them have identified areas of success and failure when dealing with those who seek to secure them. Concepts of human rights are crucial in the contemporary world

due to the work of the United Nations and its ratification of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This document, although non-binding, demonstrated to the world that the persecution that occurred during World War II violated our most fundamental principles of human dignity. In Europe, this was further demonstrated in 1953 by signing the European Convention on Human Rights, which was created to protect human and political rights in Europe. In 1968 the protection of human rights was furthered again by the signing the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which, unlike the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is legally binding.

The work of the United Nations in concert with world governments acting alone further advanced the belief that all humans are born with inalienable rights that no government can suspend or remove. Today, human rights are no longer viewed as marginal due to the United Nations and governments worldwide. They are accepted as an inherent part of living in the modern world. Despite work done by the international community and the United Nations, we still see the struggle for human rights today worldwide. Historically, social movements took on this struggle out of necessity. Such campaigns play an essential role in the progress towards equality under the law for all regardless of race, class, gender, and sexuality.

There have been many studies of individual social movements. However, at present, comparative studies in this field of study are rare, and even fewer examine the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. Instead, most studies of the events during the Troubles focus only on the violence that occurred after January 30, 1972, Bloody Sunday. Few within the United States know of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland before that event, nor do they know how closely it related to the civil rights movement in

the United States in methodology and goals. Social movements are pervasive throughout the world today. In order to understand how they work and how they evolved, it is necessary to analyze the social movements of the past.

The United States and Northern Ireland case studies are valuable because they will enable those who study social movements to judge what methods will be beneficial and which will be detrimental to the likelihood of success. The case studies will also provide insight into the role history and culture play in the formation and the achievement of the goals of social movements. They are both unique campaigns that take place in different places and times. However, comparing them is vital because it will demonstrate that the process of change has to be carefully examined to inform decisions of present, future, and future social movements. This examination will provide insight giving us the ability to ascertain how methodology should be decided upon in social movements. It will also demonstrate what factors were at play that made methodologies for peaceful change a success or failure. This study will create a new paradigm that will be used in the future to examine and compare other civil rights movements. The conclusions developed based on the research completed in this study will enable others to build upon the study of social movements.

By examining the civil rights movements in Northern Ireland and the United States and the conditions surrounding them, this paper will determine why one (in the United States) remained largely peaceful, and the other (in Northern Ireland) became a military conflict. Although there is a significant amount of research focused on the civil rights movement in the United States and the Troubles in Northern Ireland, few analyze each to discern the causes of the divergent paths they took. There is some scholarship,

such as *The Long Civil Rights Movement; the Political Uses of the Past* by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall *and Organization, Rationality and Spontaneity in the Civil Rights Movement* by Lewis M. Killian*,* which focuses on peaceful protest and its success in achieving equality under the law. However, this research does not account for the failure of peaceful tactics in some cases.

One of these failures occurred in Northern Ireland, where a primarily violent movement came out of unsuccessful attempts at peaceful protest. In Northern Ireland, what started as a peaceful campaign for equality under the law became a violent military-type campaign even before the events of Bloody Sunday on January 30, 1972, when chances for a peaceful resolution dimmed significantly. After the events of Bloody Sunday, conditions in Ireland were such that Sir John Peck, British Ambassador to Ireland, wrote, "Hatred of the British was intense. Someone had summed it up: 'We are all IRA now.'"[1] A similar event, such as the March on Selma in Alabama on March 21, 1965, led to further action by peaceful means. In order to fully answer the question of why only one movement led to a civil war, this study will begin by explaining the history of each minority in the corresponding country to better understand the conditions that placed the minority group in opposition to the state and its allies**.** It will then be necessary to look further into the actions and the treatment of each minority by the state in their past attempts, before 1966 in Northern Ireland and before World War II in the United States, to achieve equality under the law.

This dissertation will analyze the history of each minority and the relationship each minority had with its government. For the specific movements, it is necessary to

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[1] David McKittrick and David McVea. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. Black Staff Press Limited, Chicago. 2002. 78

examine how they emerged, who their leaders were, what their actions were, and, correspondingly, who led the groups who opposed their demands and what steps they took to defeat their foes. The study will then examine specific demonstrations and protests in the United States and Northern Ireland to understand the methods used by the oppressed and the oppressors, both legal and illegal, to analyze the success and failure of the action, and the public reaction to the events. It will also be necessary to examine the conditions in each country (cultural, social, and economic) during the periods mentioned above as they impacted the actions taken by each government and the movements themselves.

This study will then make comparisons to postulate an answer as to why similar civil rights movements with similar goals went in divergent directions; when it came to the methodology each employed to achieve their goals, one pushed towards violence and the other kept militancy at the periphery. This information will also provide insight into what can be learned from these movements to further our understanding of today's social movements.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

There are limited sources comparing the civil rights movement in the United States to Northern Ireland and fewer still that analyze why each took a divergent path despite similar goals and methods. These analyses only provide a cursory inspection of each movement's conditions and how they are reflected in the movement's direction. However, the first-hand accounts and academic articles do provide ample evidence to assist in ascertaining the divergence. *The Black and the Green* by Brian Dooley is the only book exploring the relationship between the two movements. It is a direct

comparison of the two movements that explores the connections the Northern Irish civil rights movement leaders created with the Black Panther Party in the US and how they copied the non-violent tactics used by African Americans. The book does an excellent job of discussing how the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland looked to the movement in the United States for guidance and support. However, in finding the similarities and defining the relationship, there is no analysis of why they ended up on vastly different paths.

Studies have sought to explain why Northern Irish Catholics moved to direct action much quicker than had occurred in the United States. In "Civil Rights Mobilization and Repression in Northern Ireland: A Comparison with the US Deep South," Gianluca DeFazio points out that the lack of guarantee of rights in the United Kingdom prevented Catholics from using the legal system in Northern Ireland to end discrimination. However, this article does not conclude why violence was more readily accepted to achieve the civil rights movement's goals. The lack of legal recourse for Catholics Northern Ireland does explain why they moved quicker towards direct action protests using confrontation with authorities to draw attention to their struggle.

In another comparison, "'Do What the Afro-Americans are Doing': Black Power and the start of the Northern Ireland Troubles," Simon Prince studies the role of the Black Power movement in the struggle for civil rights in Northern Ireland. It discusses how activists used the Black Power movement "to create transnational networks of revolt and to inspire local political struggles."[2] This article focuses on how the radical activists in

[2] Simon Prince. "Do What the Afro Americans are Doing: Black Power and the Start of the Northern Ireland Troubles." Journal of Contemporary History. Vol. 50 no. 3 (2015). 516.

Northern Ireland were not only interested in changing the existing system of government but also sought to overthrow it, enabling those seeking to maintain the discriminatory system, Protestants, to portray all those who were seeking equality as radicals. As such, the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland was seen by those involved as the beginning of a much larger struggle that would engulf Western Europe in the years to come. This article does provide insight into the causes of the violence in Northern Ireland. However, it does not thoroughly examine the civil rights movement in either country, only one aspect of both.

Despite few comparisons of the civil rights movements in the United States and Northern Ireland, there are several autobiographies of Northern Irish activists that include a cursory comparison in their narrative. *War in an Irish Town* by Eamonn McCann discusses his life growing up in Derry and his role in developing the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. McCann details the conditions in Northern Ireland which were the impetus for the Irish civil rights movement in 1968 and the struggles it faced until Bloody Sunday in 1972. *War in an Irish Town* also discusses the role of the Black Panther Party in the development of his and fellow activists' methodology on seeking to change the Northern Irish state. The role of the party, combined with analysis of the origins of the Northern Ireland and the founding of the Unionist Party in 1886, provides the reader with an invaluable resource to understand this civil rights movement and the circumstances leading to its end. While *War in an Irish Town* does refer to the civil rights movement in the United States, it does not provide a proper comparison for the reader to discern the differences in the outcomes of demonstrations.

An essential exploration of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland is found in *Ulster's White Negroes: From Civil Rights to Insurrection* by Fionbarra Ó Dochartaigh. *Ulster's White Negroes* is also a first-hand account of the causes, development, and mobilization of the Catholic population in Northern Ireland. Ó Dochartaigh gives an in-depth examination of the civil rights movement's development and mobilization, including the issues it faced early on, in attempting to maintain a standard message with the diversity of the groups involved. Like McCann, Ó Dochartaigh does demonstrate similar issues between Catholics and African Americans. However, there is no discussion of the context each movement is taking place in, and there is no explanation for the differing outcomes when each attempted to follow the methodology of non-violence.

Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland by Bob Purdie examines the civil rights movement from the outside. The book does an excellent job of describing events leading up to and including the Burntollet March but ends there. It provides insight into the divided factions vying for power of the movement and the depiction of a government that is losing control. It also draws comparisons to the civil rights movement in the United States but spends more time in the minutia of local elections. Again, there is a lack of true comparison of the events in each movement placed in the proper context that would enable a reader to conclude the causes of the divergent paths each movement took.

Similarly, albeit moving further into an analysis of the movement, is Niall Ó Dochartaigh's *From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles.* Ó Dochartaigh methodically lays out the path from peaceful protest to violence and the

government's role in that transition. His main argument is that "violent conflict is influenced and shaped by the contemporary events which make up that conflict to a much greater extent than the development of a non-violent political process is."[3] However, his study does not examine the importance of history and culture in the context of his analysis. Finally, in *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origins of the Troubles* by Simon Prince, readers are presented with Northern Ireland as a case study to examine what was happening around the world in 1968. The book seeks to use politics, international and local, to explain what happened in Northern Ireland. However, it does not provide a significant examination of what was happening in the United States or its relation to events in Northern Ireland. Although these books provide insight into the research and work done for this dissertation, academic articles also address the issues discussed here.

In "Civil Rights in Northern Ireland," John J Kane discusses the causes of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. However, he then goes on to discuss the system of separation that existed within the country. According to Kane, there were few environments where Catholics and Protestants coexisted, creating an avenue for the government to use Catholics as scapegoats for the economic and political issues facing Northern Ireland. The lack of coexistence also provided an avenue for developing separate societies that accentuated the differences between the two groups creating isolated, competing societies. In "The Making of the Troubles," Ronnie Munck builds on

[3]Niall O' Dochartaigh. *From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles.* Cork University Press, Cork. 1997. 309

the segregation discussed by Kane, citing interviews with those living there. Munck uses the interviews to make it abundantly clear that Catholics were told not to mix with Protestants from a young age. He also discusses the beginnings of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, explaining how the government focused on Protestant areas for economic development. It is one of the few articles that discuss the first march in Dungannon. However, neither of these articles analyze the ramifications of the segregated society and its role in the acceptability of violence in Northern Ireland.

Until recently, there has been little scholarship on the role of social groups in these movements in Northern Ireland. The lack of scholarship changed with the book *The Troubles in Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements* edited by Lorenzo Bosi and Gianluca DeFazio. This book includes articles focusing on how movements transition from protest to violence, how social movements emerge in deeply divided societies, and the effect of the role played by the government. Although this book focuses on Northern Ireland, many assertions can be applied to the United States. The books and articles reviewed above represent the sources that most closely align with the topics of this dissertation but demonstrate the gaps in the previous research.

As with the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, many sources address the civil rights movement in the United States. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* by John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr. is an invaluable source in understanding the plight of African Americans in the United States. Through extensive scholarship, the book tells the story of the African American quest for equality. The chapters “Race and Nation” and “Fighting for the Four Freedoms” were critical to the research on the mobilization of the African American community. *Eyes on the Prize* by

Juan Williams is a companion book to the series of the same name that aired on PBS. What sets *Eyes on the Prize* apart from other civil rights books is that it focuses on the society affected by the movement. It does not focus on the leaders and the organizers of the events. For this dissertation's purpose, its analysis of the demonstrations discussed provided insight that broad histories of the movement cannot supply. An analysis of the leadership and those responsible for organizing and conducting demonstrations is found in one of the most well-known and respected sources of the civil rights movement in the United States, Taylor Branch's trilogy *The King Years: Historic Moments in the Civil Rights Movement.* These books discuss how the environment in the United States post-World War II provided the necessary landscape to enable the civil rights movement to grow and expand. The research focuses on leadership through organization, mobilization, and preparing for demonstrations. Using two thousand interviews, Branch analyses the movement's leadership, examining the reasons for the decision made as to how the movement would progress. The books also demonstrate how intrinsic the practice of non-violence was to the movement and why.

The non-violent methodology employed in the civil rights movement would not have been possible without a culture created by African Americans belonging to the independent black church. In the *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change,* Aldon Morris argues that it was the infrastructure of the independent black church that provided the civil rights organizers the ability to mobilize large numbers of people to attend demonstrations. Morris also contends that the sense of belonging to the church provided the support needed to maintain the continuity of the movement despite the repression and defeats it faced. Finally, Morris demonstrates

that the church's teaching enabled those participating to believe that God was on their side and that they were doing the work that Jesus Christ had begun.

The role of religion in the decision to follow the non-violent methodology is further addressed in "African American Religious intellectuals and the Theological Foundations of the Civil Rights Movement, 1930-55" by Dennis Dickerson. Dickerson connects the religious philosophy of Martin Luther King Jr. directly to the methodology of non-violence. In the fight against segregation, King states: "'The problem of race and color prejudice, remains America's greatest moral dilemma.' He added that 'there must be recognition of the sacredness of human personality.'"[4] In this article, Dickerson provides evidence that non-violence was not for expedience. It was the genuine belief of the leadership of the civil rights movement. The power of non-violence bolstered the actions taken by the civil rights movement as it moved towards more direct-action protests in the 1950s. The momentum of the movement also picked up due to decisions made by the Supreme Court and actions taken by the federal government.

In "Signals and Spillover: Brown V. Board of Education and Other Social Movements," David S. Meyer and Steven A. Boutcher argue that with the Brown decision the Supreme Court demonstrated its willingness to step in where minority rights were at issue, accelerating the mobilization of the civil rights movement which forced change at a speedier rate. Due to the increased pressure placed on the system of segregation as a result of direct action, the federal government was compelled to act. Wayne A. Santoro, in the "Civil Rights Movement and the Right to Vote: Black Protest,

[4] Dennis Dickerson. "African American Religious intellectuals and the Theological Foundations of the Civil Rights Movement, 1930-55." *Church History*, 74. No. 2. (Jun., 2005): 218.

Segregationist Violence, and the Audience," propones that it was when violence was used against civil rights protestors by segregationists that the federal government acted. However, Santoro points out that before the Johnson administration, violence did not play a role in the federal government's decision.

As evidenced above, a substantial amount of research focuses on each movement individually, but there is a lack of research comparing the two. Through the sources discussed above, this dissertation will provide needed scholarly work that will educate about a topic in history that has been neglected.

METHODOLOGY

The methodology used to examine the civil rights movements in each country considers the minorities' access to its legal system because this will determine the types of demonstrations they organized and promoted. An example of this in Northern Ireland would be the lack of guarantee of rights to the citizens of Northern Ireland because their rights were merely implicit in their constitution. In the United States, the rights of all citizens were explicit in the Bill of Rights; therefore, the actions of the Northern Irish Catholics had to be in public, not a courtroom. The forms of protest implemented by the movements will then be analyzed as they weree an essential aspect of the direction of each movement. It will be essential to examine multiple protests undertaken by the movements at different times over the course of each struggle. These examinations will then be used to analyze the outcomes and the repercussions. In turn, this will provide necessary information to judge why similar protests had differing or similar outcomes.

This dissertation will not be structured chronologically but thematically using like conditions and events. The framework to be employed, as written above, is developed

based on a comparative revolutions' framework found in *Comparative and Historical Study of Revolutions* by Jack A. Goldstone. This framework provided insight for this dissertation because some preconditions and actions in revolutions are similar to those of social movements. Gianluca De Fazio's *Civil rights mobilization and repression in Northern Ireland: a comparison with the US Deep South* was also consulted for this framework. As with Goldstone's framework on revolutions, De Fazio's only focused on two of the research areas, so they were built upon to incorporate a broader scope of comparison.

The framework will look first at the historical background of the relationship between the minorities and the majority in each country, discussed in Chapter Two. This past plays a vital role in all the remaining topics. In the United States, African Americans were given the right of full citizenship with the Fourteenth Amendment. Soon after, some states began to limit their rights. Local and state authorities enforced the system of segregation and were mostly ignored by the federal government. In Northern Ireland, the system of oppression that existed in all of Ireland was made legal after the partition in 1921. Within the framework, the conditions the minorities lived in will be addressed as it has been argued that when people feel as though the harsh treatment they are receiving is a condition of who they are, they are likely to accept it. Anger and frustration occur when social advancement is expected and does not happen within society. Chapter Three focuses on the development and the role of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the early civil rights movement discussing its beginning strategy of attacking segregation through the courts. The chapter also analyzes the importance of the United States' involvement in World War II and the effects of the

armed forces on how African Americans viewed themselves in the United States. Chapter Four analyzes the importance of the Education Act on the Northern Irish Catholic population as it directly related to the increased awareness of the struggle for human rights worldwide. The other welfare programs enacted by the United Kingdom led to a larger middle class in Northern Ireland. These two factors lead the Northern Irish Catholic population to focus more on changing the system of government instead of attempting rebellion and beginning direct action protest.

The framework created for this dissertation requires an analysis of civil rights demonstrations in the United States and Northern Ireland, done in Chapters Five and Six. Chapter Five will focus on the campaigns in the United States that occurred to desegregate schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, desegregate businesses in Birmingham, Alabama, and boost voter registration in Selma, Alabama. These analyses will show that only the federal government's response prevented violence against civil rights activists. In all cases, local and state leaders working in concert with community organizations impeded the movement of minorities towards equality. These actions were countered by a federal government that could stem what seemed like the inevitability of continued discrimination against African Americans due to the Constitution.

Chapter Six will then focus on the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, analyzing the march on October 5, 1968, the Burntollet march, and the internment march on January 31, 1972, to further understand the strategies and circumstances of the campaign in Northern Ireland. This chapter's methodology is modified to reflect the levels of authority by including the British parliament in Westminster, as Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. Whereas in the United States, it was the federal

government's direct action that changed state policies, in Northern Ireland, it was the willingness or unwillingness of Westminster to pressure Stormont, the Parliament of Northern Ireland to address issues of equality that played the equivalent role. It also must be considered that the only police force in Northern Ireland was the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which was a national organization. Therefore, there was no Northern Irish equivalent to the local police forces that operated in the United States. With this in mind, Chapter six's analyses of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, Westminster will be analogous to the United States federal government. At the same time, Northern Ireland will correspond to the state government. This chapter will demonstrate that, like the civil rights movement in the United States, the actions of state and local authorities hindered the achievement of equality under the law. However, unlike the federal response in the United States, the federal response in Northern Ireland supported and bolstered the attempts to prevent Northern Irish Catholics from achieving their goal of equality under the law leading to the promulgation of violence in Northern Ireland.

Chapter Seven will use original interviews of former members of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland and former members of the Irish Republican Army and interviews of former members of the civil rights movement in the United States. These interviews will illuminate with the conclusions drawn in previous chapters and draw particular attention to the importance of the history and culture of a group when discussing a social movement's methodology and goals.

The implications of this study will serve to educate those seeking to create change in society via social movements and those government authorities responsible for the welfare of its citizens. This study will demonstrate that the reaction and response of

government agencies to attempts at correcting societal injustices have a detrimental effect on the direction and the reception of social movements. The attempted repression of both movements led to an international reaction resulting from the hypocrisy of each governments' stance on human rights. The violent repression also led to increased involvement in each movement as many joined due to the repulsivity of the government's attempts to prevent peaceful protest. In the case of the United States, this public pressure forced the federal government to respond in defense of the protestors. In the United Kingdom, the response continued the cycle of violence Northern Ireland had been in and accelerated it. This study will also serve to educate on the role history and culture play in those seeking change. In the case of the United States, the history and culture of African Americans were grounded in the independent black church, which lent itself easily to the idea of non-violent protest. In Northern Ireland, the history and culture of the Catholics had no such structure and instead was grounded in the centuries of rebellion and violence fighting the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER 2

The civil rights movements in Northern Ireland and the United States were very similar in goals and methods employed to achieve equality under the law because the same tactics were used by the majorities in each country to preserve inequality. In the United States, African Americans were first treated as slaves then after the Emancipation Proclamation as a threatening minority of second-class citizens who had to be controlled. In Northern Ireland, Catholic nationalists were seen as a threat to unionist Protestants' power and the existence of the Northern Irish state, therefore, they had to be controlled. Every effort was made to maintain the majority's grip on power including disenfranchisement, prevention of employment, and segregation at every level of society. In both cases stereotypes were also promoted in order to foster distrust and hatred of the minorities. It was only after the cataclysmic events of World War II where the true effects of hatred were seen that the major world powers came together to form the United Nations. The creation of the United Nations and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights required the United States and the United Kingdom to examine their own policies and begin to alter their treatment of minorities.

UNITED STATES

The need for a civil rights movement in the United States rests on the very existence of the document that created it, the Constitution of the United States, which immediately established a system that treated human beings as property. The framers of the constitution saw slavery as an issue that could prevent the unification of the northern and southern former colonies and so it had to be reconciled. Therefore, it was not an issue of morally right or wrong, it was an issue of how to deal with something that many

considered to be deplorable but necessary because the repercussions of freeing the slaves were seen as insurmountable for a newly established country. As Patrick Henry put it "As much as I deplore slavery, I see that prudence forbids its abolition . . . .[Is] it practicable, by any human means, to liberate [the slaves] without producing the most dreadful and ruinous consequences [?]"[1] To many of the American Founding Fathers, the answer to this question was no; it was seen as far too great a task or risk to undertake when the overall goal was the creation of a free republic based on the ideas of the Enlightenment. Abolishing slavery was not an option; it became a question of how it would be included, and would the slaves be property or people? In the end it was agreed that they would be considered as people but not the equal of those free men and women. It was rationalized by James Madison this way "let the compromising expedient of the Constitution be mutually adopted, which regards them as inhabitants, but as debased by servitude below the equal level of free inhabitants."[2] In this view slaves were considered a lesser person and not a citizen of the United States. The decisions made by those who founded the United States to not treat human beings as such has caused irreparable damage to the principles of equality that the United States was founded upon. The hatred and discrimination their system created continues to hinder equality under the law today.

Based on events around the world and the ideas of the Enlightenment, the framers believed that slavery was eventually going to end because it was in direct conflict with the idea that all men are created equal. Therefore, the constitution does not explicitly endorse or forbid slavery; its existence is simply acknowledged as something that needs

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[1] Wiecek, William M. "Slavery in the Making of the Constitution." In *the Sources of Anti-Slavery Constitutionalism in America, 1760-1848*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1977): 65
[2] Ibid. 69

to be dealt with. The best example of this is Article I Section 9 which forbids Congress to render slave trading illegal until 1808.[3] By deferring a contentious topic between north and south they were able to get agreement on the Constitution, which was the overall objective. The word slavery is also never mentioned in the constitution. Any reference to slaves or slavery in the constitution is only implied. Slavery is implied in Article I Section 2, where slaves are referred to as "three fifths of all other persons," and again in Article IV Section 2 where they were referred to as "person held to service or labor."[4] It was the latter article, that included the Fugitive Slave Clause, which prohibited free states from releasing slaves who escaped that lead many to believe, including President Lincoln, that slavery was protected by the constitution. The Fugitive Slave Clause seems to imply that slavery should be governed by the state where it exists making it a reserved right for the states.

Lincoln believed as president it was his job to uphold the constitution and the constitution protected slavery.[5] But with the south in rebellion Lincoln believed he could rectify the issue of slavery with the use of the war powers he believed he was afforded by the constitution. He issued the Emancipation Proclamation as a "— necessity, absolutely essential to the preservation of the Union… The slaves [are] undeniably an element of strength to those who had their service. . . and we must decide whether that element should be with us or against us."[6] In doing so Lincoln evaded the moral imperative of ending slavery because it was unjust and did so, as the founders did as a matter of a

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[3] United States Constitution Article I Section 9 (expired in 1808)
[4]United States Constitution Article I Section 2 (modified in 1868), Article IV Section 2 (modified in 1865)
[5] James McPherson. *Abraham Lincoln and the Second American Revolution.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 128.
[6] McPherson, 83.

means to an end. It is also clear that those who voted for abolition in states also did not see the slaves' freedom as anything other than how it would affect those voting for it monetarily. In Maryland one unionist stated "There has been no expression, at least in this community, of regard for the negro-for human rights. . . many expressive of the great prosperity to result to the state by a change of the system of labor."[7] Even with freedom provided to the slaves they remained unequal in the eyes of many who voted for abolition. The passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments only changed their legal standing in the United States but they did nothing to alter how whites viewed them in society. As an English traveler in Richmond observed about African American legal rights: "He knows 'how far he may go and where he must stop' and that 'habits aren't changed by paper laws.'"[8]

While the Union government began to reestablish the United States after the attempted southern secession, the first issue that was addressed was the abolition of slavery in the Thirteenth Amendment. Immediately following the passage of the amendment those in the south repudiated it. In response to the abolition of slavery, states in the south immediately passed Black Codes in an attempt to undo early Reconstruction measures. According to Benjamin Flanders: "Their whole thought and time will be given to plans for getting things back to as near to slavery as possible."[9] Most of these codes were repealed in 1866 but southern courts continued to enforce them with "no direct reference to race."[10] As mentioned above there was no real call to recognize freed slaves

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[7] Eric Foner. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. (Harper Collins, New York, 1988), 41.
[8] Leon F. Litwack. "Jim Crow Blues" *OAH Magazine of History* 18, No. 2, (Jan., 2004): 8.
[9] Foner, 199.
[10] Ibid. 209.

as social equals and there was a desire to remand them to their former existence. With the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 all freed slaves born in the United States were citizens and their rights were guaranteed as such. The southern states responded with a system of separating the races. In 1870 Tennessee passed the first law of the Jim Crow era when they outlawed interracial marriage.[11] Five years later the Supreme Court found the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional clearing the way for the southern states to separate blacks and whites at every level of society by placing the laws within their state constitutions. This was then followed by the Supreme Court's decision in Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896which created the separate but equal doctrine.[12] Lastly, the Fifteenth Amendment was passed in 1870 which guaranteed a citizens' rights to vote regardless of race, color or previous condition of servitude."[13] This was countered by those in the south by terrorizing African-Americans who voted against what southern whites wanted. "The crops of Negroes were destroyed, their barns and houses burned, and they were whipped and lynched for voting Republican."[14] When those in the government lost interest and ended Reconstruction in 1877, the job was not complete. Sufficient resources had not been allocated to establish former slaves as free men and women and as a result many ended up back working on the plantations where they were slaves. Not only did the federal government fail to provide necessary assistance to freed slaves, it also allowed the southern states to create new methods of repression through the decisions made by the Supreme Court.

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[11] John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, Sixth Edition*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 238.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Constitution
[14] Franklin and Moss, 229.

CONDITIONS CREATED AS A RESULT OF UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ACTIONS:

All of the attempts to grant equality and full citizenship to the former slaves by the federal government were not enough to end the years of indoctrination both African-Americans endured and whites promulgated. This indoctrination would hamper any chance the struggle for equality for African-Americans would have. Whites saw attempts to better the lives of former slaves as northerners coming to the south to interfere with their livelihood and societal norms. southerners interpreted actions by the federal government as attacks on southern culture, society, economy and political system. In reality the federal government was attempting to rebuild the south after the Civil War had decimated it. As the federal government attempted this Reconstruction it made promises to the African-American community and that community was an active participant in attempting to achieve the promises of equality they were given. Unfortunately, Jim Crow laws were enacted and enforced by southern states as the federal government turned away. As a result, African-Americans began to question whether or not it was possible to achieve equality with whites and some were resigned to live as second-class citizens. The belief of the white population that African-Americans were not capable of education or civility meant that many whites were unable to accept freed slaves as their equal. This resulted in former slaves being remanded to second class citizenship regardless of what the constitution said. It was the refusal of white southerners to see blacks as equal to that lead to the unjust Jim Crow laws. In turn the unjust laws instituted in the south caused African-Americans to disrespect the repressive governmental system they lived in and those responsible for its enforcement. According to a study by Richard Rose it was this lack of respect that called into question the

legitimacy of the local and state governments in the south.[15] All of this led to a continuing cycle which promoted negative stereotypes of the African-American community by the whites who were oppressing them.

The negative stereotypes of African-Americans began prior to the Atlantic slave trade and continued after their emancipation regardless of the attempts to change them. In 1890 a North Carolina judge, Albion Tourgee made it very clear that African-Americans were not the issue, whites were. "There was no 'Negro problem,' Tourgee observed, but rather a 'white' one since "the hate, the oppression, the injustice, are all on our side.'"[16] This was not a widely held observation and some whites believed that African-Americans were waiting until they could visit upon the white population what had been done to them. In a report of the interactions between African-American and white soldiers in World War I, it was concluded that "It would be futile for us to try to believe that the negro [sic] has no particular state of mind against us, he undoubtedly has."[17] This report was written in response to the racial confrontations that occurred during the war. The report fails to mention that most of the violence in World War I visited on African-American soldiers occurred through the actions of their white compatriots.[18] When taken with Tourgee's statement the belief by white southerners that African Americans want some kind of revenge for the past was very real in the United States.

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[15] Paul F. Power, "Civil Protest in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Peace Research* 9, no. 3 (1972): 223.
[16] Foner, 606.
[17] Jennifer Keene, "A 'Brutalizing' War? The USA after the First World War." *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 50, No. 1, Special Issue: The Limits of Demobilization (January 2015): 84.
[18] Ibid.

Echoes of this kind of thinking were also evident in the words of Florida resident Mary Burrell, in an interview she gave the Federal Writers Project in 1938, reflecting on the late nineteenth century in the south. Burrell believed that slaves were told to leave the plantation lives they knew but then could not find work in other places leading to their arrest. "As conditions grew more desperate, so the problem of the Negro became more serious. The carpetbaggers stirred them to lawlessness, and only the appearance of the Ku Klux Klan saved the women and children of the South."[19] This view shows the belief of the African-American as ignorant because they followed the suggestions of the north and that violence is all they understand. Burrell went on to say: "negroes were accustomed to whipping as a punishment, and knew when they deserved it. . . to put a negro in solitary confinement only let him enjoy leisure."[20] These stereotypes enabled the southern states to enact laws that prevented African-Americans from playing a role in creating new state constitutions, blocking them from enjoying the rights that were now enshrined in the United States Constitution. The southern states attacked the very core of what makes a democracy: the right to vote.

It was understood by those in southern state governments after the Supreme Court decision in United States v. Cruiksharik that they would be free to discriminate wherever they saw fit when it came to voting. The court found that the Fifteenth Amendment did not guarantee citizens the right to vote but only the right to not be discriminated against "on account of race color, or previous condition of servitude."[21] This finding provided the southern states with the means to begin the disenfranchisement of African-Americans

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[19] Jonathan Harrison, "The Rise of Jim Crow in Fort Myers, 1885-1930." *The Florida History Quarterly* 94, No. 1 (Summer 2015):42.
[20] Ibid. 43.
[21] Franklin and Moss, 230.

living in the south. These new laws included those that prevented people form voting due to crimes they committed, their ability to read, in some cases and understand a state constitution, and also if they could not pay a poll tax. There was nothing in the law directed at their race or color but since those in charge of the polling places were white, no whites were turned away or questioned.[22] These laws were put in place while African-Americans were already being terrorized if they voted. Even in situations where they met the requirements voting stations would be set up far from African-American communities and travel was often blocked.[23] Later African-Americans would build "organizations that attempted to maintain civic pride, and kept a presence on the electoral register even when their votes were rendered ineffective by the 'white primary system.'"[24] This system refers to the stuffing of ballet boxes while the observers looked the other way, leaving one official to comment "the white and black Republicans outvote us, but we can out count them."[25] In areas where the counting was done properly it sometimes did not matter as a result of gerrymandering. As Eric Foner describes: "Wilmington's black wards, containing four fifths of the city's population, elected only one third of its alderman."[26] Many African-Americans were denied their right to participate in the governing of the country in which they were citizens. These conditions provided for a significant drop in African-American participation within a short time of them be implemented. In 1896 there were over 130,000 African-Americans registered to vote in Louisiana, two years after the state constitution was adopted that number dropped to 320.[27] In Florida after a

[22] Ibid., 231.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Harrison, 43.
[25] Franklin and Moss, 231.
[26] Foner, 590.
[27] Franklin and Moss, 237.

poll tax was enacted the statewide Republican vote fell from 26,000 in 1888 to 5000 in 1892.[28] By taking away African-Americans access to voting the way was cleared for state governments to establish a segregated, discriminatory, social, economic and educational system that provided no means for African-Americans to prevent it.

GRIEVANCES:

Segregation in the United States was a part of everyday African-Americans life from the Emancipation Proclamation through the 1960s. Whether it was where they were able to sit on a bus or which drinking fountain they could use segregation was entrenched within the society of the United States. The area where it had the biggest effect on the future of African-Americans was the segregation of the school systems across the United States. Due to Plessy v. Ferguson "equal" was a relative term and different interpretations lead to vast disparities in African-American schools. In 1900 the southern states spent $2 per African American child and $3 for every white child. [29] This trend continued to worsen into the 1930s when the southern states spent $13.09 on blacks and $37.87 on whites.[30] In many cases the black community was expected to make up the difference in order to keep the black schools running. This was the case in Fort Myers Florida when the Board of Education asked blacks to "defray on half of the expense" to install electricity in a school in 1916.[31] This lack of spending on black schools was pervasive throughout the United States. In the cities of St. Louis and Kansas City Missouri the black high schools were overcrowded, due to lack of black high schools in the rural areas,

[28] Harrison, 45.
[29] Franklin and Moss, 361.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Harrison, 59.

and, according to the Inspector of Negro Schools "had a much less even quality of faculty and administration than white schools, in terms of number, training and preparation."[32] As time went on it became easier to keep schools segregated as a result of discrimination in employment and home renting and buying. The discrimination in home buying was not acknowledged by the law but by real estate brokers, banks and home owners' associations. Discrimination in employment resulted from lack of education, the refusal by employers to hire African-Americans, and the refusal of unions to accept them.

The issues that faced African-Americans were inescapable. In the south, as industrialism moved in from the north and African Americans were unsuccessful buying their own land due to the color of their skin, they were faced with the choice to leave the south or chose to work in "hyper-exploitive labor roles."[33] Those who chose to leave the south only found the same types of jobs open to them when they arrived in the North. "It was nearly always in marginal positions. . .ditch diggers, blast furnace operators, coal and rag collectors and riverfront roustabouts."[34] It was not only a result of the bias of those who hired them, it was also the lack of the ability for them to join a union. Unions saw blacks as "threats to labor peace and stability" therefore the were not permitted to be members of most unions.[35] By not being able to join a union it prevented blacks from any type of upward mobility and this lack of movement restricted the types of homes they could buy or rent.

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[32] Joseph Heathcott, "Black Archipelago: Politics and Civic Life in a Jim Crow City." *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 3: 713.
[33] Harrison, 56.
[34] Heathcott, 711.
[35] Ibid.

This lack of upward mobility combined with the issue of realtors not selling or renting to them and associations agreeing not to deal with them, African Americans were again placed in an unwinnable situation. In Florida one developer issued the restriction "This subdivision is reserved for the White race and no deed shall be made or any ownership recognized to any person or persons of the Black, Yellow or Brown races."[36] In other places in the south like Greensboro, North Carolina, extralegal methods were also employed. "If he (an African American) had moved in he would have moved out a great deal quicker-and a pile of ashes would have marked the house. That is what the white man will do, law or no law, and that is understood."[37] Another attempt to keep blacks out, which was done in the north was to motivate whites using fear. In a pamphlet advertising a meeting of a homeowners association in St Louis the migration of blacks into the city was referred to as an "imminent 'Colored invasion.'"[38] This method was so successful that by 1940 most white neighborhoods "kept a vigilant stance of defense against black renters and homeowners-and against those real estate companies and landlords that saw it in their interests to rent to black families.[39] The areas blacks inhabited were the most congested areas of the city. In fact, "blacks constituted 50 to 100 percent of the census tracts with the most densely packed housing."[40] This was nothing that was hidden or illegal as demonstrated by a map from 1935 of St. Louis that refers to an area outlined in red a "Negro District."[41] This type of "redlining" was banned in the

[36] Harrison, 58.
[37] Litwack, 9.
[38] Heathcott, 717.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid., 714.
[41] Ibid.

United States in 1968 but the effects of its practice and other actions taken to prevent the social mobility of the black community are still ongoing.

The disenfranchisement and segregation of African American community had lasting effects. Both created economic, political and social hardship for the black community and continued a hatred and animosity of whites. The effects also create generations of blacks who, due to a daily bombardment of signs and circumstances that degraded and belittled them, doubted their own worth. It was ingrained in them that no matter what they did or said, they would always be considered as inferior by whites. W.E.B DuBois referred to this concept as "Double Consciousness." DuBois used to this term to describe "this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, -- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."[42] It was this constant battle within the African-American community to see themselves as they were versus the white community's stereotypical view that ended with their participation in World War II fighting against Nazi Germany. Fighting abroad to end a system of segregation and discrimination emboldened African-American soldiers to return to the United States to take up the struggle here. One black soldier commented "I'm hanged if I'm going to let the Alabama version of the Germans kick me around when I get home. . .I went into the Army a

[42] W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library. Accessed August 3, 2019: 2.

nigger; I'm coming out a man."[43] For many, involvement in World War II ended the "Double Consciousness" Du Bois spoke of and African-Americans saw themselves for who they believed they were not what the white community assumed they were.

NORTHERN IRELAND

The civil rights movement in Northern Ireland began in 1963 when it became apparent the Catholic population attempts at equality with the Protestants were gaining momentum from recent events in other parts of the world, including the United States. Before it could achieve its goals of equality under the law peacefully the events of January 30, 1972, Bloody Sunday ended any chance peaceful changes could be achieved. Before its demise, the civil rights movement did serve an important purpose in the Catholic struggle for equality under the law. The civil rights movement motivated others to join by focusing on the goal of equality and by removing the border issue. The civil rights movement focused on issues of equality that effected both Protestants and Catholics and attempted to reform the government from within as oppose to proposing a revolution which the republicans and nationalists had seen as the only option at ending the partition of Ireland, creating united Ireland. The civil rights campaign created a situation that the unionists feared because it attempted to motivate working class Protestants as well as Catholics with the issue of "one man, one vote." This worried unionists because the system of government put in place in 1921 by the Government of Ireland Act only worked if the Catholics remained a minority under the control of the unionists. The continued repression of the Catholics remained the goal of the Northern

[43] Cynthia Soohoo, Catherine Albisa, and Martha Davis, *Bringing Human Rights Home: A History of Human Rights in the United States, Abridged Edition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2009): 76.

Irish government at Stormont. This continued after changes were made in Britain during the 1950s that provided social welfare programs which made the government of Britain responsible for the well-being of its subjects. It remained the case into the 1960s with the ascension of a moderate Terence O'Neill to prime minister in Northern Ireland. O'Neill's attempts at reform were greeted with some approval but they were vehemently opposed by men like Ian Paisley who believed there was a conspiracy between the Pope, the twenty-six-county state, the IRA and sometimes the communists, to separate Northern Ireland from the United Kingdom and return it to the Republic and Catholicism. It is well established that the events of Bloody Sunday changed the view Northern Irish Catholics about to peacefully achieving equality to one that accepts violence as a means to an end. The actions of the British troops on Bloody Sunday were seen as proof that violence was the only solution.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW NORTHERN IRISH STATE

The history of the relationship between the Catholics and the Protestants exemplified the distrust and dislike the two groups had for one another and is exemplified in the creation of the Northern Irish government. In 1921 when the state was established it was sixty-seven percent Protestant and thirty-three percent Catholic.[44] There were no provisions in the Government of Ireland Act in 1920 to safeguard the native Irish. "Most historians accept that these new boundaries were based on a crude sectarian headcount…by 1923 the Stormont Government had in place the framework for a new system of discrimination."[45] Religion was used to divide the Protestant and Catholic

[44] Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's White Negroes* (London, AK Press, 1994), 2.
[45] Ibid.

working class by the ruling elite because without the two groups working together nothing can change.[46] It is believed that the government in Northern Ireland had to create a clear difference; therefore they created a system where Catholics would always be second class citizens.[47] The partition created a framework within a new society that codified what had existed prior to partition like that of discriminatory hiring practices (i.e. Protestant over Catholics) were completely legal. With these types of practices, sectarianism was accelerated.[48] Protestants accepted the division of the groups and due to the construction of the government, the Catholics could do nothing about it.[49] "By granting privileged status to one section of the population, the ruling unionist party enjoyed a comfortable majority that it would not have had if normal class politics had prevailed in the region."[50] Unionists were in power from the inception with no redress for Catholics. There were varying degrees of compliance and resistance but little to no involvement in the government.[51] The unionists had no reason provide anything to the Catholics because the affairs of Northern Ireland would not be discussed in the House of Commons at Westminster; therefore they were completely left alone to govern as they deemed appropriate.[52] Therefore when the new government was set up, "heads of the departments in the Civil Service in Dublin who were responsible for establishing new ministries in the north after the treaty were told bluntly by the new government that no Catholics would be employed and to take them off the staff list for transfer to the

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[46] Marie Couto, "Protestant Fears and Catholic Despair." *Economic and Political Weekly* 16, no. 21 (1981): 942.
[47] Tommy McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament*. London: Pluto Press, 2011. 6.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid., 25.
[51] Power, 223.
[52] O'Dochartaigh, 2.

North."[53] None of this was disguised, and to take it a step further, the new government would demand loyalty to the religious and political symbols of the unionist party.[54] "Voting districts had been gerrymandered in such a way that Catholic population was represented by fewer council members than a small Protestant constituency."[55] To be specific, Londonderry was 69% Catholic and the council was made up of twelve unionists and eight nationalists.[56] To add further insult to the Catholics, the unionist government outlawed nationalist symbols and celebrations but promoted unionist rituals like the July 12 Orange Parades, regardless of their sectarian implications.[57]

The law that enabled the unionist government to do this was the Special Powers Act. "The Special Powers Act and political police forces gave the government enormous scope to apply repressive measures against those who they believed were threatening the state."[58] When it was originally put into law, it was only to be temporary to deal with the continued struggle to subdue the remaining nationalists within Northern Ireland. The act was needed for two reasons: one was the IRA which "was active, trying to destabilize the state from the very beginning and complete the business that partition had left unfinished."[59] The second was the violence that took over as a result of the partition. "In the first two years of its existence, 557 people were killed in inter-communal rioting – 303 Catholics, 172 Protestants and 82 members of the police and British army."[60]

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[53] Paddy Devlin, *Yes, We Have No Bananas: Outdoor Relief in Belfast, 1920-39*. New York: Blackstaff Publishing, 1985. 39.
[54] Ibid.
[55] John J. Kane, "Civil Rights in Northern Ireland." *The Review of Politics* 33, no. 1 (1971): 59.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ronnie Munck, "The Making of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 2 (1992): 212.
[58] Kane, 62.
[59] Peter Taylor. *Loyalists: War and Peace in Northern Ireland*. (New York: TV Books, 1999), 25.
[60] Ibid.

Sometime later, in 1933 after the country had been subdued it became permanent with some amended provisions. “This Act effectively institutionalized extra ordinary powers not far removed from those of martial law. Northern Ireland was a democracy in name only. The extraordinary was deemed to be ordinary and this was tolerated by Westminster. And by many citizens of the 'Free State.'”[61] As evidenced above with the establishment of the Northern Irish government in 1921 at Stormont there was a deliberate attempt to keep Catholics out of the decision making in Northern Ireland. There was an ever-present fear that the Catholics would take over and propose unification with the independent south. The actions of the Dublin government added to this fear. In Ireland’s constitution it states the following in Article 2: “The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.” Article 3 went even further by claiming the right to govern the territory of Northern Ireland: “Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that Parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect.”[62] The claim of ownership by Dublin and the discrimination of Catholics in Northern Ireland had the effect of causing a constant state of fear within the Protestant community in Northern Ireland.

CONDITIONS CREATED AS A RESULT OF ITS TENUOUS ESTABLISHMENT:

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[61] Angela Graham, "October Revolution: Forty Years of Fighting for Rights in Northern Ireland." *The Furrow* 59, no. 12 (2008): 674.
[62] Constitution citation

One of the main problems with the establishment of the Northern Irish state was that one group of its inhabitants did not see it as a legitimate government. There is a study referred to in Paul Power's *Civil Protest in Northern Ireland* by Richard Rose that proved a "polity as having a dominant community that has governed without consensus through a regime that is neither fully legitimate nor fully repudiated."[63] Then in 1968 the Strathclyde study confirmed that one third of the minority rejected the constitutional order of Northern Ireland.[64]

The Protestants, as a result of the two articles in the Irish constitution of 1937 felt as though their existence was in constant peril. The Protestants were constantly reminded that they could lose everything very quickly. Roy Garland, a unionist activist and Orangeman was told from a very young age that the Red Army would be marching through Belfast. In the late 1950s, they were told that the IRA had gone communist and was being directed from Moscow.[65] Therefore, "the Nationalists (Republicans and Catholics) were regarded as the enemy within, a Trojan horse for the IRA and the Dublin government that Loyalists were convinced was plotting with its allies to bring about the downfall of their state."[66] This idea of conspiracy is what, along with preconceived notions of Catholics, caused so much resistance to the civil rights movement. The civil rights movement was interpreted by unionists as a conspiracy as it pertains to the outbreak of violence: The civil rights movement was created and manipulated by the IRA to obtain their old objective of a unified Ireland. This narrative, being pushed by men like

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[63] Power, 223.
[64] Ibid., 231.
[65] Roy Garland, "Protestant Fears & Civil Rights: Self-Fulfilling Conspiracies?" *History Ireland* 16, no. 5 (2008): 30.
[66] Taylor, 26.

Ian Paisley, led to difficulties for the civil rights movement which would eventually lead to the end of the movement.[67] Most Protestants believed as Garland did that "Northern Ireland was the basis of our security, our faith and our freedom. Catholicism in our view tended towards tyranny, whereas Protestantism fostered freedom and democracy. Because of these perceptions, any threat to Northern Ireland's existence would meet determined resistance."[68] As a result of the Irish constitution and constant reminders of past attempts by Catholics to "return Ireland to the Pope," Garland and many other Protestants had no issue with Ian Paisley's preaching on the conspiracy of the Catholic Church wanting to take Ireland away from England.[69] It can determined that "Ulster Unionism created a system where they viewed themselves in a constant state of threat from internal and external circumstances. It would be Irish Nationalism and the Catholic Church (on occasion communism could be included in this 'evil matrix'): the enemy within and the enemy without were one in the same beast."[70] The close connection of sectarianism and religion made impossible for any chance at reform, it was always seen as revolt.[71]

All of this had detrimental effects on the people living in Northern Ireland, Protestant and Catholic alike. Angela Graham, a Catholic growing up in Northern Ireland, talks about how from an early age as a Catholic they learned to keep their head down and bother no one.[72] She goes a step further by saying she believes this learned behavior of subservience leads directly to violence. "One temptation for the oppressed is

[67] Munck, 227.
[68] Garland, 30.
[69] Taylor, 26.
[70] McKearney, 5.
[71] Ibid., 6.
[72] Graham, 675.

to compel 'reception' by inflicting a pain similar to the one that has been suffered. That's a method that was frequently used in Northern Ireland. A temptation for the dominant group is the silencing of 'those not like us' by way of 'legitimate' or 'respectable' means via legislation or institutionalized discrimination. No matter where we live we are all tempted to do versions."[73] Eamonn McCann also writes about the effects of the policies on the Catholics in *War in an Irish Town*: "We were never taught to hate Protestants. Rather we taught to accept that it was better not to know them. We resented them of course in a generalized way. We resented their stubborn loyalism…that they controlled the Corporation (government of Derry) …. they discriminated against us in the allocations of houses and jobs. . ."[74] Protestants views of Catholics were so entrenched that according to Sarah Nelson:

"When the civil rights movement emerged, a few Protestant were prepared to make a leap of trust and accept that Protestants must change both their attitudes and their policies. A larger group felt Catholics could never be trusted, that their demands must be fought to the end. The rest were to varying degrees unwilling to accept that Protestants had any major responsibility for Catholic inequality, for past bitterness or future reconciliation. Civil rights offered them no proofs of Catholic Loyalty, and challenged their decisions at every point by putting the blame squarely on the majority. The movement also said: 'You are not the sort of people you claim to be, fair and freedom loving: you are frauds or hypocrites.' People's definitions of themselves were fundamentally challenged."[75]

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[73] Ibid., 676.
[74] Eamonn McCann, *War in an Irish town*. (London: Pluto Press 1993), 77.
[75] Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Irelan*d. Blackstaff Press, University of Michigan. 1990. 33.

Nelson's account of how she perceived the civil rights movement was a result of the state's overt repression and the Unionist society in Northern Ireland, "which is why armed struggle became unavoidable and in the eyes of many--including the author--a justifiable and proper response of the time."[76] The ramifications of the establishment and of the Northern Irish state and the methodology used by those in power to remain in power called the survival of the state into question.

Another reason for the continued distrustfulness and animosity between the Catholics and the Protestants was their schooling. According to John J Kane, the school system perpetrated the separate culture for Catholics and Protestants.[77] As above the system of control of the unionists was wide ranging and the education system was not different. The state would provide eighty percent of the cost of running the schools provided that one-third of those in control of the school were appointed by the county education authority, if the school chose against this it would only receive sixty-five percent.[78] A Catholic school was not likely to accept who the county nominated but also the priests running the schools would permit a lay Catholic on the management committees.[79] Therefore the schools that Catholics went to did not have the same quality teachers and materials as the Protestant schools. There was no attempt or fear that Protestants would lose their culture or religion attending a school funded by the government. Whereas Catholics feared a loss of culture and religion in the state schools because theirs was not the religion and the culture of the minority. Kane goes on to discuss that even the sports the schools played segregated the cultures. "Protestant

[76] McKearney, 3.
[77] Kane, 61.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., 62.

schools play soccer, rugby, hockey and cricket. Catholics may play some soccer but their main games are Gaelic football and hurling."[80] This along with the education system created a dual system and further limited the interactions between Catholics and Protestants.

GRIEVANCES:

The system that was put into place by the founders of Northern Ireland was one of repression and segregation in order for the unionists to remain in power. All of the grievances listed by the civil rights movement were interconnected and dependent on one another to provide a vast system of repression with no recourse for those being oppressed. The issues start with the disenfranchisement of the working class. The reason this was so important to the unionists was "Catholics were seen as a 'problem' which required a solution. The problem with the Catholic community was that for a mixture of social, religious and economic reasons, Catholics tended to have much larger and more extended families than Protestants and it was estimated in the early days of the Stormont regime that within three or four decades they would form 51 percent of the population."[81] It was up to the creators of the new nation to address this issue. Therefore, they saw the value of continuing the requirement of owning property in order to vote in local elections that had existed in the rest of the United Kingdom. This excluded about twenty-five percent of the local population who were able to vote for Northern Irish House of Commons.[82] There was also plural voting where the owners of companies had more than

[80] Ibid.
[81] O'Dochartaigh, 2.
[82] Power, 230.

one vote where a company owner had multiple votes in local elections.[83] One of the best examples of how this effected the minority group can be seen in Derry. Despite having half the number of Catholics living in Derry, the unionists remained in control at the local level.[84] The Protestants were able to maintain their position of superiority because they controlled all the factors that would enable Catholics to achieve equality.

The next step in the program of discrimination and repression was that of gerrymandering. This process allowed borders to be drawn in any manner conceivable that gave unionists the majority in a prescribed ward. With no Catholics working for the electoral board, the borders drawn for voting purposes were drawn by unionists. "In Derry by confining many thousands of nationalists within the South Ward, and by refusing to allocate houses to them in the other two wards greater miseries were inflicted on the mainly Catholic electorate."[85] "Segregated Derry City (67 % Catholic) had ward boundaries redrawn under unionist control as recently as 1966, with the result that 10,274 Unionist votes elected 16 councilmen and 20,102 anti-Unionist votes elected 8."[86] The boundary of Derry was stretched eight miles into the country to get more unionist voters.[87] Tommy McKearney describes it like this: "In Northern Ireland the system that was set up was done so to keep the 'Taigs'(Catholics) gerrymandering and the "common patois of cultural and physical violence against the Catholics."[88] This part of the system worked because it was done in conjunction with the housing boards in each county limiting the number and location of the houses provided to Catholics.

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[83] Ibid.
[84] O'Dochartaigh, 8.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Power, 231.
[87] O'Dochartaigh, 8.
[88] McKearney, 3.

Housing was rarely provided in favor of maintaining the voting balance in the unionists' favor. As a result of other discrimination the minority heavily relied on council housing because of access to employment.[89] "In the mid-1960s Catholics, one-third of the population, made up 12% of local government employees and 6% of the central bureaucracy.[90] The regime had tried to allocate one-third of the Royal Ulster Constabulary to the minority, but by 1968 it was only about one-seventh."[91] By the mid-1960s, as a result of government programs unemployment in Northern Ireland was 7% and per capita income was seventy-five percent of that on the mainland and one hundred and fifty percent of the Republic.[92] But minority unemployment was about 18%.[93] Programs stressed industrialized Belfast and eastern areas with sixty-seven percent of total population and only 23% of minority community.[94] Places like Armagh, Derry, Tyrone and Fermanagh which had large Catholic populations did not get the benefit of government help.[95] What made matters worse was that much of the housing in Derry was temporary housing from World War Two and proposals to build new homes for the most part, were not permitted. The conditions of the homes were no better near Belfast where Billy Mitchell lived. "I remember in the kitchen one time the cooker fell through the floor because the floorboards were rotten. . .The fresh water was two miles away. . .and there was no hot water."[96] But there was no respite for Catholics because the new homes that were built were decided on by one person, the unionist mayors of the towns and cities.[97]

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[89] Power, 231.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Taylor, 49
[97] O' Dochartaigh, 9.

Continuous obstruction was used to "wreck the spirit of the people."[98] Despite having a waiting list of over three thousand applications, the Londonderry Corporation did not initiate a crash housing program, forcing people to live in tenements that were owned by the 'city fathers' who could charge whatever they wanted with no oversight because they were the ones to appoint a rent assessment officer and they did not.[99]

It was not only homes that were not being built in Catholic majority areas. The Northern Irish government did not build modern roads to relieve traffic or improve infrastructure. The Great Northern Rail l link was stopped, leaving most of Derry and all of Fermanagh and Tyrone with no rail system; other counties had two complete systems.[100] They also refused to extend the city's boundaries, making tax rates extremely high because there was no room for industry to lower rates; this in turn effecting the whole working class.[101] It is only natural that without infrastructure there would be no reason for industry to go into Derry or any other county in the west where the majority of Catholics resided. In fact, out of 224 new industries going to Northern Ireland only 24 went to areas west of the Bann, where more Catholics were and only two of them went to Derry, the second largest city in Northern Ireland, second only to the capital, Belfast.[102] In June of 1967, a new factory was built in Bangor, County Down where the unemployed numbered at 245, at the same time the number of unemployed in Derry was twenty percent.[103] Those who were fortunate enough to have a job in Derry were working for wages that were barely above or even below what the state was paying in

[98] Ibid., 10.
[99] Ibid., 11.
[100] Ibid., 5.
[101] Ibid., 10.
[102] Ibid., 4.
[103] Ibid., 5.

unemployment.[104] This created a society that was indifferent to employment. Many businesses recruited women and children aged eighteen and younger to get the cheapest labor.[105] The result of these policies was that Derry had more millionaires per acre than any other region in the Six Counties.[106] The reality was the only people who benefited were the Protestant unionists; the Catholic Nationalists were pushed further down the economic ladder.

The Special Powers Act was another key issue that was to spark the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. It was **"**employed against the IRA in the 1950s. The statute permits orders that sanction indefinite internment of alleged subversives without trial, capital punishment for convictions on explosive charges, whipping for lesser arms offenses, and a wide latitude for police in search and seizure."[107] As also mentioned above there were some parts of the Act that were used periodically, like interment, and others like the Ulster Special Constabulary (B-Specials) all Protestant "armed police reserve with sectarian and military qualities that had disturbed the minority."[108]

The systematic repression and discrimination of the Catholic minority population in Northern Ireland had lasting effects within the country. The violence and hatred that had existed before the country's establishment was continued through the actions of the local and state authorities. These actions created a mass exodus which further prevented any changes to the government. Due to discrimination and repression, from 1920 to 1968, 263,000 Catholics left Northern Ireland, which enabled the unionist government to keep

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[104] Ibid., 14.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Powers, 231.
[108] Ibid.

the minority population at the 1921 level.[109] O'Dochartaigh claims this to be a result of "the largest state sponsored mass deportation of human beings in the Western Liberal Democratic world during the twentieth century."[110] This "mass deportation" had an the unforeseen consequence of creating a minority self-contained society that was not willing to back down. As the world began to focus on the issues of human rights with the establishment of the United Nations, this population began to demand equality for themselves. In 1947, following other members of the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland extended free education via the Education Act of 1947. It was this education, along with other civil rights struggles, that provided the future activists in Northern Ireland with the tools they needed to begin a civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.

The civil rights movements in Northern Ireland and the United States were born out of the same circumstances. When each country was established neither minority was treated with any dignity or respect much less an equal participant. Stereotypes and fear of each minority was fostered to maintain control of a xenophobic system by those in power. In the United States, African Americans were first treated as property and then after the Emancipation Proclamation as a threatening minority of second-class citizens who had to be controlled. The means exercised were disenfranchisement, discrimination in employment and housing and segregation in every aspect of society. World War II served to inform the world of the hatred man is capable of and when the world powers saw it they understood changes would have to be made. The creation of the United Nations and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights would require the United States and the United Kingdom to examine their own policies and begin to

[109] O'Dochartaigh, 3.
[110] Ibid.

alter their treatment of minorities. There were strong voices objecting to this change but those voices could not prevent a new generation of activists from mobilizing their communities to fight for equality.

CHAPTER 3

CAUSES, MOBILIZATION, AND METHODOLOGY OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The struggle for equality by African Americans within the United States predates the Civil War and continues to this day. The progress was hampered by setback after setback as southern whites regained control of their state governments when Reconstruction ended. The laws created at its conclusion were attempts to make blacks think the Constitution did not apply to them. However, none of these setbacks had the ramifications of the Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, making "separate but equal" the law of the land. This decision exemplified the white supremacist goal "to maintain a pliable, exploited labor force that would remain permanently in a subordinate place."[1] It was in this context that the modern civil rights movement began in the United States. The civil rights movement had its beginnings with the establishment of the NAACP which oversaw the legal attack on segregationist policy in the United States. It also sought to educate the population of the United States about the plight of African Americans. With the assistance of the independent black churches and the black press, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was able to make civil rights a national issue. The work of the African American community was bolstered by the United States' involvement in World War Two using segregated African American soldiers to defeat the racist, genocidal agenda of Nazi Germany, an irony not lost on African Americans. The Second World War would forever change how those who fought it saw themselves and saw the country for which they fought. It was these factors

[1] Darlene Clarke Hine. 2003. "Black Professionals and Race Consciousness: Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 1890-1950." *The Journal of American History* 89, No. 4 (Mar., 2003): 1280.

that formed the unified community that would be subject to legal strife and personal struggle in their fight for equality under the law in the 1950s and 1960s.

It was with the creation of the NAACP in 1909 that the African American struggle for equality under the law had its strongest proponent to date. The NAACP was organized out of an earlier group, known as the Niagara Movement. Whereas the Niagara Movement had a board of all African Americans, the NAACP's board was made up of African Americans and whites. According to DuBois: "In the NAACP it was our primary effort to achieve equality of racial influence without stressing race and without allowing undue predominance to either group."[2] Jane Addams, John Dewey, William Dean Howells, and W. E. B. DuBois were members of the governing board that appointed William E. Walling as chairman and W. E. B. DuBois as director of publicity.[3] A revolution or rebellion was not sought by those who created the NAACP. Therefore, it was established as a non-violent organization. As DuBois wrote: "We do not believe in violence, neither in the despised violence of the raid, the lauded violence of the soldier, nor the barbarous violence of the mob. . ."[4]From its inception, those who created it saw it as a means to organize blacks to fight for their civil rights. [5] According to the founders, these rights included an end to all segregation, equality in education, voting rights for blacks and the enforcement of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.[6] It was the time for such an organization, as evidenced by its fast growth and acceptance by the black

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[2] David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. DuBois: A Reader* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995), 392.
[3] John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 288.
[4] Lewis, 369.
[5] Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press 1984) 13.
[6] Franklin and Moss, 288.

community. By 1921 the NAACP had over four hundred branches working to achieve their goals.[7] In part, this popularity spread due to the NAACP's systematic approach to doing away with segregation through the courts.

The NAACP believed that attacking the system from within was the best approach to bringing it down. Initially, this would entail all acts of bias against blacks. Due to the sheer number of complaints they received, it decided that through the legal bureau of the NAACP, established in 1913, the association would "limit itself to those test cases that tested broad legal principles, such as residential segregation ordinances and voting rights."[8] The association hoped that state and federal courts would then render those discriminatory practices illegal.[9] Achieving this goal was a slow process because, in the south, the legal system had been established to prevent blacks from achieving equality. "Legal repression is not too strong a term to use here. . .a wholesale perversion of justice. . .from the police force to [state] supreme court."[10] Despite the issues faced by the NAACP, the objectives they sought to achieve were within reach, as evidenced by the string of Supreme Court cases they won, beginning with *Guinn v. the United States* in 1915. This came only two years after the legal bureau was established.

The legal bureau of the NAACP systematically challenged the constitutionality of the laws created under the separate but equal doctrine. One of the first it attacked was the "grandfather clauses" placed in state constitutions after Reconstruction. These clauses

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[7] Ibid.
[8] V. P. Franklin, "Introduction: Documenting the NAACP's First Century-From Combating Racial Injustices to Challenging Racial Inequalities," *The Journal of African American History* 94, No. 4, Special Issue "Documenting the NAACP's First Century" (Fall 2009): 454.
[9] Gianluca Difazio, "Civil Rights Mobilization and Repression in Northern Ireland: A Comparison with the Deep South," *The Sixties:A Journal History, Politics and Culture* 2, No. 2 (Nov., 2009): 167.
[10] Steven A. Barkan, "Legal Control of the Southern Civil Rights Movement." *American Sociological Review* 49, No. 4 (Aug., 1984): 554.

were needed as a result of the state constitutions placing restrictions on peoples' right to vote. When poor, illiterate white southerners became angry, due to what they felt was condescension from the wealthy, clauses were created, enabling them to vote.[11] In 1913 lawyers at the NAACP recognized that in Maryland, a court of appeals struck down the state's grandfather clause.[12]The legal bureau saw this as the type of test case they wanted to use to fight discrimination and took on in *Guinn v. United States* in 1913. Many of these whites felt animosity towards the wealthy in the south due to the restrictions because it was their relatives who fought the Civil War. Two years later, in 1915, the Supreme Court found in favor of Guinn and declared that grandfather clauses in Maryland and Oklahoma violated the fifteenth amendment.[13] This decision was the first step in the process of blacks being able to vote without restriction; another type of discrimination continued until 1944; white primaries, in which only whites were permitted to choose a political candidate.

The importance of voting was recognized by the NAACP to be paramount. It was also seen as unacceptable by many in the segregationist south. Many whites believed that voting in elections put blacks on an equal plane with whites, which many considered intolerable.[14] The NAACP continued to work to remove all impediments to blacks voting throughout the twentieth century with a significant victory over the creation and use of whites-only primaries in Texas and Arkansas. By claiming that the state branches of the Democratic party were private organizations, white supremacists were able to prevent

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[11] Franklin, 454.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., 288.
[14] Christopher S. Parker, "When Politics Become Protest: Black Veterans and Political Activism in the Postwar South," *The Journal of Politics* 71, no.1 (Jan., 2009): 121.

blacks from voting in state primary elections.[15] In 1944 in *Smith v. Allwright*, the Supreme Court found that by restricting blacks from having a say in who runs for office, the Democratic party was violating black right to vote, the Fifteenth Amendment.[16] As the discriminatory laws were found unconstitutional, the legality of segregation became more challenging to support.

One of the goals identified by the NAACP was an end to discrimination everywhere, and this included housing. As discussed in Chapter 2, this was one of the most pressing issues facing the black community. This issue came into the purview of the legal bureau in 1910 when they began to keep records of the ordinances created, focusing on Baltimore, Maryland. They took no direct action, but the continued monitoring of these ordinances led to the creation of the Baltimore NAACP which was focused solely on defeating them.[17] Then in the fall of 1913, after a third ordinance segregating the community, the movement reached a critical stage when, in Baltimore, riots ensued due to white mobs attempting to remove blacks from white neighborhoods.[18] This event led to the NAACP taking up the case of *Buchanan v, Warley* which dealt with residential segregation in Louisville Kentucky. In 1917 the Supreme Court ruled the residential segregation laws in Louisville violated the Fourteenth Amendment.[19] Because similar laws were in effect in other places around the country, this decision also affected Missouri, Virginia, and Maryland. The legality of the issue was determined in *Shelly v. Kramer*, 1948, when the Supreme Court ruled all "racially restrictive deeds and

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[15] C. Calvin Smith. "The Politics of Evasion: Arkansas' Reaction to Smith v. Allwright," *The Journal of Negro History* 67 no. 1 (Spring, 1982): 41.
[16] Ibid., 45.
[17] Franklin, 455.
[18] Franklin, 454.
[19] William Rufus Day, "U.S. Reports: Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917). https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep245060/

covenants were unenforceable."[20] The 1940s was a pivotal time during the early civil rights movement when many attempted to use the doctrine of separate but equal against itself.

African Americans had historically been denied entrance into state graduate schools throughout the south and west. For example, in Missouri, Lloyd Gaines was denied entrance into the University of Missouri Law School. Historically, Missouri would send its black graduate students to other states, but this was not acceptable to Gaines, who wanted to attend Missouri. The Supreme Court found that the university had to furnish him with either a school equal to Missouri or allow him to attend the university.[21] In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education,* a black man was accepted to the graduate school but then segregated within the classroom, library, and cafeteria. The Supreme Court ordered the state regents to "end their segregation practices."[22] Lastly, in *Sweatt v. Painter* the court ruled Herman Sweatt had to be admitted to the University of Texas because it decided the "Negro" law school the state provided was not equal to the one white students attended.[23] These cases demonstrated the movement of the Supreme Court away from the separate but equal doctrine. They also lay the groundwork for what was the seminal case in fighting segregation in education; *Brown v. the Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*. The method of attacking discrimination with the legal system was successful throughout the early civil rights movement. These test cases also served the purposes of educating the population to the

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[20] Joseph Heathcott, "Black Archipelago: Politics and Civic Life in a Jim Crow City." *Journal of Social History* 38, no.3 (Spring, 2005): 726.
[21] Harry E. Groves, "Separate but Equal—The Doctrine of Plessy V. Ferguson." *Phylon* (1940-1956), 12, no.1 (First Qtr., 1951): 70.
[22] Franklin and Moss, 366.
[23] Groves, 70.

plight of African Americans and helped to mobilize the them to achieve equality under the law. However, this was not the only tool employed by the NAACP to educate and mobilize.

It was not only the test cases and the legal aspects that drew blacks into the NAACP. The founders of the NAACP understood the need to get their message out to the black community because it needed resources to mobilize the community. It understood without resources and proper control of the resources, "the aggrieved population is likely to lack the capacity to act even when granted the opportunity to do so."[24] To do this, the NAACP created a publication called *Crisis* in 1910 and chose an educated controversial figure to run it: W. E. B DuBois. Despite having to fund *Crisis* himself, DuBois had made the publication completely self -sustaining by 1916,[25] with circulation reaching one hundred thousand copies per month by 1918.[26] *Crisis* became the primary source of income for the NAACP, helping fund its legal battles.[27] It was not only *Crisis* that generated notoriety for the NAACP and its goals. As many of the founders of the NAACP were educated men, such as Jon Dewey, and women, such as Jane Addams, there was no shortage of people to attract more positive media attention that could influence the public about the goals and the work of the NAACP. Along with *Crisis* and other publications printed by the association, the work of another group of people should not be forgotten when considering the growing popularity and mobilization of the civil rights movement: the journalists and editors of the black press.

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[24] Allison Calhoun-Brown. "Upon this Rock: The Black Church, Nonviolence and the Civil Rights Movement." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 33, no. 2 (Jun., 2000): 170.
[25] Lewis, 392.
[26] Franklin and Moss, 288.
[27] Franklin, 456.

One of the biggest issues facing the civil rights movement was the lack of knowledge many in the United States had about the plight of African Americans. The cause of this lack of knowledge was the limited coverage by the white press. Since there was no interest in the white community for issues affecting blacks, whites rarely if ever read the black papers. Nevertheless, by 1951 due to rising literacy and education among African Americans there were over 175 black newspapers in circulation.[28] As blacks became more educated, they wanted to know more about their community, and the white press did not cover the events and conditions that affected them. The black press proved to blacks that they were not isolated in their struggle; others were facing the same issues.[29] The thirst for information in the black community allowed for the wide distribution of information throughout the country. By the end of World War I, one black paper, *The Chicago Defender*, was selling two-thirds of its paper outside of Chicago with a total circulation of more than 150,000.[30] The increased literacy had led to an increased circulation, which then changed the dynamics of the movement. This shift was evident after World War I, when the civil rights movement crossed socio-economic lines into the working class, or as one historian wrote, it was "becoming proletarian."[31] These papers did not only print information about the struggles of the black community; they also pointed out the successes. The increased circulation and literacy lead to a change in the type of people involved in the civil rights movement. This knowledge begins to change the consciousness of blacks in the United States; seeing that a better life was attainable.

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[28] Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff. *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle and the Awakening of a Nation.* (New York: Random House, 2007), 13.
[29] Ibid., 15.
[30] Ibid., 16.
[31] Richard M. Dalfiume, "The Forgotten Years of the Negro Revolution". *The Journal of American History* 55, no. 1 (Jun., 1968): 100.

Not many whites are reading the black press, so there is not much protest about what they are writing, despite how aggressive they are in fighting discrimination. These changes in attitudes were also seen as a result of the involvement of black soldiers fighting in World War I and again in World War II.

The actions taken by the United States government to appease the African American population during World War I would assist their mobilization during and after the war. Many blacks saw service in the military as a means to improve their lives. It also gave the entire black community an "opportunity to join the mainstream culture and, as importantly, a way to organize their communities on behalf of both the war effort and their specific political agendas."[32] Participation in World War I provided veterans with a real sense of citizenship in the United States, as they were prepared to die in service to their country, entitling them to all the rights provided in the Constitution. However, upon returning, one veteran pointed out: "We offered our lives to save this country, and we are willing to give our lives for our rights. We hope this will not be necessary. We do not want war. But they are beating Colored women and children every day--and if something isn't done about it, we shall be forced to fight."[33] The government recognized this reality but took little to no action. Returning soldiers felt an urgency to achieve the rights they fought for, and the NAACP benefited tremendously. Membership went from 9,200 members in 1918 to 62,000 in 1919.[34] The advancements made by NAACP and its members did irreparable harm to the legality of segregation and created new avenues of black expression and protest.

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[32] Jennifer Keene,. 2015. "A 'Brutalizing' War? The USA after the First World War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 50, no. 1, The Limits of Demobilization (January 2015): 91.
[33] Ibid., 89.
[34] Ibid., 91.

The momentum of the civil rights movement continued to grow. World War I created a need for labor in the industrialized north, and the Jim Crow laws in the south were preventing blacks from economic freedom. Many saw the north as a way out of the repressive south, which accelerated the Great Migration which began in the 1890s. These positive economic changes led to an increase in literacy and education, which provided black authors with an abundant audience for their writing. It was also the first time blacks had the independence to choose their physical location in the world, which saw them moving to the north and west at a rate of one million per decade through the 1960s[35]. This independence caused a cultural explosion where their experiences and their struggle could be celebrated, and Harlem was the place many chose. James Weldon Johnson reflected in his autobiography: "when Harlem was made known. . .as the center of the new Negro literature and art; the era in which it gained its place in the list of famous sections of great cities."[36] The writers of this time did something that had never been done: they made African culture a part of white culture. In return, they provided more evidence they deserved to be treated as equals. The renaissance is acknowledged as being significant enough within the black community to withstand the constant droning of racism that existed throughout the 1920s because it positively affected blacks' sense of worth.[37]

Despite these cultural and legal advances of the early twentieth century, the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan led to violence that was visited upon the black

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[35]August Meier, Jon H. Bracy,and Jr., "The NAACP as a Reform Movement, 1909-1965: "To Reach the Conscience
of America." *The Journal of Southern History* 59 no. 1 (February 1992): 21.
[36] Franklin and Moss, 329.
[37] Meier and Bracy, 11.

community as whites tried to rein in the successes of the NAACP. Yet this also created new avenues of protest. One such example was the case of the Scottsboro Boys, where nine young black men were hung unjustly for raping a white girl. The case sparked outrage in the black community, but this time the demonstrations were led by the youth. "The widespread demonstrations. . .plainly showed the NAACP. . .that young people could do more-and wanted to do more--than give speeches and sell newspapers."[38] The NAACP then set out establish youth branches that would protest where they experienced injustices at their level and would assist the main branches of the NAACP. These youth organizations would serve as predecessors to groups like the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Groups like SNCC were independent of the NAACP, which enabled them to mobilize to protest local issues without approval from a nationwide organization. These new forms of protest also manifested themselves in the conditions caused by the Great Depression.

The Great Depression could be seen as an equalizer between the races in the United States as many in the working class saw their society come undone, as evidenced in the march on Washington by veterans of World War I demanding the early payment of war bonds, the Bonus March. African American veterans participated alongside whites, even encamping in unsegregated areas in Washington DC. Blacks who were encamped during this protest saw a side of the capital they had never seen, giving them an access to the federal government they did not have prior. Some were on the Bonus Army's congressional committee; some watched debates in Congress, and some interacted with the congressmen who visited the camps to give them support.[39] Not only did this march

[38] Franklin, 456.
[39] Keene, 96.

break down barriers for blacks, it also made marching on Washington a new form of protest, or as the *Nation* reported, "a successful American technique for direct action, a valid, socially acceptable, and potentially effective strategy for initiating social change."[40]

The Bonus March cleared the way for what has become a popular form of protest in the United States. It was this type of protest that A. Phillip Randolph chose to initiate when he believed the government was not doing enough to end segregation through the agencies of the New Deal during the Great Depression. Randolph believed that power only came from the organization of the masses for a purpose.[41] Therefore, he proposed a march on Washington unless his demands for equality were met. Meetings were set up on a large scale across the United States to begin to organize the march using branches of the NAACP and other community groups.[42] The success of this mobilization alone resulted in the signing of Executive Order 8802 by President Roosevelt which banned discrimination from defense contractors and the "civilian agencies of the federal government."[43] Due to the organization and the mobilization required to create the March on Washington Movement, it proved the black community could take part in a collective protest, and it could do so peacefully.[44] The NAACP was not the only organization that supported Randolph in this endeavor. He and the NAACP depended heavily on other organizations within the black community. especially the independent black church. To push the March on Washington Movement the NAACP turned to black churches to hold

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[40] Ibid., 99.
[41] Dalfiume, 98.
[42] Morris, *Origins,* X.
[43] Andrew Kersten, "African Americans in World War II." *Organization of American Historians* 16, no. 3 (Spring 2002): 14.
[44] Morris, *Origins*, X.

meetings and mobilize their communities. The independent black churches were always ready to assist when protests were required to call out racism.

Many acknowledge the establishment of independent black churches as the first black freedom movement.[45] It is only natural that the NAACP and the black churches would have been close allies throughout the civil rights movement as a result of the church's firm grounding within the black community. In part they were allied out of necessity because it was one of the few places in the south that whites had no control because it was an "autonomous force" within the movement owned and operated by blacks.[46] The NAACP depended on this indigenous institution to provide a safe space to hold NAACP meetings and organize the infrastructure of the organization.[47] The NAACP also depended on the organizational skills being a member of the church engendered that would help develop and sustain movement mobilization.[48] Often the ministers of the churches would be members of the NAACP.[49] As the movement continued to grow, the black churches became indispensable in the civil rights movement due to their ability to mobilize. The NAACP recognized the importance of the churches because it looked to the local communities to provide support when the national NAACP needed assistance.[50] This was especially true in the early 1950s when the NAACP was being harassed throughout the south and even outlawed in several southern states due to their successes causing its membership to decline 128,000 in 1955 to 80,000 in 1957.[51] The black

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[45] Calhoun and Brown, 169.
[46] Morris, *Origins*, 4.
[47] Morris, *Origins*, 15.
[48] Scott T. Fitzgerald and Ryan E. Spohn. "Pulpits and Platforms: The Role of the Church in Determining Protest among Black Americans." *Social Forces* 84, no. 2 (Dec., 2005):1016.
[49] Johnny Williams, "Linking Beliefs to Collective Action: Politicized Religious Beliefs and the Civil Rights Movement." *Sociological Forum* 17, no. 2 (Jun., 2002): 214.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Parker, 116.

churches were able to fill the leadership roles in the community due to the independence they had achieved resulting from years of isolation endured in the south due to slavery, segregation, and prejudice. The independent black churches were not only a religious community, but they also provided a source of identification within an independent community.

These communities were places of freedom where they could create and maintain their organizations and places where their culture could be celebrated and built upon. The church became a community unto itself where blacks were free to "forget about oppression while singing, listening, praying and shouting."[52] This independent space allowed for a strong identification with the church community and enabled blacks to feel respected among their peers, which was something they did not have anywhere else.[53] It was the strength of this religious community that gave blacks the support to fight segregation. As the churches were all Christian, they all shared similar values and beliefs including similar scripture messages, symbols, prayers, and, most importantly, "themes of equality and freedom."[54] These beliefs created a unified organization and culture that grew ever stronger unimpeded because of its isolation.

It was not only the shared values within the church strengthening the community; it was also the message preached. The church provided them with a "cultural context that supplied a belief system to help guide their actions and infused them with meaning."[55] The central idea preached was that Jesus Christ was on their side. The Bible was used to encourage them that they were justified and that nonviolence was the way to achieve their

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[52] Morris, *Origins*, 4.
[53] Morris, *Origins*, 7.
[54] Calhoun and Brown, 169.
[55] Williams, 205.

goals. [56] Interviews conducted with African Americans involved in the civil rights movement exemplify how effective the use of the Bible was: "Christ himself fought for social issues… [As indicated] throughout the Bible--He broke. . .social customs and did that which was right. . .Rather than the church lay[ing] back and taking its hands off. . .it is the one institution that is supposed to represent what is right."[57] Some considered their very membership in the church contingent on their involvement with the movement: "You got to do something about being part of the church or carrying out the function or role. . .So you've got to implement your hopes, your desires, your dreams, your commitment to Jesus Christ."[58] Membership in the church community provided blacks with the confidence, moral justification and the means to demand inclusion into a society where they were restricted. These communities created groups like the Montgomery Improvement Association, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In conjunction with leaders like Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Parks, these groups would fuel the acceleration of the civil rights movement in the United States after World War II.

The energy and determination of the black community post-World War II were due in part to the Allies' victory over Nazi Germany and its racist policies, but more importantly, it was how the experience of being a part of the military changed how blacks saw themselves and the world in several ways. The onset of World War II found the United States in the untenable position of defending the use of racist policies in the United States while fighting against similar policies in Nazi Germany and Japan. Citing

[56] Calhoun and Brown, 170.
[57] Williams, 214.
[58] Ibid. 215.

this hypocrisy, the *Crisis* featured the following commentary: "the hysterical cries of the preachers for democracy in Europe leave us cold. We want democracy in Alabama and Arkansas, in Mississippi and Michigan. . .in the Senate of the United States."[59] Having believed the promises and the assertions of the United States government in World War I, they were not as eager or responsive to calls for unity and focus that were called for when World War II began. It was not until Japan attacked the United States that African Americans' opinions changed in favor of the war. Many African Americans believed that the war would provide an opportunity to wake whites to the problem of racism in America. [60] Later as the war progressed and blacks had committed, the *Crisis* pointed out the view of blacks, "Hitler jammed our white people into their untenable position. Forced to oppose him for the sake of the life of the nation, they were jockeyed into declaring against his racial theories--publicly."[61] It was this view that enabled the African American community to mobilize within a campaign to exert maximum pressure on the American government to end segregation, while at the same time fighting the war.

This mobilization was a result of the Double V campaign. The idea for the campaign first appeared in the *Pittsburgh Courier* in January of 1942. The author of the letter to the editor was a cafeteria worker at Cessna Aircraft Corp.[62] The letter outlined why blacks should fight for the United States but also themselves. "The first V for victory over our enemies from without, the second V for victory over our enemies from within."[63] The author of the article is an example of the changes the black population had

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[59] Dalfuime, 94.
[60] Ibid., 96.
[61] Maria Hohn. "We will Never Go Back to the Old Way Again": Germany in the African American Debate on Civil Rights." *Central European History* 41 no., 4 (Dec., 2008): 616.
[62] Pat Washburn. *The "Pittsburgh Courier's Double V Campaign in 1942."* Conference Paper, Lansing. Association for Education in Journalism. (August 1981): 1.
[63] Roberts and Klibanoff, 22.

undergone and how they had become educated to their place in the world around them. The reaction of the public led the *Courier* to announce a full-scale campaign. "By the end of the first month. . .the paper was running more than 340 column inches--roughly three full pages--of stories, photographs, and graphics," reaching 200,000 people per week.[64] The Double V campaign was an extreme deviation from the methodology employed by black leaders during World War I, when black leaders asked for compliance while the conflict was in progress. The only goal was winning the war; civil rights could wait until after victory.

The reaction of the public to the letter and the success of the paper's campaign demonstrated that the demand for civil rights had become a mass movement crossing economic and social classes. The war had served to focus blacks as never before on the reality of their unequal treatment in the United States.[65] The black press used the Double V campaign to highlight the racist issues that were plaguing the United States throughout the war. In the *New Republic*, the editor stated: "when a white man reads a Negro newspaper, it is like getting hit with a bucket of cold water in the face."[66]

The issues blacks encountered in public intensified further when blacks joined the military. Many joined the military because they believed it would demonstrate their desire to be considered as equal. "To blacks, it (military service) also represented their membership in the national political community, something that for much of American

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Dalfuime, 102.
[66] Hohn, 610.

history has been contested."[67] Unfortunately, when they joined the military, they faced the same racism that existed in the outside world but was now codified in the military.

In some cases, it was the first time blacks had dealt with segregation because they had come from states where it did not exist. Even in states where it was not law, segregation was enforced on military bases and then taken overseas.[68] Even in cases where blacks were stationed near enemy prisoners, the view of them by their white peers was glaringly apparent to blacks: they were not equal. One veteran remembers, "We used to pay German and Japanese prisoners to go into the service club or PXs to get items for us. They could go into social clubs. . .and we could not go."[69] They soon realized there was no escaping racism. This racism was endemic in the military and resulted in horrible working conditions.

In San Francisco, survivors of an explosion of two ammunition ships were court-martialed when they refused to the same work in the same unsafe conditions that caused an explosion that killed 250 soldiers.[70] The act of surviving the segregationist military added to a new sense of self-importance and entitlement among those blacks who took part in World War II. It also provided them with the sense that their service entitled them to equality. As the war went on and their expectations were not fulfilled, their anger continued to grow and this anger created the impetus to demand change after the war. Military experience also provided the belief that it was their duty to demand this change. One veteran recalls his drill sergeant telling his company, repeatedly, that they made the

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[67] Christopher S. Parker. *Fighting for Democracy: Black Veterans and the Struggle Against White Supremacy in the Postwar South.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 67.
[68] Hohn, 613.
[69] Parker, 93.
[70] Kersten, 16.

country better and when they got out that they should "go home and you help make it better, 'cause it is not going to get better unless you make it better.'"[71] This duty was ever more significant with the treatment they received from their conquered enemies in Europe.

During the transition to peacetime in Europe, many black troops were stationed there to provide security to the local populations. While in Europe, they often encountered equality for the first time. It would be impossible for the American government to establish segregation in Europe after fighting to end the racist policies of Nazi Germany and Japan. Walter White, president of the NAACP, stated that "the soldiers were extended 'more genuine friendship and democracy'" by the people of Germany "'than they get in the 'democracy' which had won the shooting war.'"[72] White's observation was echoed by a veteran who remembered that "They received you as a person as an individual; there were not any hang-ups about the color of your skin."[73] One veteran reported that his German acquaintances felt bad for black soldiers.

In some cases blacks even extended their tours to remain in Germany rather than return to a segregationist United States.[74] This equal treatment had another effect that would forever change the perception of African Americans when it came to their thoughts on racial equality. It turned the belief that equality in the United States was impossible to a mindset after the war that it could be a real possibility. The experience of World War II for the African American soldiers so fundamentally changed their world view that upon returning, they were unwilling to accept the segregationist conditions and

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[71] Parker, *Fighting*, 138.
[72] Hohn, 621.
[73] Parker, *Fighting*, 96.
[74] Hohn, 623

attitudes within the United States. He "was dead set on getting the rights that I should have, by whatever means within the law."[75]

The laws of segregation in the United States were established after the Civil War was fought to end slavery. The amendments to the Constitution that provided the equality African Americans sought were quickly neutered when Reconstruction concluded. *Plessy v. Ferguson* cleared the way for the legal creation of second-class citizens. However, only fifteen years after the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* there was a significant mobilization of those in the United States who believed in equality for all races. With the establishment of the NAACP, the long road to equality for blacks had its most powerful vehicle to date. The methodology employed by the NAACP to attack the laws of segregation from within was agreed to and prosecuted with great success. The NAACP depended on the independent black churches for a robust and steady partner that provided the means to mobilize large segments of their population to attack racism. Circumstances like the Great Depression provided the impetus for new methods of protest and new avenues to reach the goal of equality for all. Civil rights issues were highlighted in this period due to increased literacy rates, which lead to increased circulation of the *Crisis* and the black newspapers. The black press saw its greatest success during World War II with the successful Double V campaign, which took every opportunity to point out the hypocrisy of the United States fighting for democracy abroad when it was not guaranteed to its citizens. The need for war material during World War I and World War II created the black migration leading to better economic conditions for blacks and an explosion of a vibrant black culture exemplified by the Harlem Renaissance. These better economic

[75] Parker, *Fighting*, 139.

conditions and cultural renaissance further energized the black community. This energy was bolstered by African American soldiers in World War II. Service in a segregated military and fighting for democracy would forever change how those who fought saw themselves and the segregated system in which they lived. Due to their training and treatment abroad, these men would return prepared to fight for what they believed was due to them and their community: equality. It was these factors that formed the unified community that would be subject to legal strife and personal struggle in their fight for equality under the law in the 1950s and 1960s.

CHAPTER 4

CAUSES, MOBILIZATION, AND METHODOLOGY OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT:

The mobilization of the civil rights movement in the United States was a systematic approach because the campaign was able to attack laws that openly defied the constitution of the United States. In Northern Ireland, this was not possible because there were no guaranteed rights by a constitution. Therefore, in Northern Ireland, the mobilization of the civil rights movement was dependent on events occurring in Northern Ireland, along with developments in the United Kingdom and internationally.

Just as in the United States, World War II played an important role in creating conditions conducive to mobilization for civil rights. The distinction between the two was that for blacks in the United States, it was more of a personal change than a national one. Blacks felt their support for the United States in World War II entitled them to equality, creating new activists for their struggle. In Northern Ireland, it was the change to how the government of the United Kingdom saw its role in providing social welfare for the population that would create the activists that were needed to mobilize. The newly elected British parliament saw a direct correlation between inequality in all forms and the fighting of World War II. With this in mind, the British parliament set about enacting massive reforms that would work to end inequality in the United Kingdom. In 1948 the British parliament approved changes directed at overhauling the public health system, public education system, and related areas, effectively creating the welfare state within the United Kingdom.[1] As part of the reforms, any budgetary shortfalls encountered by

[1] Naill O'Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalites*. (Cork University Press, Cork. 1997), XV

Northern Ireland in implementing them were to be funded by the British government.[2] The Northern Irish government was leery of accepting these reforms because it saw that the changes could upend it is hegemonic control of the minority Catholic and nationalist population and ceding power to the British parliament. However, it felt pressured to accept them because the reforms provided for the Protestant working class, whom the unionists depended on to remain in power.[3] With the changes, the Stormont government provided the Catholic minority the means to move out of poverty and contest the government's discriminatory policies, but due to outdated methods of protest, they were unable to take advantage until the 1960s.

Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, as the Catholic middle class continued to grow, old methods of achieving change were beginning to wane along with the original goals of the Catholic and nationalists. Throughout the history of the Ulster parliament, Catholics had repeatedly voted for representatives that rejected "the legitimacy of the Northern Ireland government" and "often boycotted their seats in the Ulster Parliament."[4] Many began to see these actions as self-defeating and were mobilizing to create change. In 1959, some of those people who were tired of the lack of attention paid to economic and social issues created the group National Unity which would work to attain an end to discrimination rather than an end to partition.[5] The failure of the IRA border campaign, Operation Harvest, from 1956 to 1962, is evidence of this declining lack of support. The IRA embarked on the campaign designed to attack "police stations, B Special huts,

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[2]Brendan O'Leary and John McGarry. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. (Athone Press, Atlantic Highlands, 1997), 157

[3] Martin Klimke and Joachim Schlarloth. *1968 Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977*. (Palgrave McMillan, New York, 2008), 138

[4] Ronald J.Terchek, "Conflict and Cleavage in Northern Ireland." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 433 (Sept., 1977): 49

[5] O'Leary and McGarry, 160.

transport and communication networks, and government buildings across Northern Ireland" to destabilize the government and bring about an end to partition.[6] The campaign ended in absolute failure. "Volunteers' were interned in both North and South. They had won no sustained international publicity or sympathy. . .They had failed utterly to mobilize the Catholic population."[7] In part, the failure was not all a result of poor decision making by the IRA. In the early 1950s, Catholics continued support of single-issue political parties like Sinn Fein, providing the IRA with the illusion that armed conflict was supported.[8] It could also be argued that the growing Catholic middle class was evidence to the advantage of remaining part of the United Kingdom within the welfare state. The failure of this campaign would cause republicans to rethink what it was they were fighting for and the methods they employed to achieve their goal. This change manifested itself in 1963 at a meeting of the Wolfe Tone Society, where a new strategy was agreed upon by leading republicans that "entailed agitation for civil rights within the Northern Ireland state," and that would then lead to an end to partition.[9] Due to the availability of free university education, some young political activists were already articulating that message in the Nationalist Party. That this new strategy was articulated at this meeting is fitting because its name sake, Theobald Wolfe Tone, a Protestant Irishman, who founded the United Irishmen, a secular group dedicated to an independent, democratic Ireland which lead to the Rebellion of 1798.

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[6] Anna Bryson, "'Whatever You Say, Say Nothing': Researching Memory and Identity in Mid-Ulster, 1945-1969," *Oral History* 35, no. 2 (Autumn 2007): 49.
[7] O'Leary and McGarry, 161.
[8] Ibid., 160.
[9] Ronnie Munck, "The Making of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 2 (1992): 215.

Many of the new leaders of the Nationalist Party began to promote a broader vision more centered on an end to discrimination rather than ending partition. It was this realization that led the Nationalist Party to work within the system to bring about changes for their constituents. In an acknowledgment that reunification could not happen overnight, one Nationalist Party figure stated: "one of the most immediate and urgent duties is to help in the building of prosperity, tolerance and mutual respect in the part of the country in which we live."[10] This belief coincided with the views of John Hume, who believed that up until this point, the Nationalist Party had done nothing to help. "They have been loud in their demands for rights; they have remained silent and inactive about their duties."[11]The need for change was echoed by Austin Currie, who believed the Nationalist Party should be a "forum for ideas and policies. . .a training ground for the youth and politicians of the future."[12] Many Catholics began to weigh the benefits of remaining part of the United Kingdom rather than end the partition. "Free education and the welfare state also made them [Catholics] less anxious for immediate unity with the South with its inadequate social services and more willing to work within the Northern system."[13] It was this desire, coupled with the new leaders in the Nationalist Party, that lead to a significant change in its view of Stormont.

Facing the changing realities in Northern Ireland that the Nationalist Party accepted the title of Loyal Opposition in 1965. By accepting this title, the Nationalist Party could no longer abstain from participation and agreed to work with the existing

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[10] Brendan Lynn "Revising Northern Nationalism, 1960-1965: The Nationalist Party's Response." *New Hibernia Review* 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 2000): 11.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 14.
[13] Lorenzo Bosi, "Explaining the Emergence Process of the Civil Rights Protest in Northern Ireland (1945-1968): Insights from a Relational Social Movement Approach*." Journal of Historical Sociology* 21, no. 3 (June/September 2008): 249.

system to reform it. What many unionists did not recognize was that the system they had created could not work with the minority's involvement, as it had no role since Stormont's inception. Aside from the changes occurring within the Catholic and nationalist community, there were also changes in the leadership of the loyalist and unionist community. The rise of Terence O'Neill to become prime minister would have a significant impact on the expectations of Catholics and Protestants, which would set the stage for the turmoil to come.

During the late 1950s and 1960s, the economy in Northern Ireland had been in decline, creating a danger to the continuation of Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) rule in Northern Ireland. With an unemployment rate of ten percent in 1958, many in the working class questioned the leadership of the UUP.[14] The high unemployment rate was a result of declining industries that had once supported the economy, like shipbuilding and linen manufacturing. Due to the decline, the dependable voting block that had been based on workers in these industries began to fray as the unionist working class began to vote for the Northern Ireland Labor Party (NILP). [15] This change called into question the cross-class alliance of unionist working-class and unionist upper class that was used by the UUP to remain in power at Stormont since they took over in 1921.[16] As the Nationalist Party had modified its goals, the unionists began to reexamine their own. This led to the appointment of Terence O'Neill as prime minister of Northern Ireland in 1963. O'Neill believed that he would be able to deal with the deindustrialization of Northern

[14] Ibid., 251
[15] Ibid., 252
[16] Ibid.

Ireland by encouraging foreign investment.[17] In doing so, O'Neill hoped he would be able to sustain the loyalty of the Protestant working class, which provided the means for the Unionist Party to remain in power.[18] By encouraging foreign investment, O'Neill could also lessen discrimination against Catholics.[19] O'Neill also sought to make further inroads with the Catholic minority to lessen the growing agitation of the minority, and he used changes occurring in Rome as reasons to do so.

There was a growing sense of openness within the Catholic Church in the 1960s. The actions of Pope John XXIII and the changes made to the Catholic Church at Vatican II in 1965, both of which called for greater communication with other religious denominations, influenced the way many including O'Neill viewed the Church.[20] With this in mind, O'Neill visited Catholic schools, met with priests and nuns and sent a letter of sympathy when Cardinal Conway passed away in his attempts to win Catholic favor.[21] What O'Neill did not realize was that he proposed to alter a system designed to maintain the status quo. In this system, membership in a political party "reinforced sociopolitical segregation by constructing exclusive identities, facilitating and consolidating the ethnonational cleavage and its crystallization in the political system."[22] Any attempt to change the system would be seen as an attack on the system and on what unionists believed was preordained, their dominance of Northern Ireland. Therefore, everything

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[17] David McKittrick and David McVea. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. (Black Staff Press Limited, Chicago, 2002), 27.
[18] Diarmuid Maguire, "Protestors, Counterprotestors, and Authorities." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528, (Jul., 1993): 105.
[19] Gavan Frensley and Nathalie Frensley. "Community Conflict Processes: Mobilization and Demobilization in Northern Ireland," in *International Crisis and Domestic Politics: Major political conflicts in the 1980s*, ed. James W. Lamare (New York: Praeger, 1991), 111.
[20] Maguire, 105.
[21] O'Leary and McGarry, 164.
[22] Lorenzo Bosi, "Dynamics of political violence: a process-oriented perspective on radicalization and the escalation of political conflict," *Mobilization* 11, no. 1 (March 2006): 86.

O'Neill did to try to correct issues within Northern Ireland was seen by unionists as a direct threat to their power. The changes in the Catholic Church, the modernization proposed by O'Neill, and the realignment of the political parties threatened the unionist grasp of control of Northern Ireland, which did not go unnoticed by local entrepreneurs and unionist leaders, leading to strong opposition. It is this disagreement within unionist leadership that cleared the way for more people to mobilize against unionist rule.[23] The opposition was so strong that it led to the creation of the Ulster Volunteer Force by Ian Paisley in 1966, two years before the civil rights movement started in earnest in Northern Ireland. Many unionists like Ian Paisley saw much to fear, not only what was happening within Northern Ireland but also outside its borders in Ireland.

Sean Lemass was elected Taoiseach in 1959, replacing Éamon de Valera. Like O'Neill, Lemass inherited a failing economy, causing an emigration level approaching that of post-famine Ireland.[24] Lemass believed this could be addressed by easing tensions with the United Kingdom through trade. His focus was on modernizing the economy, and to that, he thought he must normalize relations with the United Kingdom. Lemass began his work by working with Northern Ireland to stop the IRA border campaign from 1956-1962 by interning those caught participating. It was apparent to those around him that the issue of partition would not be dealt with traditionally. After meeting with Lemass in 1959, Eddie McAteer reflected: "I came away with the conviction that as far Sean Lemass was concerned, the northern Irish [Catholics] were very much on their own."[25] McAteer would be proven correct as Lemass began to encourage the nationalists in

[23] Ibid., 88.
[24] O'Leary and McCarry, 154.
[25] McKittrick and McVea, 20.

Northern Ireland to stop boycotting the government and start to take an active role in the Ulster parliament.[26] Lemass was fortunate to be prime minister in Ireland as the leadership in Northern Ireland and Britain became more open to change. With the leadership of Harold Wilson in Britain and Terence O'Neill in Northern Ireland, Lemass encountered men with similar ideas, especially in Wilson. It was this like-mindedness that laid the groundwork for the signing of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement in 1966.[27] In Northern Ireland, Terence O'Neill was not a traditional unionist as he agreed to meet with Lemass in 1965. His visit was the first time an Irish prime minister would visit Stormont.[28] These events make it evident that the Catholic and nationalist community would become more isolated if they continue to use failed tactics to achieve their goal of ending partition. The events nationally and internationally demonstrated to those involved in the struggle that they must adapt to the changing social and political landscape or be defeated.

The different attitude of Lemass and the government of Ireland was new to the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland, but living in isolation had been accepted by Catholics since Northern Ireland's creation in 1921. This isolation was further developed in 1929 when the Stormont voted to end proportional response. This action allowed for the creation of boundaries where the result would be "new constituencies" of "corralled electors into neat areas of National or Unionist dominance," providing "a structural prop

[26] O'Leary and McGarry, 156.
[27] Clodagh Harris, "Anglo-Irish Elite Cooperation and the Peace Process: The Impact of the EEC/EU." *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Reflections on the Northern Ireland Conflict and Peace Process (2018): 206.
[28] Adrian Kerr, *Free Derry: Protest and Resistance.* (Derry: Guildhall Press, 2013), 40.

to the communal divisions of Northern Ireland."[29] These new boundaries served "to fossilize and stereotype attitudes and alliances in Northern Ireland."[30] This isolation was not only social and cultural; it was also economical. During the years 1945 to 1964, 224 new industries opened in Northern Ireland but only nine percent went to areas where Catholics were a majority.[31] All of this led to a community forced to develop in isolation, where they established a welfare system with the Catholic Church at the center.[32] This isolation provided for a tightly connected, culturally exclusive community that was, as it became more educated, able to mobilize to alter its situation and begin the necessary preparation for the fight for equality to come. The first issue addressed was that of housing.

One of the earliest protests took place in Dungannon. Unable to find housing due to discrimination, a group of young mothers set up the Homeless Citizens League in April of 1963. They agreed at the first meeting to assemble data of who received housing and how they received it. The information they compiled demonstrated that 112 Protestants had been taken from outside the urban boundaries and provided homes within the city boundary yet members of the League, all from within the boundaries, were not given homes and remained on the waiting list.[33] The first march took place in June of 1963 when women marched led by a brass band, to the Dungannon urban council to

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[29] John Whyte. "How Much Discrimination Was There Under the Unionist Regime?" in *Contemporary Irish Studies* ed. Tom Gallagher and James O'Connell (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1983), 4.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Kerr, 31.
[32] Michael Morgan, "Post-War Social Change and the Catholic Community in Northern Ireland." *An Irish Quarterly Review* 77, no. 308, (Winter, 1988): 432.
[33] Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets: The origins of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1990): 87.

deliver their report.[34] Some watched the march and were motivated to act, which led to the HCL organizing a large scale squat using thirty-seven prefabricated houses on a local estate.[35] In response, the Dungannon urban council tried to evict them and warned them that squatters of possible removal from the waiting list. The event was covered by the press, applying pressure to the urban council to change its stance. In an agreement reached in the same year, the resolution agreed to would alter the boundary of the area; evictions of the squatters would not take place, and when they cooperated with the urban council, they would be "fully eligible" for new housing in the newly created district.[36]

Coupled with the success of the squat, media coverage of the events in Dungannon was calling attention to the continued discrimination against Catholics. During a march, pictures of the event featured women carrying placards, one reading "Racial discrimination in Alabama hits Dungannon."[37] The plight of the Catholics was becoming more widespread as activists achieved some success; politicians began to support changes to the system and agreeing to take part in local government.[38] When referencing civil rights marches in the United States, one politician stated: "But perhaps the issue which has been so powerfully underlined in Washington this week. . .can be better appreciated in Northern Ireland than in Britain. There has been a continual struggle in the six counties for the rights of the minority."[39] The actions that began in Dungannon triggered similar events in other parts of Northern Ireland, and its success also led to the

[34] Freya McClements "The lost story of Northern Ireland's first civil rights march." The Irish Times, August 24, 2018, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/politics/the-lost-story-of-northern ireland-s-first-civil-rights-march-1.3605463
[35] Purdie, 88.
[36] Ibid., 89.
[37] Ibid., 92.
[38] Ibid., 91.
[39] Ibid., 92.

creation of another organization that would seek to attack the discrimination through the legal system: The Campaign for Social Justice.

The Campaign for Social Justice would turn away from the tactics of direct action and instead fight for civil rights in the courts. Patricia and Conn McCluskey established CSJ in January of 1964 with the hope it would continue to build upon the success of the Homeless Citizens League by collecting the same type of data. but on a much larger scale. They would then use that data to attempt to end inequality through the legal system of the United Kingdom.[40] At first, Westminster refused the case due to the law that stipulated the British parliament would not discuss Northern Irish affairs. This ignored the fact that Stormont received funding from the British government which "retained ultimate responsibility for its actions."[41] Therefore this perceived law was only policy. From 1922 to 1968, the average annual amount of parliamentary time dedicated to the affairs of Stormont was two hours.[42] With this in mind, the CSJ attempted to prove the Northern Irish government was denying Catholics rights guaranteed them as citizens of the United Kingdom. This failed as well because they were told no such rights exist due to there being "no formal guarantees in the British or Northern Irish Constitution of basic civil rights and the consequent lack of any tradition of civil rights litigation."[43] The failure of litigating civil rights through the courts was again reiterated in 1967 when the Northern Irish parliament determined that republican organizations were illegal.[44] In this

[40] Ibid., 94.
[41] Kerr., 28.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Purdie, 167.
[44] Ibid.

instance, the minority Catholic population saw they could not depend on assistance in their plight for equality from the British legal system.

One of the first instances of mass mobilization after Dungannon occurred after the publication of the Lockwood report. The report specified that the best location for a second university would be in the newly created city of Coleraine rather than in Derry. Citing the existence of possible housing that could be used for students was already constructed, Coleraine was chosen over Derry. With an unemployment rate twelve percent higher than the average in Northern Ireland, many believed Derry deserved to be the site of the university.[45] In what would be the most massive demonstration to date, more than twenty-five thousand people made their way from Derry to Belfast to protest the acceptance of the recommendations in the Lockwood report.[46] It was to no avail because Stormont approved the recommendations of the report and built the university in Coleraine, possibly demonstrating that not even mass protest could alter the segregationist policies of the state. What the university campaign did do was to "'form a dramatic, political, street education for the people of the city,'" which then provided the impetus to further organize the mobilization of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.[47]

It was the actions of people like Dermie McClenaghan, Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh and Eamon McCann that would once and for all sideline constitutional politics and move to the streets. "The civil rights movement in Northern Ireland emanated directly from the street radical activity by the likes of McCann, Cooper, myself and Fionnbarra."[48] Derry

[45] Kerr, 31.
[46] Ibid., 40.
[47] Ibid., 41.
[48] Interview with Dermie McClanaghan, Derry. September 28,2019.

was seen by many as the center of the problems that existed in the minority community. Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh saw Derry as a "breeding ground for many people to come into politics. It was housing and jobs that led to civil rights."[49] This breeding ground provided a small but energized group of activists who created the Derry Unemployed Action Committee in 1965. What began as a small group grew to a size of more than six hundred member who protested outside of Guildhall while Brian Faulkner, minister of commerce, met with the mayor of Derry.[50] Upon being granted a meeting with him, they spoke of the high unemployment rate in Derry leading Faulkner to agree to take seriously a survey the DUAC would conduct detailing those who were unemployed.[51] The survey confirmed all the DUAC believed; a large number of those unemployed worked in trades. Members of DUAC delivered the information to London, where they handed it to Faulkner who believed the implications of the study were far-reaching, even outside of Derry.[52] While in London, O'Dochartaigh and other members set up another branch of DUAC and proceeded to protest in order to apply pressure to "end industrial apartheid."[53] DUAC lobbied unionist MPs at the House of Commons calling attention to the riots in the United States warning them "If Unionist leaders do not remove their earplugs and abandon sectarian notions and economic discrimination, then the natives in our constituency might resort to similar expressions of acute frustration."[54] The DUAC created media coverage of their plight, drawing the attention of Westminster which many believed was the only way Stormont would change. Although the issue of unemployment

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[49] Munck, 214.
[50] Kerr, 41.
[51] Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's White Negroes: From Civil Rights to Insurrection*, (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1994), 17.
[52] Ibid., 18.
[53] Kerr, 42.
[54] O'Dochartaigh, 18.

was essential to the mobilization of the civil rights movement, housing would prove to be the issue that garnered the most attention and drew the most anger for the Catholic minority.

Squatting had been successful in Dungannon but as momentum and publicity of the treatment of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland grew, it became widespread. One such example took place in Derry City, and involved one Mrs. McConnell, a widowed mother of three. On August 1, 1967, she was forcibly removed from her home along with her children while many gathered to protest her eviction.[55] Mrs. McConnell was injured during the eviction and taken away by an ambulance. The eviction was used by the Young Republican Association to stir anger at the Stormont government. Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh addressed the crowd: "Today we have witnessed an eviction which could not have happened across the water. This is owing to laws which are in force in this area."[56] O'Dochartaigh makes the point that laws in Northern Ireland would not exist in Britain because Westminster would not enact them. The eviction sparked outrage and was covered by the *Irish News* with the title: 'Captain Boycott Tactics in Eviction of Derry Widow.'[57] By titling the article referencing past injustices, the author drew a direct line to past transgressions and made them current, creating new anger and desire for change. The issue of fair housing would continue to grow in importance to the civil rights movement over the next two years. Activists like Dermie McClanaghan began squatting by placing families in vacant homes whenever the need arose, and since there was no central civil rights organization, there was no one to get approval from; the action was

[55] Kerr, 42.
[56] O'Dochartaigh, 38.
[57] Ibid.

immediate.[58] Then in 1967, a national organization was formed in Belfast that would make immediate action more difficult.

The Northern Irish Civil Rights Association (NICRA) formed in Belfast in January of 1967. It was the first national organization to be established to confront the inequality in Northern Ireland directly. NICRA served as an umbrella movement where many who were seeking equality under the law found common goals. Its aims were: "1. To defend the basic freedom of all citizens; 2) to protect the rights of the individual; 3) to highlight the abuses of power; 4) to demand guarantees for freedom of speech, assembly and association; 5) to inform the public of their lawful rights."[59] The creation of NICRA was in reaction to the fact that more and more people were willing to openly protest the Special Powers Act and there needed to be a group with the ability to organize them.[60] This was significant because there were few outside of places like Derry that were willing to confront their government directly. With this in mind, NICRA chose to stay away from the issue of partition and instead focused on demanding "British Rights for British citizens." In doing so, many believed they would gain attention and favor in London and the British media.[61] This new tactic would demonstrate to the world that unionists viewed any attempt to fix the system as anti-Protestant and anti-state.[62] This tactic would be the key to getting London to put pressure on Stormont to take action to correct the Northern Irish government. However, support for direct was still uncommon in Northern Ireland. A Strathclyde survey in early 1968 showed that within the Catholic population forty-three

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[58] McClanaghan interview.
[59] Gianluca De Fazio, "Civil rights mobilization and repression in Northern Ireland: a comparison with the US Deep South", *The Sixties: A Journal of History, Politics and Culture* 2 no. 2 (Nov., 2009): 169.
[60] O'Dochartaigh, 23.
[61] Maguire, 109.
[62] McClanaghan interview.

percent rejected and only forty percent "endorsed illegal but non-violent demonstrations against the regime."[63] Only after continued protests would the pressure increase and minds change. New groups like the Derry Housing Action Committee (DHAC) helped hasten that process.

The Derry Housing Action Committee was established in 1968 to "disrupt public life in the city to draw attention to the housing problem."[64] In May of the same year, the DHAC delivered documents to the Derry Corporation at Guildhall, outlining cases of discrimination in housing in the city. Their spokesperson informed the meeting that this would be the group's last "attempt through normal channels to have our demands met."[65] The type of actions she was referring to consisted of barricading homes or getting those evicted back in, blocking roads and occupation of public buildings.[66] One of the protests that garnered a lot of media coverage was the case of John Wilson. In June of 1968, Wilson, along with his wife and two children, one of whom had tuberculosis, were living in a caravan and told they would not receive a home. [67] The caravan was moved into the center of the street, the busiest road in the Bogside, and then authorities were called. To the activists' surprise, nothing happened so they continued the process the next week but again, the police took no action. The group of activists increased in number and the incident received media coverage, which led to the Wilsons being given a new home.[68] It was clear to the activists involved in this protest that this was the type of action they need to take. With this in mind, the next week they protested the opening of the lower level of

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[63] Paul F. Power, "Civil Protest in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Peace Research* 9, no. 3 (1972): 225.
[64] Kerr, 44.
[65] Ibid.
[66] O'Dochartaigh, 35.
[67] McCann, 89.
[68] Ibid., 90.

the Foyle Bridge in Derry and were arrested.[69] The trial of those arrested created more support and "conferred" on them "an aura of minor martyrdom."[70] It was becoming clear to the organizers that their actions were having a direct effect on the opinions of the minority Catholic population. Violence was avoided but many believed that due to the lack of changes, the outbreak of violence was becoming unavoidable. The chain of events that led Northern Ireland to the precipice of civil war began with a squat by the politician Austin Currie and ended with a march organized from Coalisland to Dungannon.

Austin Currie, a Nationalist Party Stormont Member of Parliament, saw the success that squatting was having and used it to draw attention to housing issues in the district, Caledon, in County Tyrone. There was a waiting list of 269 people, all resided in close to Caledon. Some people were on the waiting list for seven years without getting a house but some who received housing, who were Protestant, had been on the list for less than a month.[71] Currie planned to squat at a house and have his wife alert the media as to what he was doing. The brother of the occupant, a police officer, forced Currie to leave the house with the media and RUC looking on. The British media interviewed Currie, then broadcasted it in Britain. According to Currie, this was the first time an incident like this was covered and reported out to the British public.[72] In doing so, it was believed by many in the minority community that the British government would then put pressure on Stormont to alter its segregationist system. However, it was also becoming clearer the lengths to which the unionists were willing to go to maintain their control over the

[69] Kerr, 40.
[70] McCann, 90.
[71] Austin Currie. *All Hell will Break Loose*. (Dublin, O'Brien Press, 2004), 91
[72] Ibid., 98.

country. The civil rights activists would soon depend on unionist actions to garner more support from inside and outside of Northern Ireland.

The first march organized by the Northern Irish Civil Rights Association took place on August 24, 1968, from Coalisland to Dungannon. This march would be a continuation of the pressure that was begun by Austin Currie's squat in Caledon and used its publicity to rally roughly 2500 protesters to their cause.[73] It was essential to the organizers that the march went through both Catholic and Protestant neighborhoods to demonstrate the movement was anti-sectarian. However, as would be the case in future protests, Protestants planned to counter protest, leading Stormont to ban the march. This would be the tactic used by unionists to create a situation where marches would be banned which would then justify arresting protestors. When the march began despite Stormont's attempt to prevent it, the RUC attempted to reroute the march. "The alternate route they opened for us was through a Catholic ghetto area which we refused arguing that the town centre was neutral and that we were not coat-trailing."[74] The new route also directed marchers to an area that would create a confrontation with counter-demonstrators. Therefore, with the RUC blocking their chosen route, the organizers chose to end the march and proceed with the rally a safe distance from the loyalists.[75] The crowd then dispersed singing "We Shall Overcome" demonstrating a connection with the United States civil rights movement, with no further issues.[76] With the peaceful end to the march by the protestors it was reported that "the extremist element in the minority is

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[73] Gavin Duffy and Natalie Frensley, "Community Conflict Processes: Mobilization and Demobilization in Northern Ireland," in *International Crisis and Domestic Politics* ed. James W. Lamare (New York: Praeger, 1991), 112.
[74] Fred Heatley, "The Early Marches," *Fortnight*, No. 81, (Apr. 5, 1974): 9
[75] Currie, 106.
[76] Ibid.

controllable, and on the other side, it is not."[77] The actions of those attempting to prevent the demonstrations would ensure the growth of the civil rights movement, a fact that those leading the movement understood. The Northern Irish civil rights activists believed that they needed the retaliation of the loyalists to ensure broader participation, guaranteeing change.[78] The actions of the Stormont government and the RUC that day demonstrated they had almost achieved it.[79] The reaction to this march by local law enforcement would forever change how the public viewed the protestors and law enforcement, leading to further acceptance of the civil rights movement by the people in Northern Ireland. The Coalisland to Dungannon march laid the groundwork for what was to come in a little over a month in Derry, where the actions of the RUC and loyalists would cement the opposition to the Stormont government and begin the cycle of violence that would rage for thirty years.

The effects of the creation of the welfare state by the Westminster parliament after World War II on Northern Ireland were identifiable in the 1960s as a middle-class minority population challenged the hegemonic system they had been living in. As the population grew more educated and attuned to world events, the political parties in Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom had to adapt to the changing wants and needs of their constituents. Due to the repeated failures to end partition, the newly created Catholic middle class were more interested in working within the system to end discrimination rather than ending partition and unifying Ireland. The 1960s provided the perfect opportunity for the Catholic minority to change the status quo of segregation with

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[77] Heatley, 9.
[78] Simon Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origins of the Troubles.* (Kildare, Irish Academic Press,2007): 159.
[79] Munck, 218.

communities around the world striving for and achieving equality. Unfortunately, as those changes did not materialize, dissatisfaction and anger with the Northern Irish government increased. When legal challenges were defeated time and again, the Catholic minority turned to direct action protests as a means to change the system. The segregated system of government in Northern Ireland was ill-equipped to deal with the demands of the minority due to real and perceived threats. The actions of each community in the first march from Coalisland to Dungannon set the stage for how each community in Northern Ireland would view future events of a similar nature. The cycle of violence that would engulf Northern Ireland for thirty years had been established early in the Northern Irish civil rights movement and continued unabated throughout the Troubles.

CHAPTER 5

This chapter will focus on the nonviolent campaigns that occurred to desegregate schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, to desegregate businesses in Birmingham, Alabama, and to boost voter registration in Selma, Alabama. In this chapter, specific events will be analyzed in the civil rights movements in the United States. The next chapter will focus on developments in Northern Ireland, examining the reception of the campaigns by their local communities, local government, state government, and the federal government. These analyses are the most precise way to discern their successes and failures, especially when it comes to peaceful protest. In the campaigns referred to above, it was only the response of the federal government that prevented violence against civil rights activists. In all cases, local and state leaders impeded the movement of minorities towards equality. Local authorities acted in concert with local organizations like white citizens councils to organize and prevent African Americans from achieving the justice that was guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. At the state level, governors and state legislators used their offices to prevent and limit what was considered the law of the land. The actions of the state and local authorities forced a reluctant federal government to intercede to prevent further violence and reinforce the law, which then leads to the enactment of new regulations, like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Civil Rights Act of 1965. It was only the actions taken by the presidential administrations of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson that were able to stem what seemed like the inevitability of continued discrimination against African Americans.

Little Rock Arkansas

The decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown v Board of Education* was a watershed moment for the civil rights movement in the United States. It signaled the beginning of desegregation throughout the United States. It became apparent that the status quo of segregation in education was no longer going to be tolerated by African Americans in Little Rock, Arkansas. Unfortunately, it also became apparent that those who supported segregation were not going to yield their long-held positions in the long-established social hierarchy. The Board of Education of Little Rock Arkansas had a plan in place as early as the summer of 1954 to gradually desegregate the school system. The goal of their program would be to provide blacks with some concessions, but all the while, whites would remain in control.[1] The plan originated with Virgil Blossom, the Little Rock superintendent. He proposed to begin the process with high schools in 1956, followed by the intermediate schools in 1957 and then the elementary schools in 1958.[2] His plan, although the breadth of it was limited, was adopted by the Board of Education on May 24, 1955.[3] What he had envisioned was a much broader scope than what the Board of Education was willing to adopt. In doing so, the Board believed the resistance it faced would be limited. Unfortunately, it was only the beginning of the problems that proponents of desegregation would face in Little Rock. The local opposition would mount as the plan moved towards implementation.

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[1] John A. Kirk, "The Little Rock Crisis and Postwar Black Activism in Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 56, no. 3, 40th Anniversary of the Little Rock School Crisis (Autumn, 1997): 281.
[2] Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize:America's Civil Rights Years,1954-1965* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013), 93.
[3] Ibid.

In other areas around Arkansas, segregationists established groups along the lines of the White Citizenship Councils that existed in the Deep South. These councils exemplified a different type of intimidation or protection of the segregationist way of life, which did not wholly depend on violence.[4] Spurred by an article in *Life* about desegregation in Hoxie, Arkansas, pamphlets and leaflets published by the Deep-South Citizens' Council began to circulate in Hoxie in the summer of 1955.[5] This mobilization of segregationists in Hoxie lead to the creation of a committee that would organize pickets and a boycott of local schools.[6] Their actions would prove insignificant in Hoxie as the school system would continue to work towards desegregation as they reopened after harvest season. However, due to the lessons learned in Hoxie, the segregationists mobilized, creating the Capital Citizens' League of Little Rock in 1955.[7] The Capital Citizens League attempted to scare people by placing advertisements in newspapers that alerted Arkansians of the evils of race-mixing.[8] This fear was further stoked by a radio minister who warned, "there are people in the South who love God and their nation enough to shed blood if necessary to stop this work of Satan."[9] As the date of the school's opening drew closer, the actions of the segregationists became more visible, as they did in Hoxie. Those who witnessed the demonstrations said, "few in the crowd fit the rural-

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[4] Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 35
[5] Neil R. McMillen, "The White Citizens' Council and Resistance to School Desegregation in Arkansas," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66, no. 2, The 1957 Little Rock Crisis: A Fiftieth Anniversary Retrospective (Summer, 2007): 127.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] Karen Anderson, "The Little Rock School Desegregation Crisis: Moderation and Social Conflict," *The Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 3 (Aug., 2004): 609.
[9] McMillen, 133.

redneck mold. . . .it was, at its core, a respectable working-class crowd."[10] Those on the local level were providing the impetus for their state representatives to attempt to prevent the desegregation of Little Rock by legal means.

Those in the Arkansas state legislature would attempt to prevent desegregation of the school system by passing legislation that was pro-segregation. The bills ranged from one that made attendance at integrated schools voluntary to another that provided for local school boards to hire attorneys to fight desegregationist lawsuits. The Arkansas state senate defeated all of these bills. However, the bill that created a state sovereignty commission that was responsible for protecting against "federal encroachments" that threatened the state's right to govern itself did become law. [11] But when the governor did not appoint his three members to the commission, it never came into existence.[12] The actions of the legislature would not be the only actions taken at the state level to prevent integration of the Little Rock School District. The factor that would have the most substantial impact on the desegregation plan would that of the governor Orval Faubus.

Orval Faubus became governor of Arkansas in 1954. He believed that integration should not be something that was forced on schools, but if school boards chose to desegregate, he would not stand in their way. "The truth is that Arkansas is not ready for complete and sudden mixing of the races in the public schools."[13] Therefore, when the Little Rock school board decided it would desegregate, Faubus had no desire to "illegally

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[10] Graeme Cope, " 'Everybody Says All Those People… Were from out of Town, but They Weren't': A Note on Crowds during the Little Rock Crisis," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 67, no.3 (Autumn, 2008): 248.
[11] Williams, 96.
[12] David Wallace, "Orval Faubus: The Central Figure at Little Rock Central High School," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (Winter, 1980): 321.
[13] Ibid., 316.

intervene and block a decision supported by the federal courts."[14] His opinion seems to have changed very quickly as the new school year approached. In August of 1957, after the governor of Georgia spoke to the Capital Citizens' Council in Arkansas where he derided the Brown decision and said Georgia would not desegregate, the desegregation question in Little Rock became a much larger political issue. Faubus claimed that the speech changed the minds of people in Little Rock and argued that the continued plan of desegregation would lead to violence.[15] Faubus would later call out the National Guard, not to prevent desegregation but maintain the same system of education to protect the people of Little Rock. During his speech informing the state what he was doing, he claimed that ‘‘’blood will run in the streets if Negro pupils should attempt to enter Central High School."[16] There was an apparent absence of evidence to this claim as Faubus could produce none when asked. The FBI confirmed the lack of evidence after interviewing five hundred locals in Little Rock and found no evidence of impending violence.[17] Faubus's decision to introduce a military force created an untenable situation for state and local law enforcement. Therefore, the federal government, despite not wanting to become involved in questions of desegregation, took a central role.

President Eisenhower believed that the federal government should stay out implementing desegregation of the schools after the Brown decision. Much like Faubus, he felt state and local authorities should decide on desegregation in Little Rock. Therefore, when Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to guard the Little Rock

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[14] Ibid., 322.
[15] Tony A. Freyer, “Politics and Law in the Little Rock Crisis, 1954-1957,” *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66, no. 2, The 1957 Little Rock Crisis: A Fiftieth Anniversary Retrospective (Summer, 2007): 158.
[16] Williams, 100.
[17] Wallace, 328.

High School, Eisenhower did not object as long as they were there to protect the black children, not scare them.[18] The Arkansas National Guard remained there until September 20 when a federal judge decided there was no public threat after Faubus and his attorneys could demonstrate no evidence that there was a threat to the public. On the night of September 20, Faubus went on television to announce he would be withdrawing the Arkansas National Guard, and the schools would begin desegregation on September 23.[19] The judge's decision was the first action taken by the federal government to ensure that desegregation would take place. The federal court system had halted the attempt at pausing it or preventing it. Unfortunately, this would not prevent further action against desegregation at the local level, and again the federal government would need to step in.

After the removal of troops, there was no one left to protect the school and those who attended from the angry mob that had gathered over the previous three weeks. Initially, Faubus had told Eisenhower that the National Guard would transition from preventing integration to guarding the black children as they entered. Instead, on the morning of September 23, Faubus ordered the guard to withdraw, leaving the children unprotected. [20] Before the students arrived, violence ensued when a white member of the mob struck a black reporter with a brick he was holding in his hand, mistakenly identifying him as a parent of a student.[21] This violence took place as the local police looked on.[22] Once the black students were in the school, the local police sent them home early because they were finding it more and more challenging to hold back the mob, and

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[18] Williams, 103.
[19] Ibid, 105.
[20] Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years1954-1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc. 1988), 224.
[21] Williams, 105.
[22] Ibid.

they were unable to guarantee the black students' safety. Eisenhower could no longer deny he had to act, so on September 24, after the second day of demonstrating, he ordered riot trained units of the 101st Airborne Division deployed to Little Rock.[23] With the arrival of the troops, integration of the school continued and the remaining resistance to desegregation came from the students themselves, not from the outside community.[24] The lack of action by state and local authorities to ensure that desegregation would continue and that a rebellion would not ensue meant that action by the federal government became necessary. Although the military was mobilized and used to enforce the law, there was no violence, and the drive towards equality for minorities in the United States continued to move forward.

Desegregation was a fight that would take place in all aspects of American society. The success in Little Rock would be the first of many campaigns, and there were failures, such as the failure to desegregate businesses in Albany, Georgia, in 1962. It was necessary after Albany to choose a site that would maximize coverage to gain support from outside the south. In 1963 it was decided that the site of the next large-scale demonstration would be Birmingham, Alabama. As in Little Rock, there were those locally who wanted to see the policy of segregation changed, like local business owners who depended on African American commerce. Still, many in power like the Commissioner of Public Safety in Birmingham "Bull" Connor and governor George Wallace, used all means at their disposal to prevent it. Connor used the fire department, local police department, and state police, provided by governor Wallace, to violently suppress the demonstrators, who, throughout the month-long protest, remained peaceful.

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[23] Branch, 224.
[24] Ibid.

Upon learning of an agreement reached between blacks and the Birmingham business community, he enlisted the help of the Ku Klux Klan to prevent desegregation in Birmingham. Again, as in Little Rock, it was only the work of a reluctant federal government, in this case providing a mediator, that brought an end to the demonstrations and segregation in business practices in Birmingham.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

After the failure in Albany, Georgia, the importance of a successful campaign in the south was a paramount concern for those leading the civil rights movement. They knew that the location and planning for the next campaign would be of great consequence as the success of the civil rights movement depended on it. Organizers chose Birmingham because it was Alabama's largest city (with a population of 350,000), where blacks made up forty percent of the city, and their median household income was $3,000 less than that of whites.[25] This large African American population, provided much of the revenue that white-owned businesses depended on, giving them substantial power in the city. Another reason for the choice of Birmingham was the recent history of the city and its leadership. There were eighteen bombings in the city from 1957 to 1963, all of which were unsolved crimes. African American political meetings were broken up by Bull Connor and then, in 1962, all city parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, and golf courses were closed by the city government rather than be desegregated.[26] When the Metropolitan Opera began performing for integrated audiences, Birmingham's city leaders did not allow it to play in

[25] Williams, 181.
[26] Ibid., 179.

the city.[27] In 1962 the city business owners attempted to take down the signs prohibiting blacks from seating areas in local establishments. Bull Connor then saw to it that each business would be closed for code violations unless they replaced the signs, reinstituting segregation. These businesses complied so they did.[28]

The primary strategy of campaigns like the one executed in Birmingham was to "disrupt local institutions, forcing the local white power structures to capitulate to the demand for desegregation."[29] As Fred Shuttlesworth put it, "We wanted a nonviolent confrontation, to see if it would work on a massive scale. Not just Birmingham--for the nation."[30] The "Birmingham Manifesto" published and distributed on April 2, 1963, outlined the goals and objectives of the campaign. The manifesto included demands for fair hiring practices, desegregation of lunch counters, the establishment of a group to develop a plan to desegregate Birmingham schools, the reopening of parks, and the dropping of charges against those arrested who were involved in the protests.[31] Organizers would reach these goals through a boycott of Birmingham, and by attempting to exhaust the Birmingham criminal justice system, filling the jails, and causing the court system to be so overwhelmed, it would have to submit to desegregation. With clear objectives and a methodology to achieve them, all that remained were the means to achieve them.

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[27] David Levering Lewis, *King: A Biography*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Publishing, 1970) ,172.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Aldon Morris, "Birmingham Confrontation Reconsidered: An Analysis of the Dynamics and Tactics of Mobilization," *American Sociological Review*, 58, no. 5 (Oct., 1993): 623.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Glenn Askew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National movements in the National Civil Rights Struggle*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press,1997), 221.

The planning for Birmingham campaign began in January of 1963, and a hotel in the black ghetto was its headquarters. Immediately after the establishment of the office, organizers set out to identify and train volunteers in the use of nonviolent tactics for the campaign. After being trained, many of the protestors filled out "commitment cards" that featured the tenets of peaceful protest, which the organizers collected at local churches before their participation.[32] James Bevel, one of the organizers, put it succinctly: "We're not going to have violence. If you're not going to respect policemen, you are not going to be in the movement."[33]

To raise funds needed for the campaign, Martin Luther King Jr. began a fundraising tour to sixteen cities around the United States. The amount raised was $475,000, and this was needed to both run the demonstration and fund the bail money required for those arrested during the boycott.[34] Organizers of the boycott were able to collect data in Birmingham, which enabled them to "determine priority targets, direct routes, and the number of counters, seats, entrances per store, and so on."[35] The thorough planning for the Birmingham demonstration made it clear to everyone involved how important it was. Now it was imperative to take what the organizers knew and convince others. Martin Luther King Jr. and others used the organizational structure of the independent black churches to energize the black community and garner support nationwide. It was these "preexisting institutions, leaders, and organizations were critically involved in all phases of the movement and were especially important in the

[32] Lewis, 181.
[33] Williams, 190.
[34] Lewis, 176.
[35] Ibid.

beginning stages."[36] The Birmingham campaign would use these structures and leaders to mount a multifaceted approach to create maximum pressure on the local white power structure to force the local businesses to desegregate.

The campaign began on April 3, 1963, with sit-ins at lunch counters, which led to the arrest on April 4 of twenty activists who were sentenced to six months in jail and fined $100.[37] The sit-ins were followed by marches on April 6 and 10, which led to the arrest of more than fifty others. On April 10, Bull Connor asked for and received an injunction that banned further marches and named 133 civil rights leaders that he restricted from participating in any way with the ongoing campaign, including Martin Luther King Jr.[38] King cited injunctions as "the leading instrument of the South to block the direct-action civil rights drive and to prevent negro citizens and their white allies from engaging in peaceable assembly."[39] Therefore on April 12, Good Friday, when King and other leaders of the movement participated in a march as part of the campaign, he was arrested for violating the injunction. King's arrest created an incident that could be used by civil rights groups to call for boycotts across the country of national chain stores that had outlets in Birmingham. In response, many business leaders called on the Kennedy administration to intervene in Birmingham.[40] Although the federal government did not become involved at this point, the Kennedy administration became more concerned with the events in Birmingham just as those who had organized it were beginning to question the outcome.

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[36] Eskew, 233.
[37] Eskew, 223.
[38] Williams, 184.
[39] Lewis, 182.
[40] Morris, 628.

While King was in jail (as well as after his release), the campaign had failed to elicit more support from protestors who were willing to go to jail. There were various protests during King's incarceration, but the campaign seemed to be dying out. King's participation did not draw in the number of protestors expected because only small numbers of the black community supported the campaign, and even fewer were willing to take an active role in it.[41] At this point, organizers began to consider using children. Some believed that black adults were not participating due to their employment. "A boy from high school has the same effect in terms of being in jail and putting pressure on the city, but without his imprisonment being economic threat to the family."[42] Organizers believed that the sight of a child being rounded up and sent to jail would have a far more significant effect than adults.[43] With this in mind, they taught nonviolent tactics to children for the remainder of April. The first march using children was on May 2. There was no violence in the first march as 959 children (ages 6 to 16), were simply rounded up and put on school buses that would take them to Birmingham jails.[44] Unfortunately, the order and calm of May 2 would not happen again in the coming days of what became known as the children's crusade.

On May 3, nearly one thousand children gathered at a church with the intention of marching towards downtown Birmingham. Before they could begin, however, the police arrived. These officers attempted to close the church, but some children had gotten through, and the police and fire department stopped them. The police used their batons and dogs in teams of two. "A white policeman in dark sunglasses grasping a negro boy by

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[41] Eskew, 227.
[42] Williams, 188.
[43] Ibid., 188.
[44] Lewis 192

the front of the shirt as his other hand gave just enough slack in the leash for the dog to spring upward and bury its teeth in the boy's abdomen."[45] The fire department used firehoses that exerted one hundred pounds of pressure per square inch at children who were marching. [46] One of the incidents that day which solidified the support of the march was when a camera captured a little girl being rolled down the street by the force of the water guns. "In the twinkling of an eye, the whole black community consolidated… behind Dr. King."[47] The uncertainty that had surrounded the Birmingham campaign had fallen away once the public wholeheartedly supported it.

More and more protestors were arrested over the next few days as violence spread because the police and fire department were not attempting to deal with the protest peacefully. When there was no room left in the jails, the police and fire departments focused on keeping the demonstrators in the black areas of the city. [48]The goal of filling the prisons was so successful that the leaders of the Birmingham campaign began to realize that as most nonviolent protestors had been arrested, only rioters, with no nonviolent training, were left on the streets. Therefore, it is not surprising that some violence did occur as protestors threw rocks and bricks at the police and firefighters. James Bevel continuing to propose nonviolent tactics, in one instance berated rioters to leave an area where the violence began by shouting, "Everyone of this corner, if you're not going to demonstrate in a nonviolent way then leave!"[49] In this instance, he was successful in preventing violence from further damaging the campaign. Unfortunately,

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[45] Branch, 760.
[46] Williams, 190.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Lewis, 195.
[49] Branch, 765.

with the introduction of five hundred state police on the orders of Governor Wallace, it became clear that those who were against the campaign wanted violence.

In light of the violence and press coverage of Birmingham, the Kennedy administration felt pressured to become involved in Alabama. On May 4, Burke Marshall, the head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, was sent to Birmingham. Marshall then met with King and took his demands to the Senior Citizens' Committee, which represented seventy percent of the businesses in Birmingham.[50] Due to the increasing violence and negative press, the business leaders moved to negotiate. The Senior Citizens' Committee agreed to the desegregation of businesses, availability of managerial positions to blacks, and the creation of a committee to further address racial issues in Birmingham.[51] It seemed as though the Birmingham campaign was a success as a result of the mediation of the Justice Department. Unfortunately, this was not the case. Upon hearing of a tentative agreement, Bull Connor went on the radio urging whites to boycott stores that would integrate.[52] Then, at a Ku Klux Klan meeting, the Grand Dragon stated: "Business in Birmingham or any other city does not have the authority to attempt any type of negotiations when it deals with governmental affairs with municipalities."[53] As in Little Rock, despite those living in the area being open to integration, despite their reasoning, the move to desegregation was hindered by other regional groups, and this intimidation continued with more violence that same night.

Within hours of the Klan meeting, bombs detonated at the home of AD King, Martin Luther King Jr.'s brother, and the Gaston Hotel, the headquarters of the

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[50] Williams, 193.
[51] Lewis, 200.
[52] Williams, 194.
[53] Ibid.

Birmingham campaign. The goal of the Ku Klux Klan and Connor was to incite violence in the campaign so that they would be justified in violently putting protestors down. In the wake of the explosions, the Birmingham organizers were doing everything in their power to prevent any more violence for fear the business leaders would go back on their agreement. After the bomb destroyed AD King's home, he immediately worked to quell the ensuing riot as blacks began to congregate around the destruction. "Our home was just bombed. . .now, if we have gone away, not angry, why must you rise up and hurt our cause? You are hurting us! You are not helping! Now, won't you please clear this park."[54]

The Kennedy administration also understood Connor and the Klan's goals, but feared that sending troops directly into Birmingham to quell the violence would be seen as an overreach of federal power. Kennedy attempted to avoid this by deploying troops near Birmingham, not directly in the city, so they could intervene if needed. This both served as a warning to Governor Wallace but also prevented him from taking any actions against blacks.[55] After the police violently forced blacks back into their homes, the riots ended in Birmingham, and the deal remained in place. Kennedy followed up his actions with an address to the nation that night, demonstrating support of the agreement in Birmingham and with the concept of equality of American citizens regardless of race. "This government will do whatever must be done to preserve order, protect the lives of its citizens. . .those who labored so hard to achieve peaceful, constructive settlement. . .can feel nothing but dismay at the efforts of those who would replace conciliation and good with violence and hate."[56] Just as Eisenhower did during his address about school

[54] Branch, 795.
[55] Branch, 798.
[56] Williams, 194.

desegregation in Little Rock, Kennedy asserted the role of the federal government in guaranteeing constitutional rights of all its citizens, regardless of race. In doing so, they both prevented a crisis from devolving into armed conflict or race war.

The actions taken by African Americans in Birmingham lead the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to advocate for further guarantees of rights promised to African Americans as citizens of the United States. The Kennedy administration first proposed the Civil Rights Act in 1963 and then was signed into law by President Johnson in 1964. The act prohibited discrimination in all public spaces, including restaurants, concert halls, and parks. It also banned discrimination in employment, creating the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce this aspect of the new law. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was a significant victory that would not have been possible without the actions that took place in Birmingham. The violence of Birmingham and the news media brought the plight of African Americans to the country and the world. However, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 left out one significant area of discrimination as it attempted to end racism in the United States, which was discrimination in voting. The next campaign of the civil rights movement made voting rights the central focus of the movement. The organizers decided that Selma, Alabama would be a prime location to demonstrate to the world the actions local and state governments would take to prevent blacks from having the right to vote.

SELMA, MISSISSIPPI

Past civil rights campaigns demonstrated the importance of the locations chosen to achieve each goal of the movement. This was true of Little Rock because of the openness of the local school board allowed desegregation to occur within certain perimeters and of Birmingham due to the Bull Connor's propensity for violence and the

economic power of the African American community within the city. The choice of Selma for voting was no different. On the local level, Selma was the county seat of Dallas County, Alabama. A primarily rural county, white citizens were dependant on black tenant farmers for economic survival.[57] Due to this dependence on blacks for their financial well-being, segregationist groups like the Dallas County Citizens' Council were incredibly popular, with one-quarter of the whites who lived there being members.[58] Selma was also the headquarters of the Alabama State Sovereignty Commission. Headed by a democratic state senator, the commission worked hand in hand with local authories in Selma to maintain segregation by political means, making it almost impossible for blacks to have any say in government.[59]

By late 1964, two years after the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee began working to register black voters in Selma, they had only succeeded in registering about one percent of the African American population.[60] The segregationist control of the county registrar's office made it incredibly difficult, if not impossible, for blacks to register. The Dallas county registrar's office was only open monthly on the first and third Monday, and on those days, the registrar was rarely there.[61] The intimidation was not just political. By attempting to register to vote, their economic well being was also at stake as many worked for whites who wanted to maintain the system of suppression. The registrar would pointedly ask who their employer was and whether or not they knew they were attempting to register as voters. In one instance in 1963, the county sheriff instructed a

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[57] Joseph Luders, "Civil Rights Success and the Politics of Racial Violence," *Polity* 37 no. 1, Fashion for Democracy (Jan., 2005): 119.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Mark Newman, *The Civil Rights Movement* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 95.
[61] Williams, 252.

photographer to take pictures of all those in attendance at a registration rally so that he could show all their employers.[62] Still, any African American who was attempting to register had to take a literacy test, as demanded by Alabamba law, which many failed.[63] All of this played into the decision to hold the next major civil rights campaign in Selma, but there were other considerations. Again, the lessons learned from past campaigns played a role in the decision. In Albany, Georgia, there was no brutal repression from local and state authorities, so despite running a well researched and planned campaign, the campaign failed. A lack of brutal repression was not the case in Selma, where, as written above, segregationists had the power to enforce by any means their system of domination.

Just as Bull Connor's actions did in Birmingham, Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark's activities with the support of Alabama Director of Public Safety, Albert Lingo, ensured national and international coverage to the voting registration campaign in Selma. Both men were known to the organizers for their actions in Birmingham and Dallas County. In Birmingham, on the night of the riots after the bomb explosions, the Birmingham police chief implored the men to leave, telling them, "We don't need any guns down here. You all might get somebody killed," to which Lingo responded, "You're damn right, it'll kill somebody," while hitting his automatic gun.[64] Locally in Selma, Clark was elected by the power structure, which enabled the repression of African Americans; therefore, was he was free to use whatever methods he saw fit to prevent blacks from voting. In his attempts to end demonstrations, he forced (using cattle prods)

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Eskew, 302.

over two hundred to march more than three miles to be held in a gravel pit.[65] In another instance, as Clark shoved demonstrators off the courthouse steps, someone said, "I hope the newspapers see you acting this role," and he responded, "I hope they do."[66] The segregationist power structure enabled the continued repression of the African American community in Dallas County, Alabama, and specifically in Selma. The power structure enabled men like Lingo and Clark to prevent any changes to that power structure. Still, their reactions to civil rights demonstrations would serve the purpose of calling national and international attention to the African American plight, which would force a somewhat reluctant federal government to get again involved as it did in Little Rock and Birmingham.

Despite the work of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee to register African Americans to vote beginning in October of 1963, it was not until January of 1965 that the high-pressure campaign, using similar methodology to that of Birmingham, began. The campaign would consist of marches to the county registrar's office every day in the hopes of registering to vote, but it was well known the fate that awaited them at the county courthouse. Therefore, much like Birmingham, they would use demonstrators to fill the jails and pressure the legal system. In doing so, the organizers also understood they would invoke a violent response from Sheriff Clark and his men.

Since the protest was happening in one small area, it was easy for the media to cover the whole event, maximizing the effect of the rally.[67] With the press so close at

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[65] Taylor Branch, At Canaan's Edge: America in the King Years, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), 18.
[66] Williams, 259.
[67] Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, The Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 383.

hand, some felt it was their responsibility to help the protestors. In one instance, a photographer stopped taking photos to prevent members of Clark's volunteer posse, as they were called, from pushing children onto the ground. Upon hearing of this, Martin Luther King reminded the photographer to do his "duty as a photographer" and went on to say, "the world doesn't know this happened because you did not report it."[68] Television news covered the arrests and showed demonstrators, including children, being taken to jail. Many media outlets wrote of the conditions in the prisons, describing how prisoners did not have access to toilets, but only buckets. Outside, prisoners "were forced to stand in single file, and if one stepped out of line, a guard would strike them."[69] James Bevel, an organizer of the campaign, was chained to a hospital bed after being beaten by one of the Clark volunteers.[70] After a month of marches, over three thousand people had been arrested for violating the ordinance that prohibited more than three African Americans from congregating in public.[71] Signs that the campaign was beginning to have an impact camein February, when a federal judge issued an order forcing the registrar in Selma to process a minimum of one hundred voting applications each day.[72] Despite this success and the goal of overwhelming the judicial system by filling the prisons being achieved, there was still no single event that caused an outcry that would lead to nationwide mobilization for voting rights for African Americans. The events on the night of February 18 would change that.

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Williams, 261.
[70] Lewis, 270.
[71] Roberts and Klibanoff, 382.
[72] Williams, 263.

After being beaten at a demonstration by a member of Clark's volunteers, C. T. Vivian spoke at a rally in a nearby town. After a rally in Marion, those in attendance decided to participate in a nighttime march. Shortly after the march began, Alabama state troopers arrived directing the marchers back to the church. The streetlights shut off, and troopers began to beat the marchers with nightsticks as white onlookers assaulted the media.[73] One marcher, Jimmy Lee Jackson, was shot and killed by an Alabama trooper, as he, his mother, and his grandfather ate in a diner after running from the march.[74] This event would serve as the motivation for the march from Marion to Montgomery. During a sermon, two days after Jackson's death, James Bevel proposed the march. Martin Luther King Jr. made his support for it known a few days later.[75] The belief was that they would take their case directly to the governor, and he would have to deal with them at his doorstep.

Planning for the march got underway immediately. However, the plans were immediately in question when Governor Wallace announced the state would not allow it. While he claimed that his decision was motivated by a desire to prevent the blocking of roads and upsetting traffic flows,[76] Wallace understood the importance of the white supremacists to his political career. He, therefore, was reluctant to go against them or use the state police to protect the marchers.[77] The organizers decided that the march would take place regardless of local and state authorities' attempts to prevent it.

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[73] Robert and Klibanoff, 384.
[74] Williams, 265.
[75] Ibid., 267.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Luders, 120.

The march took place on March 7, 1965, but only got as far as the Edmund Pettis Bridge due to the actions of the local and state police. As the march approached the police and the troopers, they were told to stop and break up the march within two minutes. After one minute transpired, the leader gave the troopers the order to advance, at which time they affixed their gas masks and began moving toward the marchers. "Teargas was fired, and then lawmen on horseback charged into the stumbling protestors."[78] As the marchers retreated, the troopers gave chase, beating them back into Selma. "About two or three busloads of posse men are in front of the church beating people, throwing gas."[79] It was at this point that many of the demonstrators wanted reprisal against the troopers. Still, Andrew Young, a preacher, challenged them about the weapons they would use, and James Bevel told teenagers they would be letting the attackers "off the hook" if they threw rocks.[80] That night network news stations broadcast the events that occurred that day in Selma, and as the mayor of Selma puts it, "the wrath of the nation came down on us."[81] The events in Selma on March 7 had a similar effect to that of the violence in Birmingham. That day Martin Luther King Jr. implored citizens of the United States to come to Selma and join the protest, and many did. "Car after car drove up and stopped in front of the church discharging white ministers, rabbis, and priests from across the country."[82]

Immediately following the events of March 7, King called for another march to take place on March 9. The state of Alabama sought and received an injunction from

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[78] Williams, 273.
[79] Branch, *Canaan's*, 53.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Williams, 273.
[82] Roberts and Klibanoff, 387.

federal court to prevent the march until hearings could take place. After King informed the Johnson administration the march would go on as planned. Johnson sent LeRoy Collins, director of Community Relations Service, to negotiate with King.[83] After negotiations with Collins, it was agreed by King and Wallace, through the intermediaries of Clark and Lingo, that the march would not proceed past the Pettus Bridge, King would get to the top of the bridge, kneel and pray and then turn back.[84] King understood that unlike other injunctions he had violated in the past, this one was federal, and he had always depended on the federal government to act on his behalf when local and state authorities failed to uphold the federal law.

The following week, after President Johnson addressed both Houses of Congress calling for new voting rights legislation, a federal court ruled the civil rights demonstrators had the right to march from Selma to Montgomery. When Governor Wallace said he did not have the resources to protect the marchers' President Johnson responded by federalizing the eighteen hundred members of the Alabama National Guard. In addition, two thousand army troops, members of the FBI, and federal marshals were called in to provide security to the march.[85] The march started with roughly three thousands participants, and when it ended, more than twenty-five thousand participants were in Montgomery.[86] The campaign for voting rights, which took place in Selma, reached its end with the signing into law of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The act gave the attorney general the power to send examiners to register African Americans if he

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[83] Thomas Wagy, "Governor Leroy Collins of Florida and the Selma Crisis of 1965," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (Apr., 1979): 406
[84] Ibid., 414.
[85] Roberts and Klibanoff, 390.
[86] Williams, 283.

believed that local registrars were not doing their job, and it ended literacy tests and other hindrances used by southern states.[87] The civil rights campaign to end discrimination in voting lead to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965

In each campaign discussed in this chapter, it was the actions of local organizations, like citizens councils and groups like the Ku Klux Klan working in concert with local and state authorities that lead to the outbreak of hostilities against the civil rights movement. In each situation, it was the federal government that had to step in to reach a peaceful resolution. Through the work of federal intermediaries like LeRoy Collins, what could have been a race war in the United States was held at bay. Despite the federal government's reluctance in each situation, it was its actions that prevented the escalation of violence in the United States. The organizers of the civil rights movement always knew they had the law on their side, but by 1965 despite its reluctance, they began to trust the federal government would act in their favor. As will be explained in the next chapter, this was not the case for the Catholics of Northern Ireland.

[87] John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr, *From Slavery to Freedom.* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988), 451.

CHAPTER 6

This chapter will focus on the non-violent campaigns in Northern Ireland beginning on October 5, 1968, in Derry. These campaigns focused on ending discrimination in housing, employment, government representation, and the judicial system. This chapter will analyze the events of the Burntollet March and Internment March to further understand the strategies and circumstances of the non-violent campaign in Northern Ireland. In the previous chapter, the methodology used to analyze the American civil rights campaigns focused on the drives themselves, the actions of local and state leaders, and the response of the federal government. This chapter's methodology is modified to reflect these levels of authority by including the British parliament in Westminster, as Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom. Whereas in the United States, it was the federal government's direct action that changed state policies, in Northern Ireland, it was the willingness or unwillingness of Westminster to pressure Stormont to address issues of equality. It also must be considered that the only police force in Northern Ireland was the Royal Ulster Constabulary, which was a national organization. Therefore, there was no Northern Irish equivalent to the local police forces that operated in the United States. With this in mind, in the following analyses of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom is analogous to the federal government of the United States, while Northern Ireland will correspond to the state government. Like the events discussed in the previous chapter, this chapter will show the action of state and local authorities hindered the achievement of these goals. However, unlike the federal government's activities in the United States, which proponed the

purposes of the civil rights movement, in the United Kingdom, it hampered the movement's goals, leading to the promulgation of violence in Northern Ireland.

OCTOBER 5TH, 1968, DERRY

Momentum was built throughout the 1950s and 1960s due to events worldwide, especially in the United States, and an increasingly educated Northern Ireland population. The civil rights movement in Northern Ireland continued to grow after the first march in Dungannon in August of 1968. There was no more explicit evidence of this than in Derry, where leaders like Eamon Melaugh and Eamonn McCann were working to break through the standard Catholic versus Protestant mentality in an attempt to encompass the entirety of the working and lower social classes. The civil rights organizers used slogans like "class war not creed war" and "working class unite and fight."[1] They chose these slogans in an attempt not only to draw others into the cause but also to differentiate their movement from nationalist and republican ideology.[2] The city's history and significance and its civil rights infrastructure, made Derry the ideal choice for a new campaign. When a NICRA delegation arrived in Derry to discuss the possibility of a march there, they met with Derry's experienced activists. The latter pressed them to march into the city center or the Diamond.[3] The march would begin in a historically Protestant area, across the Craigavon Bridge, and move into the center of Derry, the Diamond. It would be the first time a non-unionist march would take place inside the walls of Derry. In doing so, the organizers believed they were "asserting their right to equal treatment."[4] However, it was

[1] Eamonn McCann. *War in an Irish town.* (London: Pluto Press, 1993), 94
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., 93
[4] Peter Taylor, *Loyalists: War and Peace in Northern Ireland*, (New York: TV Books, 1999), 53

essential to the organizers that they distinguish themselves from the republican movement.

Therefore, the organizers of the march stipulated that marchers would carry no flags, only banners and signs calling for civil rights. They hoped this would dissuade further any objections by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and other unionist groups.[5] Unfortunately, this was not to be, and on the same day, NICRA applied for a permit, the Apprentice Boys of Derry applied to hold a march along the same path, ending in the exact location.[6] In response, on October 3, James Craig, the Minister of Home Affairs, banned the march. Upon hearing this, the NICRA delegation decided to cancel the march but received significant push back from the other organizers of the event. Finally, when one of the delegation members agreed to march to the Derry organizers, it was decided the march would go on as planned despite the ban.[7] This decision, and the decision to ban marches, would cement the cycle of violence that had begun in Dungannon earlier in 1968.

On October 5th, roughly four hundred people met at the railway station on Duke Street to begin the march. The marchers arrived to find the RUC had set up a cordon a short distance from where the march was to begin. As the marchers approached the cordon, the RUC attacked them and surrounded them, preventing their return to where they started.[8] After a brief meeting, with speeches given by politicians like Austin Currie, a nationalist MP, on the importance of remaining peaceful, the RUC charged the

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[5]Adrian Kerr, *Free Derry: Protest and Resistance.* (Derry: Guildhall Press, 2013), 47.
[6] McCann, 96.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Feargal Cochrane, *Northern Ireland: The Reluctant Peace*, (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2013), 48.

demonstration from both ends of the street.[9] The RUC attacked the demonstrators, striking them with their batons, indiscriminately hitting men, women, and children. In one instance, a witness saw an officer remove a woman's glasses with one hand and hit her over the head with his baton with the other.[10] The October 5th march also saw the introduction of a new tool the RUC would frequently use in the future, the water cannon. "Both their jets were spraying at full pressure, enough to throw someone off their feet and push them for some distance."[11] The water cannon continued to the Derry side of the bridge, where it indiscriminately targeted people for almost a half a mile from where the march had begun.[12] Counter-protestors chased the marchers back towards the city center and into the Bogside. In the Bogside, the RUC encountered the anger of the Bogside residents. "RUC cars were stoned, shop windows were smashed, a flimsy, token barricade was erected."[13] The rioting wound down early the following day but began again when roughly one thousand youth set up barricades and hurled petrol bombs and stones at the encroaching RUC, who responded with water cannon and raised batons.[14] It was evident there had been a complete breakdown of law and order as the day continued. Despite the organizers being unable to generate mass involvement in the civil rights movement, it soon became clear that the violent reaction of the RUC would provide the impetus for acceptance and participation in the movement.

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[9] Kerr, 48.
[10] Salar Mohandesi, Bjarke Skærlund Risager, and Laurence Cox, *Voices of 68: Documents form the Global North*, (London: Pluto Press, 2018), 260
[11] Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's White Negroes: From Civil Rights to Insurrection*, (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1994), 54.
[12] Kerr, 48.
[13] McCann, 99.
[14] O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's*, 56.

The march itself did not get the support from the community that it sought. However, the reaction by the RUC and local unionst groups provided the attention the march had failed to garner. The reports of the demonstration and its after-effects were broadcast and printed in the United Kingdom and internationally. "Peaceful demonstrators in suits and duffle coats calling for civil rights and being bludgeoned to the ground by RUC--all of it broadcast on television and viewed in every living room in Britain."[15] The events of October 5th demonstrated to the United Kingdom that the Northern Irish government could not be left to its own devices as it had become an embarrassment. It was not only the RUC attacking the protestors. It was also what followed overnight in the Bogside: a collapse of law and order inside the United Kingdom. [16] On October 8th, the *Derry Journal* reported that Wilson had called upon O'Neill for talks on events in Derry despite a long-established rule that events in Northern Ireland were not discussed at Westminster.[17] The events on October 5th and the following days garnered greater attention for the civil rights movement within the Catholic community as well. It was clear that the overreaction of the RUC provided the civil rights movement with an air of righteousness it had not known nor could have achieved without these events. Fionbarra O'Dochartaigh acknowledged: "If the state had ignored us, the civil rights movement would have died in three to five months. . .they killed the apathy inside the Nationalist community. We got a mass movement overnight."[18] This mass

[15] Cochrane, 49.
[16] Ibid.
[17] O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's* 57.
[18] Lorenzo Bosi, "Social Movement Participation and the 'Timing' of Involvement: The Case of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* 27 (2007): 51.

movement would gain momentum, move outside of Derry and force Stormont to take action on some of its demands.

The response to the events of October 5th within Derry led to the creation of a coordinating committee that would be responsible for all civil rights actions in the city. The Derry Citizens Action Committee, consisting of local nationalist politicians and businessmen, made its first order of business to calm the city, canceling a march planned for October 12th.[19] Many of the younger protestors took issue with the DCAC because they felt it, due to those in charge of it, would not take radical enough action. "He (a Catholic Bogsider) could march behind Hume, confident that he would not be led into violence, in no way nervous about the political ideas of the men at the front of the procession. . .the CAC did not challenge the consciousness of the Catholic masses."[20] However, in Belfast on October 9th, about two thousand students from Queens University in Belfast attempted a march to city hall to protest the RUC brutality in Derry.[21] Before the march reached its destination, a group of loyalists stopped it. Michael Farrell recalls: "The cops stopped the march because of about ten Paisleyites on the other side. We couldn't march because it would breach the peace because of the opposing crowd."[22] The idea that ten opposing marchers could prevent a student demonstration of two thousand created so much anger, according to Farrell, that they immediately formed the People's Democracy, an independent, radical group under the umbrella of the civil rights movement.[23] Just as in Derry, the authorities' action led to a reaction, in the birth of

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[19] Kerr, 49.
[20] McCann, 103.
[21] Kerr, 50.
[22] Ronnie Munck, "The Making of the Troubles in Northern Ireland." *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 2 (1992): 219.
[23] Munck, 220.

a more motivated group determined to reform the system. But unlike the leaders of the DCAC and NICRA, the leaders of People's Democracy were not content with reforming Stormont; they wanted to topple it.

While the People's Democracy focused its attention on spontaneous protests in Belfast, the DCAC had a more systematic approach to create pressure on the government. On October 19th, a sit-down protest was held at Guildhall to address all the civil rights movement goals and, more importantly, to prove they were a peaceful movement.[24] The organizers used roughly four hundred volunteers to observe the demonstration and act as stewards to ensure it remained quiet. In doing so, they provided evidence to the world they were a peaceful, non-violent movement. A week later, on October 26th, a group of twelve civil rights activists set out to march from Strabane to Derry to protest the violence of the RUC on October 5th but were beaten by loyalists. Only seven of the marchers reached Guildhall.[25] The collaboration between loyalists and the RUC was on display as loyalists spoke with the RUC before they assaulted the marchers.[26] It was clear that the civil rights movement could not depend on the RUC for their safety. Other actions by the DCAC consisted of a protest at Guildhall during the Housing Corporation's monthly meeting and about twenty unemployed men burning their sign-on cards to protest the lack of jobs in Derry.[27]The DCAC continued to press the non-violent goal of their campaign again on November 2nd, when they would attempt to establish their right to march inside the city.

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[24] O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's*, 60.
[25] Ibid., 61.
[26] Kerr, 50.
[27] Ibid.

There had never been a march of non-loyalists into or through Derry. It was a right reserved only for loyalists and unionists. Therefore, on October 26th, the DCAC informed the RUC that they would again attempt to march the route they had planned to complete on October 5th. This time the only marchers would be the fifteen-member board of the DCAC. The RUC would ask to meet with the DCAC, and at the meeting, the DCAC informed the RUC the march would go on despite the threat of a counterdemonstration planned by a group "using the name of the Loyal Sons."[28] With more than four thousand onlookers, the march went off with limited violence.[29] In the Diamond, organizers read speeches and The Declaration of Human Rights, after which the DCAC issued the following statement: "The universal right of any citizen to march through Derry, so unjustly denied us on October 5, has been established."[30] Loyalists did not see it that way.

In response to the October 26th march, Ian Paisley announced his intention to march the same route with his supporters the following Saturday, November 9th. Paisley's presence in Derry was inflammatory to the already tense situation. The Bishop of Derry for the Church of Ireland asked his congregation: "Did I see the rising of an ideological force based on cultivating hatred and invective?"[31] After this march, a ban on all marches within the Derry walls was introduced. Despite this, believing they had established their right to march in Derry, the DCAC announced their plans for a major demonstration to be held on Saturday, November 16th, which would end upbeing the largest march to date. On that date, almost twenty thousand people were present for the

[28] O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's*, 63.
[29] Kerr, 51.
[30] O'Dochartaigh, *Ulster's*, 64.
[31] Kerr, 51.

march, which proceeded while being attacked by the RUC and loyalists. Due to the sheer number of demonstrators, the marchers reached their destination, holding the meeting in the outlawed area of the Diamond.[32] The pressure asserted by the civil rights movement had added to the embarrassment in London after October 5th. The march on November 16th led Westminster to apply pressure to Stormont, leading to reforms. The reforms announced on November 22nd called for a replacement of the Londonderry Corporation, allocation of housing based on need, a review of the Special Powers Act, reform to the electoral system, and appointing an official to investigate complaints against the government.[33] By no means was everything the movement wanted conceded, as the goal of one man, one vote was not included.[34] In light of the proposed reforms, the DCAC would call a moratorium on future protests so that the reforms could get underway.

Just as in the United States, it was only the reluctant federal government's action that would force change on a state level. Unfortunately, forces at the state and local level would continue to hinder the establishment of equality under the law. However, in Northern Ireland, the actions taken by the RUC on October 5th led to the normalization of rioting. They provided an inroad for militant republicans to establish themselves within the movement.[35] After witnessing the violence and disregarding the rule of law by the RUC, some Catholics sought protection from other places. Still others became militant to protect themselves and their community.[36] This militancy began to exhibit

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[32] McCann, 103.
[33] Kerr, 54.
[34] Gavin Duffy and Natalie Frensley, "Community Conflict Processes: Mobilization and Demobilization in Northern Ireland," in *International Crisis and Domestic Politics* ed. James W. Lamare (New York: Praeger, 1991), 113.
[35] Cochrane, 49.
[36] Bosi, 52.

itself in Derry after November 22nd, exacerbated due to the actions of the RUC and the B Specials shortly.

The campaign that started with the October 5th march in Derry did not have nearly the same level of preplanning that civil rights campaigns in the United States did, where proposed actions were exhaustively researched and planned out. In Northern Ireland, events occurred at a much faster rate, and action had to be taken on the spur of the moment as new situations unfolded. The violence exacted on the marchers was more severe than predicted; therefore, the campaign received unanticipated support from the Catholic community due to the violence. As a result, organizers made decisions quickly, and leaders had to organize with an immediacy not seen in the United States to maximize pressure. Another issue that affected Northern Ireland's movement was that it had little to no coordination between groups and did not acknowledge a single leadership board or council, as evidenced in Derry when NICRA attempted to cancel the march only to be overruled by the DCAC. Therefore, when the DCAC and NICRA agreed to a moratorium on marches after the Stormont announced reforms on November 22nd, it did not mean that other groups would do the same.

JANUARY 1ST -4TH, 1969, BELFAST TO DERRY

One of the groups that would not take part in the moratorium was the newly created People's Democracy, born in the aftermath of the brutality of the October 5th march by students at the University of Belfast. People's Democracy consisted of students of varying political ideologies. People's Democracy did share some of the same goals as NICRA, but there was no agreed-upon set of ideological principles. However, because People's Democracy focused on class struggle, it was logical that its leaders would

loosely ally themselves with NICRA and use the affiliation to its benefit. Many activists with divergent views used People's Democracy to further their agendas, as People's Democracy used NICRA. In an interview, one of its early members, Bernadette Devlin, readily admitted: "We are totally unorganized and totally without any form of discipline within ourselves. I'd say there are hardly two of us who really agree."[37] People's Democracy exercised its independence when it decided not to honor the moratorium on marches and announced they would hold a march from Belfast to Derry on January 1st, 1969. The cycle of violence that began on October 5th would expand, and the hope of a peaceful resolution to the mounting tension in Northern Ireland would continue to diminish.

The leaders of the People's Democracy felt the reforms announced on November 22 and were insufficient as they left out one man one vote, nor did they trust the government of Northern Ireland would enforce the reforms. Therefore, they planned another march to begin on January 1st in Belfast and end in Derry on January 4th. The organizers' idea was to model their procession on the march from Selma to Montgomery in the United States. Michael Farrell believed, that as in the United States, where those in Selma forced the government to act, the same would happen in Northern Ireland. "We were trying to force the issue onto the political stage and to force the British government to intervene over the head of the Northern Ireland government."[38] The Cameron report would later state that what McCann and Farrell wanted could only be construed as

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[37] Daniel Finn, "The Point of no Return? People's Democracy and the Burtollet March," *Field Day Review* 9, A special issue dedicated to Derry and environs in celebration of Derry -Londonderry City of Culture 2013, (2013): 9.

[38] Brian Dooley, *Black and Green: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland and Black America*, (London: Pluto Press, 1998), 55.

"calculated martyrdom."[39] Just as in the United States, the march would protest for civil rights and anti-poverty. However, in the United States, the marchers were fully aware of the violence that could befall them and how to cope with it; this was not the case in Northern Ireland. There was no training or instruction on how to protect themselves. The pamphlet handed out for the march only offered reminders to the participants that People's Democracy was committed to a policy of non-violence and reminded them to bring snacks.[40] They did expect some violence, but again, just as organizers of the Derry march on October 5th had, they underestimated the extent and the severity. Also, they underestimated the determination of the unionists to prevent them from achieving equality.

The march started a little late and unorganized, but from the outset, counter-protesters and onlookers harassed the participants. "As we left city hall, I felt a sharp tug from the other end of the banner. Some women were shouting, 'Cut it-cut the banner.'"[41] There were also attempts to make a mockery of the march. "Dr. Paisley's right-hand man, Major Ronald Bunting, came with a Union Jack and group of supporters to give it a barracking send-off."[42] The RUC, who were there to protect the march, did nothing to dissuade the harassment, which continued as the procession went through Belfast. At that point, Bunting and his followers left the protest but would continually harass them for the duration. It was becoming clear to the marchers they would receive little support from the RUC. The RUC confirmed this belief on the afternoon of the first day when the march reached the town of Antrim, where a small group of farmers, led by Bunting, confronted

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[39] Finn, 10.
[40] Ibid., 56.
[41] Bowes Egan and Vincent McCormack, *Burntollet* (London: LRS Publishers, 1969), 2.
[42] McCann, 107.

them, attempting to block their progress. "We attempted to move forward with the help of the RUC. As soon as we were in the center of the hostile crowd, the RUC vanished."[43] Unlike the October 5th march, where the RUC were the main perpetrators of the violence, on this march, they generally stood back and did nothing to stop it, occasionally some officers joined the unionist attackers. The RUC would halt the progress of the march at Antrim until the area's representative in parliament arrived and instructed the RUC to drive the marchers to their first night accommodations.[44] The representative's actions were the only incident during which a government official would intervene for the marchers. The first day of the march removed any doubt there may have been that they were alone and would receive none of the protection to which they believed they had a right

The collaboration between the counter-protestors and the RUC would become more evident as the march continued. On the second day of the protest, citing information they had of possible violence that lay ahead for marchers, the RUC forced a last-minute change in the approved route.[45] This type of rerouting would take place for the march's duration and never prevent the violence it was supposed to avoid. The marchers agreed to the change and proceeded less than two miles before being confronted by another RUC barricade and over one hundred counter-protesters led by Bunting.[46] Later he would comment that a "division of the Loyal Citizen's Organization had prepared to seal off the direct route. Another division was in waiting to seal off the route taken."[47] The admission

[43] Egan and McCormack, 3.
[44] Ibid., 5.
[45] Egan and McCormack, 11.
[46] Kerr, 56.
[47] Egan and McCormack, 11.

makes it very clear the RUC was not there to protect the marchers but to work in concert with the counter-demonstrators to make the march as tricky as possible.

In some cases, those attacked were issued summonses for damage to RUC vehicles as they leaned on them recuperating from the attack.[48] Northern Ireland's government demonstrated collaboration with the lack of attention it gave to the violence. When the marchers failed to emerge in the village of Maghera, the counter-demonstrators erupted in violence, destroying the town. Addressing the nation on January 3rd, after the events in Maghera, Captain William Long, the Minister of Home Affairs, told viewers the "enemies of Peoples Democracy had not been violent to date."[49] Long made it clear to the marchers and those paying attention that the march's conditions were not going to be made better by any law enforcement or government action and would continue to get worse and the march drew closer to Derry.

A meeting took place the night before the march arrived in Derry at the Guildhall. Ian Paisley held the meeting to agitate unionists to prevent the procession from getting into Derry. During the meeting, Paisley reminded the attendees of Derry's importance to the unionists and how it should be protected from the encroaching march. After Paisley spoke, Bunting rose to talk to the men there about what to expect the next day, telling them to be "prepared for a long day's activity."[50] During the meeting, a protest erupted outside, led by Catholics in Derry. They were voicing their disapproval of the treatment of the PD marchers. The protestors outside were reminded by speakers such as John Hume, Ivan Cooper, and Eamonn McCann that violence against those in Guildhall would

[48] Ibid., 13.
[49] Ibid., 19.
[50] Ibid., 22.

only help their opponents. McCann stated to the crowd: "No, you must not attack these people. They are your natural allies. At the moment, they are duped by a power-mad clergyman."[51] After the meeting, those inside charged out and assisted the RUC with pieces of furniture for clubs to clear a path.[52] The planning for the attack on the march occurred at Orange Halls around Derry. This planning consisted of organizing roughly two hundred men in strategic areas along the marchers' route and the placement of stones and bottles to be thrown at the marchers the next day to, as Bunting put it, "to see the marchers on their way."[53] The following day all the planning would come to fruition as members of the RUC, the B Specials, and loyalist civilians attacked the march with vigor.

All of the violence and harassment the march had encountered since January 1st had been building to the attack that would come as it approached the Burntollet Bridge just less than four miles from Derry on the last day. Two hundred loyalists ambushed the marchers, throwing stones and armed with clubs assisted by roughly eighty members of the RUC.[54] One of the PD marchers reported: "I heard screams coming from behind, and looking around I saw a shower of stones in the air. . .I saw a girl being put into a police tender with blood pouring from her head.[55] Another marcher witnessed the RUC, who should have protected the marchers, speaking to those throwing stones but did nothing to disarm them. The violence continued when many tried to get away by jumping into the water only to be greeted at the other side by more men with clubs. A marcher, Patricia Lockhart, recalls, "A man grabbed me and threw me against a barbed-wire fence. I

[51] Ibid., 24.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Taylor, 56.
[54] Ibid, 57.
[55] Egan and McCormick, 30.

crawled under and across the river. I was crawling up the other bank when a man came up and kicked me into the river again."[56] All this was occurring while the RUC looked on or simply did not protect the marchers. "They fled to the tenders, abandoning the defenseless marchers to a horde of people armed with iron bars, clubs, and bottles."[57] Photos of the events were printed in media, proving that the reform that had begun on November 22nd would not undo the racism and hatred marshaled against the civil rights movement. Even with the visual evidence of those involved in the attack, the Minister of Home Affairs Robert Porter claimed that "presence in a photograph is no evidence of the criminal offense."[58] There were other attacks on the march as it approached Derry, where the RUC looked on and did nothing to prevent the violence.

The march ended in Derry, and the conclusion of the march a speech reiterating the protest's objective and the civil rights movement by Michael Farrell and others. One speaker recalled: "My job was to thank the people, and I was almost crying. . .all the people were cheering madly. I think everyone realized there was a lot more to this than they thought."[59] Immediately after the speeches, rioting broke out as both sides were angry at what had transpired. The rioting would continue until RUC had pushed the civil rights demonstrators back into the Bogside. But again, that night at 2:00 am, members of the RUC entered the Bogside, breaking windows and kicking doors yelling, "come out and fight you Fenian bastards."[60] On Sunday, January 5th, the threat of violence escalated, and barricades went up, preventing the RUC from entering Derry. The leaders

[56] Ibid., 39.
[57] Ibid., 41.
[58] Ibid., 38.
[59] Munck, 222.
[60] McCann, 108.

of the movement understood the implications of the barricades. "Keeping the barricades up indefinitely meant, in effect, to opt-out of the state and seemed to require some permanent institution separate from and opposed to the police to control the area."[61] In response to the events in Derry, Prime Minister O'Neill placed the blame for the violence on the People's Democracy marchers, saying, "We have heard sufficient now about civil rights; let us hear a little more about civic responsibility."[62] With the above in mind the leaders of the Derry Citizens Action Committee convinced those in the Bogside the barricades should come down. With the barricades removed, O'Neill announced on January 15th a commission of inquiry into the civil rights disturbances and recommended changes.[63] The damage caused by a violent reaction to the People's Democracy march would be wide-ranging, setting in motion an escalating cycle of violence, making any type of peaceful solution an impossibility.

The events during and immediately after the People's Democracy march created two conflicting realities. For the loyalists, in defending themselves against the nationalists, they situated themselves as the bearers of a historical struggle Loyalists had been fighting since the Siege of Derry. The nationalists demonstrated they could not depend on the existing government structure to defend them, creating a need to organize and support their defense--clearing the way for republicanism to re-establish itself within the community. These two opposing realities led to the introduction of British troops in Northern Ireland to maintain the peace. The Catholic community welcomed the troops, but it became clear they were not unbiased peacekeepers. This change led to the growth

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[61] Ibid., 109.
[62] Paul F. Power, "Civil Protest in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Peace Research* 9, no. 3 (1972): 230.
[63] Duffy and Frensley, 115.

of the Irish Republican Army, who the Catholics saw as their defenders. The IRA's development and the escalating violence led the British government to reinstitute internment, arrest without proof. Internment then led to a new civil rights objective creating the need for more marches. Bloody Sunday, held on January 30th, 1972, was one of the largest anti-internment marches.

JANUARY 30TH, 1972, DERRY

The reintroduction of internment on August 9th, 1971, provided another example of how Northern Ireland's government ignored the rights of the minority. The internment policy met with swift resistance from members of the government and the civil rights movement. With the implementation of internment, 130 non-unionist members of local government councils resigned their positions in protest of the policy.[64] NICRA initiated a large-scale civil disobedience campaign in which Catholics withheld their rents and protested interment.[65] Throughout the rest of 1971, the British military conducted raids in no-go areas in Derry, searching for republicans. They faced large crowds of rioters firing at them and hurling petrol bombs, and they subdued the rioters with CS gas and rubber bullets.[66] The continued violence and lack of the ability to control events in Derry led General Ford to issue a new order "instructing local commanders to 'progressively impose the rule of law' and to resume patrols in the area, thus ending the policy of restraint."[67] The new order, implemented in December, coincided a month later with a ban on marches in Derry, ordered by Brian Faulkner. Banning marches was a tactic used

[64] Kerr, 121.
[65] O'Leary and McGarry, 176.
[66] Naill O' Dochartaigh, "Bloody Sunday: Error or Design?", *Contemporary British History*, 24, no. 1 (2010): 92.
[67] Ibis., 97.

repeatedly in the recent past but only served to exacerbate an already tense situation. Despite the ban, on January 22nd, roughly fifteen hundred people participated in an anti-interment march to a camp where those arrested were being held, and the military opened fire. "The army onslaught was brief but violent, and we had severe lacerations to deal with when we got organized again. The army charged again- more lacerations and more running in panic."[68] Since the military used live ammunition during its raids, this demonstrated an escalation in the military's policy to break up demonstrations. Regardless of the obstacles placed in its way, the civil rights movement continued to push forward when it informed the RUC of its plans for another anti-internment march held on January 30th, 1972.

The anti-internment march organizers did not see the events in the days preceding the demonstration as out of the ordinary and continued to insist that violence perpetrated by any of those involved would only hamper their objectives. After organizers planned and notified the RUC, the Democratic Unionist Association announced they would hold a religious rally at Guildhall square, the ending point of the anti-interment march. In keeping with the plan to maintain peace, the organizers altered the route to avoid confrontation.[69] Some in the military did not want to allow the march to proceed. Still, Frank Lagan, the Chief Superintendent of the RUC in Derry, with support from General McClellan, decided the best course of action was to let the march proceed.[70] The marchers would be permitted to show their frustration and anger at the current situation, which minimized the possibility of violence. Those participating in the march would be

[68] Kerr, 137.
[69] O' Dochartaigh, "Bloody," 101.
[70] Ibid.

photographed and later arrested.[71] The march's security provisions would include the erection of twenty-six barricades, positioned to wall off Catholic areas from the rest of the city, manned by members of the British military and the RUC.[72] Organizers gave Lagan assurances that both branches of the IRA would not be operating in the march's area, so there would be no need for any additional security measures.[73] Lagan and his military counterparts followed the policy of restraint while General Ford was moving forward with his mandate to "progressively impose the rule of law," informing Para 1 of their activation for the January 30th march. They were to be used to round up and arrest demonstrators.[74] It is clear Ford's plan for the rally was entirely at odds with McClellan and Lagan's. The lack of a cohesive plan within the military and between the military and the RUC demonstrates the effects of the previous years of repression in Derry.

The anti-internment march of January 30th, 1972, would be one of the largest civil rights demonstrations. It would also have the most significant impact on the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. The march began in the Creggan with roughly five thousand marchers, but by the time it had gone through the Bogside, it had grown to nearly ten thousand.[75] The rally continued until it reached the barricades preventing its entrance into the town center. The majority of the march avoided the barrier and continued to Free Derry Corner to hear Bernadette Devlin and other civil rights leaders speak. However, a group of a couple hundred continued to the barricade "where a standard Derry riot" ensued with "stones and bottles against rubber bullets, gas, and a

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[71] Ibid.
[72] Don Mullan, *Eyewitness to Bloody Sunday* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press Ltd., 1998), 15.
[73] Kerr, 141.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Naill O'Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalites*. (Cork University Press, Cork. 1997), 283.

water cannon."[76] At Free Derry Corner, while listening to the speakers, the sound of guns firing forced attendees to hit the ground. "Looking up, one could see the last few stragglers coming running panic-stricken, bounding over the barricade outside the high flats, three of them stiffening suddenly and crumbling to the ground."[77] Within thirty minutes, in a small area, British soldiers had killed thirteen unarmed demonstrators and wounded three others. Although McClellan was in charge of the security forces, including Para 1, General Ford was on the barricades with them, giving the order to begin the round-up.[78] Soldiers had said they came under heavy gunfire and nail bombs, but the marchers said soldiers fired without provocation.[79] Shortly after the shooting stopped, General Ford appeared on television, saying his men fired only four shots.[80] The images, film footage, and eyewitness accounts of the day's events would not support this claim.

Bloody Sunday's effects would be felt internationally and had the effect of polarizing opposition to Britain's actions in Northern Ireland. The next day in Dublin, a crowd of about twenty thousand people protested as the British Embassy burned. Jonathan Peck, Britain's ambassador to Ireland, said: "Bloody Sunday had unleashed a wave of fury and exasperation the like of which I had never encountered in my life, in Egypt or Cyprus or anywhere else. Someone had summed it up: We are all IRA now."[81] Within Ireland, it was the breaking point for many moderates in the civil rights movement, which either chose to leave or stay and fight against the repressive government. "Before Bloody Sunday, we thought the army [IRA] was too risky, but then

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[76] Kerr, 141.
[77] McCann, 157.
[78] O' Dochartaigh, "Bloody," 104.
[79] David McKittrick and David McVea. *Making Sense of the Troubles: The Story of the Conflict in Northern Ireland*. (Black Staff Press Limited, Chicago, 2002), 76.
[80] Kerr, 145.
[81] McKettrick and McVea, 78.

after Bloody Sunday, you didn't care if it was risky or not, you were going to get shot anyway."[82] The control the British military sought to create by "progressively imposing the rule of law" had the reverse effect: it alienated those moderates who were attempting to correct the issues within the existing government. For one final time, it demonstrated that Northern Ireland would not reform to accommodate the equality they sought. The lack of control in Northern Ireland after Bloody Sunday would lead to the British government instituting direct rule in March of 1972. In the wake of this decision General Ford's policy to "progressively impose the rule of law," would lead to further violence, with the IRA presenting itself as the protectors of the nationalist community as it waged war to rid Northern Ireland o British political influence.

The three events discussed in this chapter exemplify the reaction to the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland by both the British and Northern Irish governments. The first event discussed in this chapter most closely relates to the civil rights movement in the United States. A concerted effort followed the October 5th march to pressure the government to make the changes they sought to achieve equality. In this fifty-day effort, the civil rights movement forced the British government to pressure the Northern Irish government to enact regulations that would ensure greater equality, similar to how the United States government applied pressure to states to enforce existing federal laws. However, it was also evident that the use of violence as a means of stopping the campaign was approved of by the Northern Irish government. The People's Democracy march would further demonstrate the integral part violence would play in trying to stymie the movement. The actions of law enforcement and the government during the People's

[82] O' Dochartaigh, "Civil," 284.

Democracy march highlighted the partiality of the Northern Irish government After the march, the British government had decided to militarize Northern Ireland as it sent troops as peacekeepers. It soon became evident that the military was not providing the assistance required to protect Catholic families, leading to riots and a complete breakdown in government control. Finally, with Bloody Sunday, it was apparent to those seeking to change the government from within, that it was not possible. It also left no doubt that at least significant elements within the British government were not interested in the rights of the minority Catholic population and only sought to maintain the current segregationist system in Northern Ireland. The lack of protection from British troops and the RUC forced Catholics to look to their community for security, leading to the rise in popularity and membership in the Irish Republican Army.

CHAPTER 7

In the preceding chapters, the history of each of the minority groups was discussed in conjunction with their fight to be treated as equals under the law in their respective countries. It demonstrated that although each movement used similar tactics, each met with differing results. It explained that by examining the reactions of their respective governments, it is also necessary to explore the history, culture, and identity of each minority. This chapter will demonstrate that when comparing the civil rights movements of Northern Ireland and the United States, it becomes evident that the history and culture of each minority played an integral role in the direction of each movement. When combined with the structures and responses of the respective local, state, and national governments, these are the primary factors influencing the divergent paths taken by social reform movement will do so using conclusions and observations drawn from the previous chapters combined with interviews conducted or viewed by the author.

Historically, the relationship between Britain and Ireland was one of distrust. For centuries Ireland was a problem for Britain, as it was never entirely subdued under British rule. In 1921, when Ireland left the United Kingdom, the British government no longer saw Northern Ireland as their concern for governing. Therefore, it played no role in the lives of the minority Catholic population, leaving how to govern up to a suspicious Protestant majority. The Protestants' distrust of Catholics led to a system designed to keep Catholics, whom they considered untrustworthy, from gaining political power and maintaining their second-class citizenship. This repression of Catholics manifested itself in the Special Powers Act, used anytime Catholics attempted to rectify the wrongs committed against it. The act and discrimination in employment, housing, and voting also

isolated the Catholic community. More importantly, it provided a historical connection to the past where Catholics were constantly rebelling against oppression, with the Northern Irish government succeeding to the role once held by Westminster. The system of discrimination was so ingrained into the makeup of the Northern Irish government that the majority viewed any attempt at reform as an attempt to overthrow it. Therefore, legal avenues to remedy the situation were non-existent. The lack of a document in Northern Ireland or the United Kingdom that guaranteed any human rights made it impossible to attack discrimination through the courts, leaving only direct protest open as an avenue to change the laws. In a system like this, where the success of a nation is dependent on those in it taking ownership of it as equally participating members, chances for success are slim. Instead, it provided fertile grounds for a completely different society and culture based on the violence and repression of the past and had no connection or respect for the government it is ruled by or the society and culture that government fosters. As Catholics had no equal membership in the Northern Irish government, the desire to defeat it in rebellion and rejoin Ireland never recedes.

In the United States, courts were where African Americans knew they could challenge the discriminatory laws. Therefore, shortly after *Plessy v. Ferguson* established the principle of "separate but equal," African Americans began contesting it through the courts. However, African Americans understood that it was the federal government they needed action from to correct the injustices they had suffered after Reconstruction ended in the states. Slowly and methodically, through groups like the NAACP, African Americans could overturn Supreme Court decisions and force the federal government to act when states refused to do so. The rights all citizens of the United States are entitled to

are in the Constitution. Therefore, the purpose of the civil rights movement was to create enough pressure on the federal government to enforce laws in all states and make federal laws that prevented states from discriminating; something presidents had been reluctant to do. This reluctance leads to the direct-action protests of the 1950s and 1960s. They designed these protests to put maximum pressure on state governments attempting to enforce discriminatory state laws, which then forced the federal government to act to protect the rights of its citizens. Like Catholics in Northern Ireland, African Americans did develop a culture in isolation from the majority society and a culture where they were dependent on each other for survival. Still, unlike Catholics, African Americans had a history that included winning their freedom and becoming citizens. Therefore, the culture that developed was celebratory of their accomplishments, centered on the redemptive power of religion and a strong will to continue their struggle towards equality. As citizens of the United States, African Americans could point to the Constitution, which gave them the right to participate without discrimination. The Constitution engendered respect for and ownership of the United States government, making violence or rebellion unlikely.

The Catholic population in Northern Ireland lived as an isolated community from the outset of the country's founding, unified only by a history of subjugation. This isolation created despair among Catholics, or as one interviewee put it: "There was a national inferiority complex, especially among Catholics."[1] This disparity and isolation only deepened as Catholics continued to be dominated by the Northern Irish government. This poor treatment continued and intensified as Catholics became more educated and protested for equality under the law. Due to the refusal of Catholics to take part in a

[1] Interview with Tomás O' Donghaile, Derry, October 4, 2019

government that discriminated against them, the actions of the Northern Irish government were integral in creating a culture that would eventually fuel the civil rights movement, which led to armed conflict. The interviews conducted for this paper demonstrate how systemic segregation leads to an increased disparity between the two communities, creating further resentment for the government within the Catholic population as it continued to look to itself for survival.

African Americans in the United States had a lot in common with the plight of the Northern Irish Catholics. Its culture, too, was centered in its history and developed in isolation. However, due to a much smaller proportion of the population, African Americans could not entertain insurrection as an option. Therefore, when African Americans look to their history, it demonstrated that progress was possible because there were other avenues available to continue their struggle for equality under the law in the legal system of the United States. Another aspect that aided the struggle was the unifying force in the Independent Black Church, which served the needs of the black community by aiding it both monetarily and spiritually. Due to the unlikeliness of a successful rebellion, African Americans developed other strategies that would enable them to view their past and present as part of a cross-generational struggle to achieve equality under the law, energizing a new generation of activists with each success. All these factors provided the impetus to adopt non-violence, as they viewed their role in changing society compared to what Christ did to his time. Nowhere are the differences more apparent than in their early lives.

The early lives of Catholics living in Northern Ireland were marked by poverty, violence, a lack of education, and a strong sense of identity in a community constantly

attacked by the Protestant government and population. The government exercised direct control over the housing where Catholics could live; therefore, they were given substandard housing with little to no means to improve the conditions due to limited employment opportunities resulting from discrimination. In most cases, the Catholic Church, which had control of their education, early on sought to instill obedience to the law and Catholic doctrine, seeking to moderate the radical reform sought by civil rights activists. When the civil rights protests began, the violent repression by the RUC and British army created a society where children became a part of the struggle simply because they were there. Violent actions like organizing ambushes and participating in riots were part of the norm. Children, some as young as eleven, protected their community from the Protestant aggressors. In doing so, they continued the cycle of violence that had marked Irish history since Britain invaded the country in the twelfth century.

The allocation of housing and the existing homes where Catholics lived demonstrate the disparity between Protestants and Catholics. Many Catholic families spent years on the waiting list as the corporation used housing to segregate neighborhoods and control voting. "My family was on the housing list for eleven years. During this time, families lived in horrible conditions as they waited. The conditions in our house were disgraceful, touched the wallpaper, and you got an electric shock, rats from under the stairs."[2] Many houses had a toilet outside and one fireplace where they would sleep in the same bed using jackets to stay warm as there were not enough blankets.[3] Some families were as large as twelve living in one to two-room tenement

[2] Interview with Dermie McClanaghan, Derry. September 28, 2019
[3] Interview with Don Mullholland, Derry. October 7, 2019

flats.[4] In the neighborhoods, the houses would be leaning up against one another in order to remain standing.[5] Seeing that voting in local elections depended upon owning the property, it was incumbent on the corporation to not allocate houses to Catholics, preventing them from voting. Three families living in a four-room home, and only the owner was permitted to vote.[6] It was not just that the government would not provide homes, but many Catholics could not find jobs due to discrimination. "If you applied for a job 'Where did you go to school?' if you said St. such and such you were a Catholic, most businesses owned by Protestants in the '60s wouldn't hire Catholics, even well-qualified teachers couldn't find jobs."[7] Many emigrated to London to find work, leaving their families behind to be raised by those in the house. This environment would reinforce the Catholic ideology in Northern Ireland that the government was not there to assist or protect them. It was up to them to create a safe environment.

In the United States, the disparity in housing was also evident, but the government did not control African Americans to the same extent. There was discrimination, but the government did not control the allocation of housing for the poor. However, de facto segregation dictated the location of their homes, and the type of home depended on what they could afford. "Most of the black community were what we called shotgun houses. Three rooms, one right behind the other one, throughout the black community."[8]The location typically had minimal infrastructure with open sewage running through the

[4] Interview with Tony O'Hare, Derry. October 4, 2019
[5] McClanaghan interview
[6] Ibid.
[7] O'Hare, interview.
[8] Freddie Greeene, Interviewee, Emilye Crosby, John Melville Bishop, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. "Freddie Greene Biddle oral history interview conducted by Emilye Crosby in Washington, DC, District of Columbia." 2015. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016655420/.

streets.[9] However, segregation did restrict where they could buy and their access to the funds necessary to buy. In the United States, owning a home came with a certain amount of respect and played a positive role in how they saw themselves. The church's role in owning a home is stressed in interviews as the church did not act solely as a religious feature of the community. A preacher would see it as his duty to assist those attempting to buy a house. "My father would go to the courthouse and buy land that had mortgaged and resell it, or he would put up his land as collateral for someone else to get land."[10] The black church acted as an intermediary between the community and the banks, enabling blacks to develop a sense of identity within the larger community as homeowners. While Catholics in Northern Ireland were dependent on a government that did not consider them equals, African Americans in the United States could bypass the discrimination with the church's help despite not being seen as equal.

Effects of discrimination in employment and the housing crisis in the Northern Irish Catholic community created a community that had little, but what they did have, they shared. In the interviews conducted, the majority felt they were a part of a loving and caring community. The neighborhood was "first-class; I can say it was a happy street, thirty-three houses, couldn't ask for a better place to grow up, kids all the same age and completely Catholic."[11] “The homes were not locked, and you could walk in and out of any house because there was nothing in them to steal.”[12] The houses were open, and so whatever was in the house to share, such as food. "My brother was getting dinner down

[9] Ibid.
[10] Worth W. Long, Interviewee, Emilye Crosby, John Melville Bishop, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. “Worth W. Long oral history interview conducted by Emilye Crosby in Jackson, Mississippi.” 2015. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016655413/.
[11] Interview with Gary McCord. Derry. October 7, 2019.
[12] Interview with Don Browne, Derry. October 4, 2019.

the street, three extra in our house as well. Wherever you were, you had something."[13] The Catholic community knew that they had only themselves to depend on and made what little they had available to anyone in the community who needed it. This type of community sharing also applied to the values instilled as well. With such close ties to many families, children in the community were raised by all those in the community. They had to take responsibility for children whose parents were working or left to find work in London or elsewhere. The primary value taught was to respect the people in the community and obey the community's rules. "If I was out and broke a rule, someone could hit me, and I'd go home and tell my dad, and he would punish me as well, respect for each other because you are going to need these people."[14] The community was self-policed by the strongest and most respected who lived there, not the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Despite having good memories of the community, they grew up in, isolation is at the forefront of their memories. "In nationalist parts of Derry, nationalist parts of the North, unionists never invested any money."[15] He continued that lack of support for Catholic areas pushed Catholics further and further into a corner with no way out. The lack of food was also at the forefront of their memories. "You were a victim of circumstance. Parents were paid on Friday, so nobody got a good meal until Friday."[16] The lack of regard for its Catholic constituents caused an ever-increasing animosity toward the Northern Irish government, reaching a breaking point with the start of the civil rights movement.

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Interview with John Doherty. Derry: October 3, 2019.
[16] Don Browne, interview.

African Americans, like Northern Irish Catholics, were isolated in their communities. However, unlike Catholics who had to remain in the house they were appointed to, African Americans remained within their isolated community to fear what awaited them outside. For many African Americans, it was necessary to remain in their community as insecurity and violence were always part of their lives in the outside world. "Cicero was one of those sundown areas. If you were black, don't have your butt in Cicero after sundown. You would be hurt, you could be killed."[17] It was made clear at a very young age anywhere outside of the black community was unsafe. "One of the biggest things I remember is my folks were always about keeping us safe. They did not want you--. Downtown, they didn't want you around different areas."[18] The threat of violence created a desire to continue to develop their culture in isolation. Therefore, there was isolation, but it did not necessarily negatively impact, as it enabled blacks to see successful community members providing examples to model. The success of other community members also created a system where interaction with whites was not required. "I had the opportunity to see a segregated community, and there were businesses that were thriving. We had cafes and cleaners, nightclubs."[19] There were also theaters where African American culture was celebrated and learned.[20] Businesses provided for economic wellbeing and the resources to celebrate their history and culture in the theaters.

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[17] McCarty, Michael D., Interviewee, David P Cline, John Melville Bishop, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. "Michael D. McCarty oral history interview conducted by David P. Cline in Los Angeles, California." 2016. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016655428/.
[18] Greene, interview.
[19] Funchess, Glenda, Interviewee, Emilye Crosby, John Melville Bishop, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. *Glenda Funchess oral history interview conducted by Emilye Crosby in Hattiesburg, Mississippi*. 2015. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016655407/.s
[20] Long, Interview.

In contrast, black-owned businesses made it possible to purchase necessities without having to be dependent on whites. Catholics and African Americans used the isolated society forced upon them to develop a closer identification, making the community stronger. "The community was a closed society, where you know each other from Columbus, Georgia, to Washington DC. And because black people couldn't stay in hotels, we had to stay with other black people when we traveled. So, it was a culture of intimacy, where we shared not only a common experience, but we shared the same songs, the same stories, same relatives."[21] African Americans were able to succeed in the conditions of discrimination because, like Catholics, they depended on and took care of each of their own, which positively affected their self-worth.[22] Two of the most significant distinctions between Catholics and African Americans was that African Americans had control of two primary creators of culture: God and education.

The Independent Black Church was instrumental in the lives of African Americans before and during the civil rights movement. "The Church was not removed from the community. It was the center."[23] It was the center because the preacher was the leader of the local black community as he was the most independent leader. "He was accountable to the congregation, and not the Chamber of Commerce… he could withstand oppression from the white community, economic oppression or otherwise better than anybody else."[24]As referred to above-discussing housing, the Independent

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[21] Sales, Ruby, Interviewee, Joseph Mosnier, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. *Ruby Nell Sales oral history interview conducted by Joseph Mosnier in Atlanta, Georgia*. 2011. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2015669106/.
[22] Long, interview.
[23] Ibid
[24]Lowery, Joseph E. Interviewee, Joseph Mosnier, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. "Joseph Echols Lowery oral history interview conducted by Joseph Mosnier in Atlanta, Georgia." 2011. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2015669122/.

Black Church was not simply a place of worship. It was integral in the development and success of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Many preachers were members and used their churches as a meeting place. Civil rights and the Independent Black Church were intertwined. "I don't think the civil rights movement would have lasted as long as it did without the culture of God, without theology, without intimacy, without connections."[25] The church gave African Americans a place to feel safe and encouraged that they were making progress in their fight for treatment as equal citizens. "Well, I think our church was, as I like to say, Freedom, Civil Rights Church."[26] Some churches also served as Freedom Schools set up by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Mississippi to counter the lack of education many received in the segregated schools they attended. In these schools, the children had access to educational tools that were not available in the segregated. "First grade, we had everything from rhythm bands to theatrical programs. They wrote it all in the schools, so we didn't lack anything culturally."[27] The education many received in these schools would change their outlook on their future and the goals they set for themselves. "Decided I wanted to be a civil rights attorney because they had to bring the attorneys in to get people out of jail. And I felt civil rights attorneys had lots of power."[28] The education received in these schools would continue as many attended the historically black colleges. Unfortunately, when the Freedom Schools ended, the students returned to the underfunded segregated schools where libraries to research were non-existent.[29]

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[25] Sales, interview.
[26] Funchess, interview.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Gaither, Thomas Walter, Interviewee, Joseph Mosnier, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. *Thomas Walter Gaither oral history interview conducted by Joseph Mosnier in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*. 2011. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2015669142/.
[29] Ibid.

There were segregated schools where African American students could excel as if segregated education did not exist in some cases. “Although the world may have argued that black students were inferior, none of that touched us because we thought we were leaders, we thought we were smart, and we thought-- we certainly thought we were first class students.”[30] The teachers at these schools were able to convince their students that despite all that was visible around them, they could rise above it to help achieve equality. "Our role was to get an education to play a role in moving forward the entire community."[31] The idea of playing a role in the struggle was shared among all civil rights activists as they continued the older generation's struggle. "But this was our movement. This was our time to move. We felt our elders had had their opportunity."[32] The importance placed on education and the environment created by the Independent Black Church is what prepared those in the civil rights movement for what lay ahead as their struggle would reach its apex.

The Catholic Church in Northern Ireland did not fill the same role as the Independent Black Church did in the United States. It was central to Catholics' lives but did not provide the same type of aid. The Catholic Church only served as a control on the Catholic population, and they looked to the church for instruction. "My mom was a very religious woman, and she had had a baby every year from sixteen to thirty-four until during her last pregnancy the priest came to talk to her and told her that God does not want her to die and you're going to have an operation (hysterectomy)."[33] Intrusion like this would be considered a very personal decision but based on the accepted role of the

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[30] Sales, interview.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Gaither, interview.
[33] Interview with Don Browne.

Catholic Church, the woman felt she had to be obedient to the priest. This obedience existed because all Catholics attended schools run by the Catholic Church, where discipline and adherence to the rules took precedence over education due to schools' segregation. They were not to question anything and "you said your prayers every day, devotions in school, taught more about Africa than what was going on here, always collecting money for black babies"[34] This is an example of the church putting its needs ahead of those it is supposed to be protecting. Stories of nuns using food as a reward for a job well done were still asking for money for children in another country.

Meanwhile, the academics taught were a "bare minimum."[35] One reason for this was that many parents had the same education in the same system and either did not know any different or just accepted this is the way things were. Another cause may have been that the Catholic Church received funding from the Northern Irish government it protected itself by maintaining the status quo. However, in some cases, what little history they did get biased towards the republican cause.[36] A former member of the Irish Republican Army said that he knew from history class that they were not supposed to be here at a very young age.[37] Many understood the history and saw it as their job to set it right. In contrast to African Americans in the United States, where there were resources to assist in their fight for freedom, Catholics in Northern Ireland had no such resources. Due to its dependence on the Northern Irish government, the Catholic Church put interests of the church ahead of its congregants and accepted the status quo.

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[34] Interview with Mary Browne. Derry, October 7, 2019.
[35] Interview with Gary McCord. Derry, October 7, 2019.
[36] Interview with Don Brown.
[37] Interview #1. Dundalk, September 23, 2019.

In the segregated United States, African Americans conducted their lives completely separate from whites. Due to de facto segregation, they created their society and culture where the violence was on the periphery; this was not the case for Catholics in Northern Ireland. Unfortunately, in Northern Ireland, Catholics dealt with tension and fear of violence every day. "Trouble and violence is so much a part of the division in Ireland."[38] In some areas, they lived side by side with Protestants, but there was always the threat of violence. "My father was from a mixed district. Protestants, members of the B-Specials, all had cabinets with rifles in them that could be seen through a picture window in the front of the house. Let me know there was a difference."[39] The threat of violence was always there before the civil rights movement. The constant awareness of subjugation continually reminded Catholics of their subservience, and also, they lost the fight for independence. This uneasiness was felt by many, sometimes without any visible signs. "When I went to live in my new house, there were Catholics and Protestants. The sense I had on Waterside, you knew you were on dangerous ground."[40] It was the combination of the two that created a continually tenuous environment. "I would say it's the most natural thing in the world, a certain amount of fear, apprehension about what was happening, threats were always in the background, that's what was fermented for people to go out and fight."[41] Children lived in this tense culture of oppression and fear.

While African American children lived with violence on the periphery, the Northern Irish Catholic children grew up inside the violence. Therefore, from a young age, violence was part of the socialization of children. The children were raised in an

[38] McClanaghan, interview
[39] McCord, interview
[40] Interview with Mary Browne, Derry, October 7, 2019
[41] McCord, interview.

environment that viewed violence as a positive and necessary element of their plight. "Brought up in the best of times, watching Martin McGuiness firing, then collecting the shells, carbine shell would've been a good trophy to have, we all knew them."[42] Watching a member of their community attempting to kill others was seen as the "best of times." The history of conflict passed to a new generation who just became a part of the fight because they were there. "I ended up joining a tartan gang. . .green tartan on your right arm. . .the other side would be the red tartans when you see each other at a bus station, you just fought, it was part of growing up. . .and that's where the IRA and UVF would recruit from."[43] Even if they did not join a gang, children were in the middle of the violence as it was happening around them and part of their day-to-day existence. "All my brothers just became a part of it."[44] They became part of the violent culture that surrounded them in their early teens. "We'd go down to Agro corner in the morning and riot, then head to someone's house for lunch. After lunch, we would return to Agro Corner and join the riot again."[45] Rioting was part of daily life. Catholics saw it as protecting their community. "I was there behind the barricade. When the army arrived, whistles would blow, they jumped out, firing rubber bullets and CS gas. I was eleven or twelve throwing petrol bombs."[46] The culture created by the British and Northern Irish governments led to a continuation of a history of suppression where violence was an accepted tool in the Northern Irish Catholic fight to achieve equality under the law.

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Browne, Don. Interview.
[44] Browne, Mary.Interview .
[45] Interview with John Doherty, Derry, October 10//19
[46] Interview with Collin O'Neill. Derry, October 4, 2019.

For African Americans in the United States, both the central role religion played in their lives, and the infrastructure of the Independent Black Church was instrumental in the adaptation of the non-violent method of protesting. "We were convinced that God was with us. Had it not been for the religious infrastructure of the black community, we would not have achieved what we achieved."[47] In the religious community of African Americans, the similarities of non-violence to the teaching in the Bible were apparent. "We were committed to love, and, 'love your enemy,' as the New Testament says, and, 'Bless those who persecute you.'"[48] At the rallies held in churches, they preached about equality and used hymns known by the participants. "Spirituals from a hundred years ago were cast with new lyrics, which we made into freedom songs."[49] In Northern Ireland, they too attempted non-violence but did not have any centralized power to maintain the method or the infrastructure to train activists in non-violence.

In comparison, the African American civil rights movement ensured that its leaders and participants knew how to remain non-combative when attacked. "We had people down from the Fellowship of Reconciliation to lead workshops on how to conduct non-violent demonstrations, and so we met that morning, and everybody cleansed themselves, purged themselves, and had prayer," before getting on a freedom ride bus.[50] The religious fervor of the movement, combined with the belief that they were part of a generational struggle, made it possible to withstand almost any punishment meted out due to their actions. "I had a broken wrist, three broken ribs, and dislocated in my back

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[47] Walker, Wyatt Tee, Interviewee, Theresa Ann Walker, David P Cline, John Melville Bishop, and U.S Civil Rights History Project. "Wyatt Tee Walker oral history interview conducted by David P. Cline in Richmond, Virginia." 2014. Pdf. https://www.loc.gov/item/2016655400/.
[48] Lowery, interview.
[49] Walker, interview.
[50] Lowery, interview.

from the batons of the Alabama highway patrolman. . .We were so committed to the idea that we were right and moral in our struggle that we never thought of the danger."[51] Their determination to remain non-violent generated sympathy and support for their struggle and eventually led to action on their behalf by the federal government.

By the late 1960s, the Catholic population was aware of what was happening in the United States and worldwide, and they were prepared to fight for what they believed were their human rights. However, it was not long before the civil rights movement became a struggle for survival. The Northern Irish government did not acknowledge their right to protest or permit Catholics to protest. Instead, the government and the Protestant population refused to see Catholics as anything other than an enemy. October 5 "was violently disrupted by the state."[52] All who participated did so because they believed they were justified in their struggle and did not consider the violence they may incur. "We went to the march for 'one man, one vote,' my grandmother watched the children while I went to the march, got battered by the B-Specials."[53] As children who watched the march, others were taken back by the violence perpetrated on the marchers. "Marchers being attacked in Derry, horrific, many people you know, they were wantonly batoned off the streets, completely over the top, really violent."[54] In other cases, some witnessed the Royal Ulster Constabulary, who were there for security purposes, doing nothing as the violence from onlookers began. "There was a solid line of policemen facing the marchers…as soon as the marchers appeared, people behind the police start shouting

[51] Walker, interview.
[52] McClanaghan, interview.
[53] Browne, Mary. Interview.
[54] McCord, interview.

abuse and throwing objects at the marchers; the police did nothing."[55] The Cameron report, issued after the violence of October 5, blamed the Royal Ulster Constabulary for the breakdown of law and order but little changed, causing further deterioration of respect of the police and the Northern Irish government. "They were fed up, getting batoned off and attacked by the RUC and the British army, the summer of '71, two teenagers shot on the same day, they were shooting us in ones and twos."[56] The violent refusal of the right to protest by the Northern Irish government with assistance from the British army left the Irish Catholic community at the mercy of what they viewed as their historical oppressor, the British government. Unlike African Americans in the United States, who had the Independent Black Church to bind them together, the Northern Irish Catholics only had the role of the oppressed minority as the one aspect that held them together. It had been their identity for hundreds of years, and as the oppressed, they would do as their ancestors did by defending themselves and fighting back.

The civil rights movement began in the United States at the start of the twentieth century, with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People taking on the Jim Crow system created after Reconstruction one case at a time. Many felt their approach was too slow, and more direct action was required. "We were not interested in having one student arrested and then having that person be a test case and getting a court ruling that at some point would say, 'Well, you guys can go sit at a lunch counter.'"[57] They began to organize large numbers of people to protest en mass to generate pressure on the local government to enact changes that would occur more efficiently than

[55] O'Donghaile, interview.
[56] O'Hare, interview
[57] Gaither, interview.

traditionally. This change in action combined with attempting to change laws in the southern United States put many in the movement in danger. “When he came home, evidently, someone had followed the car that had dropped him off. Somebody came by and blasted the house with shotguns through the front door and the front bedroom.”[58] In another case, in a house where civil rights workers met, a bomb placed shattered windows two blocks away.[59] “We called the police, and they pretended they didn’t understand what had happened. They said, ‘What did y’all do to this house.’”[60] When events like this occurred as a result of the failure of the community to allow them the rights they were due, it was a reminder that there was no one they could depend on for protection. After an arrest, civil rights activists feared violence while in custody. In the jail, the police threatened women “to have the black trustees rape us in the same way they had beat Fannie Lou Hammer when she was in jail, not rape her beat her.”[61] Eventually, the activists would be released as local civil rights organizations would provide a lawyer and the bail money. However, civil rights leaders would soon stop this as they began to turn the system on itself. They would force the local police forces to conduct mass arrests to overwhelm the legal system. The best example of this would be the Birmingham campaign discussed in a previous chapter. The film of the Birmingham campaign was broadcast on television combined with the images printed in newspapers led to the federal government finally stepping in. “When people saw the firemen with the power hoses, using them against children, running them down the sidewalk, they said, “This

[58] Greene, interview.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Greene, interview.
[61] Sales, interview.

won't do.'"[62] Each night of the Birmingham campaign, African Americans attended rallies to celebrate their victories and the connection of religion to their plight, which provided the energy to keep the movement moving forward. The images forced the federal government to act while the rallies reminded African Americans of the justness of their plight for equality under the law.

In Northern Ireland, due to the continued repression of Catholics' pleas for equality, the civil rights movement would be continued to be violently subdued and then finally ended due to the actions of the governments of Northern Ireland and Britain. After the violence of the Burntollet march and the incursion by members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary into the Bogside, it became clear Catholics needed to establish their defense organizations. The Citizens Action Committee, which had been instrumental in organizing civil rights protests, was now forming the Bogside Defense Association.[63] This defense association would maintain security in the area and warn when security forces were coming in. The Battle of the Bogside would be a turning point in the civil rights movement because after, the "IRA was heavy on the ground."[64] With each attack on a civil rights protest, protestor, or a Catholic or in a Catholic area, the Irish Republican Army became more powerful. "The IRA was a part of the community or better, the community was a part of the IRA."[65] "In Belfast when B-Specials were let loose, machine guns being used from armored cars, shooting people in the nationalist areas of Belfast."[66] Finally, after the Battle of the Bogside and the incidents in Belfast, the British

[62] Gaither, interview.
[63] McClanaghan, interview.
[64] Browne, Don. Interview.
[65] McClanaghan, interview.
[66] McCord, interview.

government sent troops "to stop Catholics from being massacred."[67] The Catholic community welcomed the British army until the reintroduction of internment, which was a response to actions by the Irish Republican Army, which many Catholics saw as an overreaction to an escalation by the Irish.[68] Internment was used constantly by the British army to break up the Irish Republican Army. However, in reintroducing it, they irreparably damaged the tenuous working relationship with Northern Irish Catholics. "I believed we would have to take up arms to force the British out of here; British were the cause, British were propping up Stormont, they kept discriminating against us, we were fighting for our freedom."[69]

All ages were victims of the policy of internment. "I was 15. . .three of us were arrested, standing on a corner three were arrested by two carloads of police."[70] The legal system in Northern Ireland provided lawyers for those arrested, but this was not the case for many. The British army questioned the suspects, threatened them with violence, never providing legal representation, and then released them in some cases.[71] In other cases, the British army raided homes, and occupants would be taken and held with no charges filed. "I had four brothers in jail at one time and a sister's husband and nephews. We were not unique."[72] The repression of Catholics in Northern Ireland generated more hatred for the British by Catholics and caused further animosity between Catholics and Protestants. Finally, on January 30, 1972, the British Army opened fire on a peaceful protest seeking to end internment. After Bloody Sunday, many people involved in the

[67] Ibid.
[68] O'Hare, interview.
[69] Ibid.
[70] McCord, interview.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Browne, Mary. Interview.

civil rights movement in Derry left and joined the official Irish Republican Army.[73] The violent repression of the Northern Irish Catholics during the civil rights movement continued the violent history of conflict in Northern Ireland. That history and the lack of any other unifying factor binding the Catholic community together prevented the movement from achieving equality under the law.

This study demonstrated that although each civil rights movement used similar tactics, they met with differing results. The reactions of their respective governments are a cause of this divergence. However, it is also necessary to examine the history, culture, and identity of each minority. The African American community sought refuge within the Independent Black Church and a culture that celebrated the successes of the past and the connection of their struggle to the Bible. Their culture and history provided them with the ability to withstand the pressure of those attempting to repress their movement so that a reluctant federal government would succumb to the pressure and grant the rights they sought. In Northern Ireland, aside from the history of violence that existed between Protestants and Catholics, one of the most significant issues that plagued the civil rights movement was the lack of any unifying organization and its accompanying infrastructure that would have been able to withstand the pressure the government and Protestant population would exert to prevent it from succeeding. When comparing the civil rights movements of Northern Ireland and the United States, it becomes evident that the history and culture combined with the structures and responses of the respective local, state, and national governments were the primary factors influencing the divergent paths taken by social reform movements.

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[73] McClanaghan, interview.

CHAPTER 8

In this study, the civil rights movements in the United States and Northern Ireland were analyzed to discern the direction each movement took as it developed, took hold, and either succeeded or faltered due to government reaction in each country and the methods employed by the activists. This study analyzed each minority group in their respective countries. It recounted the early attempts at equality undertaken by each minority before analyzing the turning points in each that made the struggle for equality imperative to their continued existence in their respective countries. In analyzing three campaigns of each civil rights movement in two separate chapters, this study demonstrated how history and government involvement created the diverging paths of the movements. The reasons put forth in the research for this study for the differing paths were later collaborated by the original interviews conducted by the author and those used from the Library of Congress website. Beginning with the relationship each minority had with their government, the analysis of the civil rights movement proved the role of history and culture combined with government actions caused the divergent path each movement took despite having similar goals and tactics.

The creation of the Jim Crow south after Reconstruction was an attempt to recreate the conditions of control that were in place during slavery. The disenfranchisement and segregation of the African American community had lasting effects. Both created economic, political, and social hardship for the black community and continued hatred and animosity of whites. It was ingrained in them that no matter what they did or said, they would always be considered inferior by whites. W.E.B DuBois referred to this concept as "Double Consciousness." It was not until after World

War II that the African-American community began to see themselves as they were versus the white community's stereotypical view. Fighting abroad to end a system of segregation and discrimination in Nazi Germany emboldened African-American soldiers to return to the United States to take up the struggle here. For many, involvement in. World War II provided the African-American community to see themselves for whom they believed they were not what the white community assumed they were.

The systematic repression and discrimination of the Catholic minority population in Northern Ireland had lasting effects. The violence and hatred that existed before the country's establishment continued through the actions of the local and state authorities. These actions created a mass exodus which further prevented any changes to the government. The departure of Catholics would lead to the creation self-contained minority society that was unwilling to back down. In 1947, in line with changes introduced elsewhere in the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland extended free education via the Education Act of 1947. This education, along with a global shift towards the protection of human rights, provided the future activists in Northern Ireland with the tools they needed to begin a civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.

With the establishment of the NAACP, the African American struggle for equality had its most powerful vehicle to date. The methodology employed by the NAACP to attack laws of segregation from within was prosecuted with great success. The NAACP depended on the independent black churches for a robust and steady partner that provided the means to mobilize large segments of their population to attack racism. Circumstances like the Great Depression provided the impetus for new methods of protest and new avenues to reach the goal of equality for all. Increased literacy rates highlighted civil

rights issues, fueling the circulation of black newspapers, which capitalized on the hypocrisy exhibited by the United States government fighting for democracy abroad while refusing to guarantee it to its citizens. World War I and World War II also created the need for war materials, leading to better economic conditions as African Americans filled those employment needs in the north. These new financial opportunities, alongside a flourishing cultural renaissance further energized the black community. African American soldiers bolstered this energy in World War II, by using their experience to create a unified community prepared to fight for what they believed was due them. This community would be subject to legal strife and personal struggle in its fight for equality under the law in the United States.

The creation of the welfare state by the Westminster parliament led to the development of a middle-class minority population capable of challenging the hegemonic system where they had been living. The population grew more educated and attuned to world events. The political parties in Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom had to adapt to their constituents' changing wants and needs. The newly created Catholic middle class was more interested in working within the system to end discrimination rather than partition and unifying Ireland. The 1960s provided the perfect opportunity for the Catholic minority to change the status quo of segregation, with communities worldwide striving for and achieving equality. Based on Westminster’s refusal to discuss Northern Ireland, the Catholic minority turned to direct action protests as a means to change the system. The segregated system of government in Northern Ireland was ill-equipped to deal with the demands of the minority due to natural and perceived threats. The cycle of violence that would engulf Northern Ireland for thirty years had been established early in

the Northern Irish civil rights movement and continued unabated throughout the Troubles.

Each demonstration discussed in this paper of the United States civil rights movement was the actions of local organizations, like citizens councils and the Ku Klux Klan working in concert with local and state authorities that led to the outbreak of hostilities against the civil rights movement. In each situation, the federal government had to step in to reach a peaceful resolution. Through the work of federal intermediaries and the policy of peaceful resistance exercised by the civil rights movement, a possible race war in the United States was held at bay. The organizers of the civil rights movement always knew they had the law on their side, but by 1965, despite its reluctance, they began to trust the federal government would act in their favor.

Similar to the events discussed dealing with the African American civil rights movement, the actions were taken by local organizations, led by Ian Paisley in Northern Ireland, hampered the civil rights movement. What differentiates the Catholic demonstrations is that there were no local and state police departments. The government of Northern Ireland led the hostilities against the civil rights movement, while Westminster did not act on behalf of the minority. In each event discussed, the continued violent repression of the minority escalated a cycle of violence that would engulf the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland. After one of the marches, the British government decided to militarize Northern Ireland and sent troops as peacekeepers. It soon became evident that the military was not providing the assistance required to protect Catholic families, leading to riots and a complete breakdown in government control. This led many Catholics to believe the British government had no interest in the rights of the

minority Catholic population and only sought to maintain the current segregationist system in Northern Ireland. The lack of protection from British troops and the RUC forced Catholics to look to their community for security, leading to the rise in popularity and membership in the Irish Republican Army.

Before including the original interviews for this study, the research demonstrated the importance of the history and culture and the role of government authority, local, state, and federal. The interviews support the conclusions drawn in the previous chapters. They help demonstrate that although each civil rights movement used similar tactics, they met with differing results. They also highlight on the importance of the Independent Black Church and a culture that celebrated the successes of the past and the connection of their struggle to the Bible.

The Northern Irish Catholics had no such unifying body. The interviews reveal that what the Northern Irish Catholics did have in common was a history of anger towards a repressive undemocratic government that refused to provide the rights they sought. The interviews provide more insight into the important history and culture played in the respective movements. The interviews support the thesis that the history and culture combined with the structures and responses of the respective local, state, and national governments were the primary factors influencing the divergent paths taken by the social reform movement by providing new insight into the thought and actions of those involved in each civil rights movement.

In each country, the history of each minority's relationship with their government was established, and changes to each's relationship were addressed. In each country, the minority population had a turning point in their struggle. For the African Americans in

the United States, it was their involvement in and support of their country in World War II. In Northern Ireland, the creation of the welfare state throughout the United Kingdom provided the free education Catholics needed to fight the system that prevented them from attaining equality under the law. In Northern Ireland, Catholics attempted to move beyond the issue of partition and work within Stormont to receive the equality that was due to them. In the United States, African Americans working within the system since they began their struggle but realized it was time to apply more pressure to create change faster. In both movements, it became clear that direct action was needed to put pressure on the legal systems used to hold them back. The Northern Irish government had not been designed to account for equality for the minority Catholics. Therefore, when Catholics began their direct-action protests, they were met with severe repression from unionists and the Northern Irish government with little to no interference from Westminster. The repression used by Stormont on the civil rights movement connected with the history of repression and subjugation encountered by Catholics throughout the history of British involvement in Ireland. African Americans in the United States used direct action to force a reluctant federal government to act to protect the rights of its citizens and, unlike the Northern Irish Catholics, could point to successes of their fight for equality, providing them with a history to celebrate. Therefore, the histories of each minority and their treatment by their government caused a variety of methods to achieve equality under the law in their respective country.

In recent years, it has become increasingly clear that the civil rights movement in the United States, despite its achievements throughout the 1950s and 1960s, continues to have distinct issues that must be addressed as they relate to racial disparities and social

justice. In the last decade, several incidents have called attention to discrimination in law enforcement and the treatment of minorities. The not-guilty verdict of George Zimmerman in the Treyvon Martin case sparked national outrage, which led to the creation of the Black Live Matter social movement. Through incidents like the death of Freddie Grey in Baltimore, which sparked off days of riots, and the killing of George Floyd, which led to marches in cities across the United States, social awareness of these disparities has continued to grow. These latest protests led to the growth of Black Lives Matter, increased pressure on the United States government to act, and a call to modify the educational curriculum to address issues of race and discrimination. Unfortunately, the changes mentioned above have led many in the white community to feel like their culture is under attack, causing increased resistance to the expansion of civil rights and the teaching of diversity. In many cases, states have taken actions to limit access to voting in minority areas. The refusal of many in the United States to come to terms with our past and accept a future where all are treated equally will continue to breed dissent, and competing cultures will continue to divide it and cause violence.

The signing of the Good Friday Peace Accords did end the Troubles by creating a government that shared power between Protestants and Catholics. Northern Ireland remained relatively peaceful since the signing of the Accords in 1998, but that does not mean the issues have disappeared, as evidenced by the bonfires every July and August. As a result of changing demographics and Brexit, tensions in Northern Ireland have risen once more. For the first time in the history of Northern Ireland, Catholics are predicted to make up a majority of the population. This change, combined with the adverse effects Northern Ireland faces resulting from Brexit, could drive many to call for unity with

Ireland. Many Protestants see a connection with the history of their people being under siege from the Catholic population, so again, the disputed history and the culture of Northern Ireland negatively impact its present. These issues are also causing rioting in Northern Ireland in many of the same areas that were flashpoints throughout the Troubles. If these crises are not addressed, the violence will escalate. Like the United States, until Northern Ireland comes to terms with its past, the divided history will continue to plague any attempts to unify its history and culture.

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Appendix- Interviews

Tony O'Hare. **Interview with the author: Derry, October 4,2019**

Civil rights started us off, Mass protesting, Paris, apartheid state, like south Africa, Grew up in Derry. –

Growing up, houses, walls were rotting, light fixtures hanging down, falling off, tenement flats, 1-2 rooms, families of 6,7,8,9, 10, old army Springtown camp. Families 12 in family- your home? 6 rooms, our street, everything was open walking in and out of peoples' houses.

Communities like for you? Everyone looked out for each other, network of families, we would go shopping for old people, "Mrs. Doherty do you need anything today?" typical for all of Derry.

Schooling? Local school by nuns from 5-8 Christian Brothers schools run by Catholic Church.

Different because of where you lived? If you applied for a job "Where did you go to school?" If you said you went to saint such & such, Most Bus run by protestant's in 60's. Even a qualified teacher applying wouldn't get a job.

Were you able to find a job? No, Derry had highest unemployment rate, laboring jobs went to Catholics. My father was a Docker

Oct 5th March? "Rome will rule you if you give Catholics rights"

When was the Point the Civil Rights Movement began to separate?

When the attacks got worse+ the British came in ’69 (refer to picture) you can see the Police (RUC) the loyalists attacking us. Battle of the Bogside kicked off because orange march through Catholic areas started attacking people, so we started fighting back. Word went out in Derry that they were burning rows of houses around 69-70 as well, so people were terrified and thought “this is going to happen here” and started defending themselves, and it went from little rights, happening by a few kids like us, teenagers attacking the police in the Bogside community then the British army was sent in because the RUC Reserves, B-specials, an armed militia of the RUC, were worn out… British army came in to stop the Catholics from being massacred by the B- specials, so around 8/13, you can see what happened in Belfast when the B specials were let loose, rows of Houses got burnt, machine guns were being used from armored cars, shooting people in the nationalist areas in Belfast. Belfast started rioting, IRA were told to keep it low-key, let the civil rights after it didn’t defend people, IRA split.

Was there ever a time during the civil rights movement you thought things would change?

We hoped for a couple years, O’Neill, a reasonable man what he was offering but it wasn’t enough, community leaders like Eamonn McCann, John Hume, a local politician, Eddy Macintyre, The British Army in in ’69 as a peacekeeper, but that started to change after a couple months they became the enemy. In 1970, riots were against the British Army from 1970-1971, before internment, you had your escalation of an armed conflict, in 1970 there was some acts from the IRA, acts from the past, but in August of 1971, through in internment + whole thing escalated from a civil rights campaign, internment

which for western Europe, it was terrible thing. British Overreacted by bringing internment in from August ‘71- January ‘72, for Derry.

Did what was going on around the world add to what was happening here?

The Vietnam War was massive, Republican/Socialists. Bloody Sunday was kicking point. Summer of ’71, 100’s queuing up to join both provisional and official IRA, they were fed up, getting battoned and attacked, there by the RUC and then the British Army, People being shot in the streets, Summer of ’71, 2 teenagers shot in the same day, they were shooting us in ones and twos, ambush in Ballymurphy as well.

What was the progression of Bloody Sunday?

Before Bloody Sunday I believed that we would need to take up arms to force the British out of here, British were the cause, British were propping Stormont up, they kept discriminating against us, we were fighting for our freedom from them (protestants) but Stormont didn’t see it that way, “Rome Rule” Paisley had --------- create a properly kept division and sectarian divisions there all the time.

People who were involved were involved because they were there?

Yeah, when I joined the IRA we were getting lectured on shenanigans but my education started when I went to prison, History got put in the proper order, for me it was a response, When I was in prison I had 4 Brothers and 1 sister all in at one time.

Interview with Tomás O’ Donghaile, Derry, October 4, 2019

Beaten about the head for not remembering grammatical instructions

Parents working class unemployed, family of 12 along with 3 cousins brought up with us because both parents died in a short period of time, my father and mother married to a brother and sister, my father was brought up with his father, a cobbler, he didn't think he could run a business. There was a national inferiority complex, especially amongst Catholics, problems didn't start in my generation, systematically used, 1st introduction to rulers of this country was an invasion from England and as soon as they got a toe hold they set about spreading their influence and for 200 years the first army sent were French Normans, extremely able in warfare but on a cultural level, they became interested in language and history, Irish never forgot their past.

It is no accident that people who are brought up as Protestants are brought up with a duty to be distrustful and hatred towards Catholics, that didn't happen overnight.

The system that you're born under, brought up with, parent's practice, you automatically take as your own, if there are enemies to the system they must be wrong.

Children played, adults never mind

I went to England to get work, came across Gaelic, and speaks for the first time.

Cynical about Britain in Ireland, allowed to use any method. If there was a riot people who came from nationalist/catholic, some would say people there just like to start trouble because that's what Unionist Politicans would say. But people next door would be the total opposite, thinking, Bark on it, prior, it used to be just a word that I associated with but they sought to control people not only physically but their minds, people who had watched for quite a few years the results of the Springtown marches, they said exactly what their unionist neighbors were saying.

I was going down one Saturday morning and there was a march coming up the street, there was a solid line of Policemen out on the pavement and behind them were the people who lined in the fountains and as soon as the marchers appeared, March was a new unemployment in Derry but people behind the policemen were shouting abuse and throwing objects at marchers, police did nothing.

What was that about today? Trouble, no I'm not talking about trouble, I'm talking about marching against unemployment, "Well that's what they say" What do you mean that's what "They" say, that's just a cover up for excuse to start trouble. You couldn't not pick sides.

Don Mulholland, Interview with the author: Derry, October ,2019

The only history we knew, none in primary school, secondary just some basics, but at the time, your just taught early 70's, just touched on Famine to 1916 no great detail.

Lived in the house? 10 of us but 5 died

Conditions in the house? Toilet outside, 1 fireplace, coats served as blankets, Cold Younger brothers of pneumonia

Community? 4 streets- everyone in the same situation

Notice a difference? We just knew they were Protestants, played with them- then when it came to certain times of the year, like the 12th, everything was different, they would go off and march, fathers and older brothers, too young to notice the tension, to realize what was happening.

When did you start to realize it? 12, secondary school, Into Bloody Sunday.

First full time job in the US in 1986- smuggled in through Canada, ended up in New York, Boss was a republican sympathizer.

Went to Jail when I was 17.

First memories of the demonstrations? We were all young and on the streets

Was there a time when you realized protesting wasn't going to be enough?

In history, protesting isn't enough- After Bloody Sunday- we just retreated to a situation and realized what was going on and you knew you could try the peaceful way but it wasn't going to work.

Did you know of the existence of the IRA?

Just what you hear on the streets. You know, I think it was when internment came in there was a few people, If you happen to come from a well-known family you were targeted, we didn't come from a Republican Family.

Did you have doubts about the end process?

Not til I was older, it finally sinks in, what's going on and where its going and that came about during the blanket protests, that's when I became a Republican, you see for yourself what's going on and what's happening and where it's going.

Were you part of the Blanket Protest? I was

How did you feel about the violence?

At the time it was justified, people were just, Civil Rights one man, one vote, that's a human right, as you get older and you see what's going on, you learn more about it, make your own mind up.

Was that your motivation?

That can't go on, you gotta do something, and I don't think they'll listen to peaceful. They were taking the Civil Rights Movement from America- Martin Luther King, Peaceful Demonstration but like everything else before it gets better, it has to get worse and that's where the violence came in. In my own opinion, America was completely different from here.

Did your feelings about violence change?

The answer to that question you see, you're going from late 60's, early 70's- Blanket Protest- straight to America.

***Gary McCord*, Interview with the author, Derry: October 7, 2019**

Education: Bare minimum, Catholic School, Christian Brother, Republican history, Primary emphasis on 1916

7 or 8 when the Troubles broke out, primary school his project was completely focused on the Troubles. I definitely had a slant there, we felt we were wronged and wanted to put it right. So that's where I was, I didn't get it from me mom and dad, watching the nuns, taking it all in, I suppose at 7 or 8 to have that sort of interest we bit off normal But I would say it's the most natural thing in the world, certain amount of fear mixed in as well, apprehension about what was happening, threats were always in the background,

that was fermented for the people to go out and fight, If we don't do this, we're going to be swamped, I always felt that but you're asking a question, I never thought of it, why did it end up in an armed struggle and it didn't in America, fair enough. French visitors and I was taking them around the murals and telling both sides, republican and nationalists! Told them I blame yous for taking this, just making small talk, we just took it a stage further than yous did. Initially the people were out marching in a happy go lucky sort of way, all good natured, good fun and got battoned off the streets wasn't going to work, numbers too large, too big, they do that, you have to meet fire with fire basically.

6 people in family- 3 brothers ended up in prison over 30 years, moved out of Bogside New District, massive improvement from before, mother and father always worked, compared to the rest of the street, kept house neat, moms and dads had all come from Bogside, New young families.

Community? First class, I can say it was a happy street, 33 houses, but Cul De Sac no one had to come up ur street, only two miles, couldn't ask for a better place growing, kids all same age, completely catholic.

Attitude in the Community? Did you realize there was tension outside?

There wasn't a Catholic and protestant for me as such, my father was from a completely mixed district and street where he lived. Father was one of few Catholics. Protestants all well to do with their jobs. All the cabinets had rifles, B-specials. Every second window there's a cabinet. In a sitting room, had fire arms. "If we don't keep these Catholics in check they'll over run yous, armed to the teeth out of fear we'd been friendly with them, let me know there was a difference, called them Orangemen, no Protestant-Catholic

Discrimination? Right away, my background, got a job right away, electric engineer.

First memories of Demonstration: 1968, Marchers being attacked in Derry, horrific, a lot of people, you know, they were want only battoned off the street, completely over the top, really violent, hard to fathom at that age, certain art of fear. This isn't right, in our district there was no crime, you have been ostracized, only time we saw police on our street was because playing football, complaining, basic harassment.

'66-'67

My granny lived in the heart of the Bogside where all the Troubles was happening, school was in that district, you knew all the districts, you knew all the streets, people involved.

When did you get involved? I was with my father when he answered the call. They're burning the cathedral down, because of Battle of the Bogside in '69, the numbers weren't there to repel police, my da came out with hatchet, used for chopping sticks and went down, at that particular point we thought it was a great victory. At my granny's, 6 months prior the police came up Columbus street breaking windows, some people said they were just drunk, but it was done the whole length of the street, I got a sense then that these people need to be kept out. August of 1969, it was the most obvious natural thing to happen, these boys are bad, we need to keep them out so at that time I would've felt a great delight that we kept them out, if they got down here, we'd beat them, so they met their match, no go set up in Derry, so we were definitely peaceful, they were kept at bay, But there were constant gun battles, we were protecting where we lived, brought up in the best of times sitting watching Martin McGuinness, firing, then collecting the shells, we

all knew them and could compare and sometimes when pick up more shells for risks because Army didn't know if we were battlers or children back to firing point and we could've gone back and Army could've beat us.

I was at Bloody Sunday and I was more afraid on the day the Troubles broke out and my Da wasn't in the house, at the Troubles, my biggest fear, made my way back to the house 2 or 3 miles away so I was frightened about that, done right to be afraid because one time after internment, right into 71 and following year commemoration and me mother and father were at the doors at 4 am banging, some sort of reenactment of the year before, but a crowd made its way down the down, I would've been 11, gun battles broke out, got back to the house, my father had been looking for me and he hit me for the first time in my life, with his fist, flat on the face, I know it was fear, Army was there constant fear and being harassed. It was completely natural. We would set up ambushes with bottles bats and stones, we knew the geography at 10-13. We set up perfect ambushes with bottles and stones, that was part of the game and fun, it was a daily occurrence, set plan, no firearms, just stones and bottles, took 'em by surprise every time. Bloody Sunday was a big turning point, deep shock, I don't know if I had really formed an opinion at that point, when it's so obvious one way, it was then and then things spiraled, it was the most natural thing, held at gun point, if you do it and do what you're told you are going to be shot, you don't have a choice, you just accept it, I end up in jail me-self. Me and a friend were arrested with fire arms setting up an ambush in 77, I was 17, did 12 year sentence ended up doing 10, a lot of that time was on the blanket. Kept in a cell day in and day out, no tv, no radio, every time the door opened you were going to get a severe beating. All

my birthdays spent in these conditions. In the summer you were toasted, in the winter you froze, standing barefoot in 3 feet of water for 3 days.

Talk in terms of forgiveness, even now, I believe the wrongs were cause of it, I don't need to forgive anybody and I don't have to ask for forgiveness, it was perfectly natural the way things happened, just the way it evolved.

Was there a time you thought it was never going to work?

I knew I was never going to give up, some people did, we called them squeaky bitters, everybody had a breaking point, pot on their uniform.

Collin O'Neill. Interview with the author: Derry, October 7,2019

Country farmhouse- 2 beds upstairs, toilet put back and fill the buckets- nearest water pump 300 yards from the house steel buckets-66-67

Five children and parents- Street I lived on was majority Protestants, no it's all Catholic, moved to a housing estate, 3 bedroom house, kitchen bathroom upstairs- 3 bedrooms and bath

10 when marches started, 1st man shot dead from Armagh city by Cathedral, 1969 done by B-specials, fired at an unarmed crowd

Church was not backing civil rights/radical students. Paisley came into prevent the Civil Rights in Armagh, Hardware store Hawthorne supplied them with pick axe handles, 6" nails through them going to beat the marchers off the street, only arms marchers would be carrying were the banners, they came in from other areas, not many. Armagh City Protestants marched, some riots and barricades to stop the B specials and RUC coming

in- I was there behind the barricade when the army arrived whistles would be blown, jump out, firing rubber bullets and CS gas. I was 11, 12 year olds throwing petrol bombs, riots would continue until army got tired. No go areas throughout Northern Ireland.

In Armagh Provo and officials' side by side

1973 (15) I join Fion Arra, lived in Belfast for a while, father was brick layer, you follow your job so I went to primary school in Belfast.

1972 (14) Friends shot dead by UVF, guy that shot him was 15

Republicanism was in my mother's side of the house, from there on, I was going to school. You were stopped and searched as you got older. I was first arrested when I was 15 along with another fella; 3 of us were arrested by two car loads of police, didn't cooperate at the station, mate getting slapped about in one room me and the other fella released. You walk past Protestant areas to get to Catholic area, meant to have a solicitor when you're under 16, no solicitors involved, I was a different route instead of going by their areas, had a gang of tartans hanging about see a Catholic coming out of the police station, and he'd get a kickin' maybe killed, so that's the fear you were under, got home the next day, I told me mother, site asked what were you arrested for, I said I don't know, from then on I took part in riots and internment marches because I remember my neighbor being interned, then we moved out to the country, big house ½ our relatives lived close by 5 were involved, one was killed in the shoot to kill policy, 1982, stop the car, get out, they just riddled him, no explanations.

5 chinooks deployed in the North, all in Armagh.

When I was in Fianna, Earn junior wing of the Provos I went to this new army because my neighbores were getting killed around me, that was my main reason for joining the ILNA because they were doing something and the Provos wouldn't attend ceasefire, this what a lot of people forgot about, we fought the war.

Don Browne, Interview with the author: Derry, October 7,2019

3 families in each building, 3 people, only I could vote.

You're a victim of a circumstance- I had 9 sisters and 5 brothers, that was poverty back then. Nobody got a good meal until Friday, Saturday, Sunday. Flour wasn't always bleached so bread was black- our life was better than what they had, no one was overweight

Important Values?

Respectful to older people, If I was out and broke a rule, someone could hit me and I'd go home and tell my dad and he would punish me as well, respect each other because you're going to need these people, best to look after these people, group principles, best look after these people, group principles, at school you got punished for everything.

Schooling

Kids going home to parents who don't have any education, you might have one smart aunt so if you were a favorite of hers, you might get help. Nuns and priests constantly at us, nuns would give food as a reward. In Bed at night there was never enough blankets so the kids all slept in one bed and covered by all the adults' coats, 1 good blanket and rest were coats, no pajamas

Respect community widely held?

My mother was very religious and she had a baby every year from 16 to 34 until the priest talked to her and says God doesn't want you to die. You're going to have to get an operation, but the last child, a boy, he died the next day and she had to get a hysterectomy, other that that she would have continued to have, but priest said it was wrong, descendants from her alone were almost 300

How was the neighborhood governed?

No IRA, strongest in the streets kept the rules. My father was respected because he had his own house, helping other people, more community oriented, you could leave your front door open, there was nothing to steal, my brother was getting his dinner down the street, 3 extra in our home as well, wherever you were you had something.

Were there areas in Derry you didn't go?

We lived at the top of the triangle, we'd go up to the fountain and play with the Protestant people and the kids didn't have hatred or anything you were told at one stage, you know, the Protestants eyes will be closer together and have better clothes. What happens on the 12th of July and August, all these bands passing the top, no one was allowed to go up, we had to sneak up.

How did you get news?

My mom and dad split, we lived, at the gate of the city and that was a hot spot. Borders just 100 yards down the road so the IRA held that, when my parents split it up I was put in an orphanage, 5 of us put in an orphanage, but we could where we lived from the

orphanage, that was strange, lived there for 3 years, I get lifted out of the political conflict and religion conflict, 3 years later I was put back in, sent to Saint Peters and I could see the orphanage, than the IRA would've been practically in the school, Gun battles between the army and the IRA because its right on the border, so when I got home and told my mother bullets hit the wall, I was moved to Waterside. Predominantly Protestant relation, I hadn't seen sectarian in my life. You had to fight to get into school and fight to get out, when the 12th of July and August whole area got sealed off, children in the area at 15 with guns. At 15, I was given a gun if I had stayed at the other school I would have never seen a gun, 100 yards in another direction could be a little safer. I ended up joining the Tartan gang, you'd have your colors, green Tartan on your right arm and a pierced ear other side would wear a red tartan, when you see each other at a bus station, you just fought. It was about growing up, teenager thing, it wasn't political but there was a political thing behind it, and that's where the IRA or UVF recruited people from when they had to do it. I was looking after guns 15-16.

There was no way around it?

No because my brothers were all involved, one night I got home my brother had an array of weapons and we buried it. There was a split between the official IRA and the INLA, one wanted politics, one armed struggle, I was in the officials' so they come to look for me, bit of a standoff between the officials and the INLA. In '72 Bloody Sunday had happened and most of my family were either in the army or British army, were all told to leave. No cons ordered a threat and one of the guys came home ranger best, the IRA went to get him, retaliation for bloody Sunday and they missed. The official IRA got him and killed him and town turned against the officials, he was one of our own, a son of the

town, all the territorials were targets, leaving the army. I joined the INLA more radical that Provos, INLA killed Thatcher's guy, still not political on my part, we were at war, politics were left to people who were more savvy than me. It became aware because once Bloody Sunday happened and the Civil Rights movement disappeared and the IRA took over once major best was killed, Sinn Fein catapulted into politics with Bobby Sands, the IRA and Sinn Fein were coming together, can't be a member of the IRA and Sinn Fein.

Leading up to Bloody Sunday was the IRA around?

'69-'70 IRA was there, prior to that riots, IRA were getting called "IRanAway." After Bogside IRA were heavy on the ground

What did you go to prison for?

When I got out of the orphanage and the shooting in the school, I went to Waterside I was included with the officials and stickies. Protecting this we small area which ended up have 15 men in jail life sentence so one way or another I was like 18-23. I was in the background like buying bombs and doing whatever, then after drop and well, bar beside the army base in the 80's INLA blew it up and killed 19 people, most British soldiers, all INLA men had been arrested, in prison. Now they needed a new structure, guys I knew, they're dead now, came to me and we got together the bits and pieces, INLA saying from headquarters "If you don't hit the mark, we're not going to give you any more weapons" so we got together and organized to execute this guy, Douglas Macelhony, lived in Waterside, dating a girl on the Derry side, relationship, I didn't know much about it beforehand, we were given a target, we went and killed him, February of '85 within 6 weeks everyone was arrested and questioned, I was questioned. "Do you know why

you're here?" IRA educate yourself as to why. 1st lesson I get was on "isms", every party in the world has their own ism, sectarianism, socialism, republicanism, once I realized what we were fighting for, I wouldn't have agreed had I known. Other lesson was on how you speak to someone and interpret what he says and do you really know what was said, so don't be just saying words to impress somebody, the news would say "There's been a bomb in the mainland" we were talking about London. Terminology started to creep in and then why am I getting interviewed, what's the purpose when you're finished, so we practiced and this was prep for anyone who was returning back to conflict, articulate themselves and promote republicanism Sinn Fein. They used the time in prison to educate but also to educate yourself as an individual, so I went back and did all my schooling, which I didn't do, became a barber, sign language, yoga teacher, it worked out well for me, started fixing injuries, doing restorative yoga, get the person who is not well, figure out what was wrong and give them the exercises, often university, guy became teachers, journalists. 14 years you have a lot of things to do, loyalists thought they'd be locked after 26-38- arrest in the US. When you're born into something you have to go along with it.

Interview with Mary Browne, Derry, October 7, 2019

All located in a house in Waterside, I was 22 with 3 children, youngest was 3 weeks old. Mother was only in a house with running hot water and bathroom for 8 years when I got mine, it was a big thing in the family. The 5th of October march was the main one that started most of the trouble, I took my kids to the park and trouble broke out and people were starting to yell, had to get formula for the baby, way down the street was Catholic, had to go down to the flat, couldn't get my children because on the other side of the

bridge and watched the chaos, when the water cannon, protestants lived in the particular street, I lived on the Waterside so I opened the door to let them in through my house because everybody in my building had been evocated their houses and were up on the top and I was the only person living in that particular building

What was your take on the protests?

I didn't understand why all the police were hitting people and pouring water particularly on the Protestant neighbors, couldn't understand that one, life just changed, sorta after that

After that, did you feel the protests would end up working?

I did because I had a grandmother that lived, and went-we went down to march for 1 man 1 vote, my grandmother watched the children while I went on the march, got battered by the b-specials, so my sister came out of the factories as well, I was first martyr, I had 8 sisters and 5 brothers only 1 of them arrested below me so they had to grow up with that situation. I marched every opportunity I got and also marched for the hunger strikers as well. Violence came from the police not the people, all we wanted was 1 man 1 vote and we got hit for that, what harm was around of women from the factories gonna do to the police? We were very suppressed in this town because the Catholics were the majority of people and the Protestants were the majority and they ruled us for instance, my mother had 12 children before she got a house and Protestants were living in nun houses, 2 children, 1 child and my mother had to wait all that time.

My idea was I wanted something better for my children and I thought if I march for what I wanted to get a vote, all the people that lived in the house I'm telling you about. There

was at least 10 adults, none could vote because they weren't owners of the house, 4 brothers served in the army, none could vote.

All my brothers just became "part of it" which made, my mother and father's marriage had been broken up, 5 boys so the girls looked after the boys, to their needs to protects

Was there a time you realized this wasn't going to happen without a fight?

You had to stand your ground, there was no way, the young ones, now better educated all the chances to get into university, my generation didn't, even if you were bright enough, where would my mother get money, Catholic schools also, only the elite got them, couldn't afford the uniforms

Did you learn about the foundation of NI?

No they didn't tell us anything about that, priest visited, you said your prayers every day, devotions, in school, taught more about Africa than what was going on here, away collecting money for "black babies" Didn't know how bad off you were, didn't question anything. Automatic thing you went to mass on Sunday and when you'd be getting married, you'd be married at your church and when your child was born, he was baptized as soon as possible after being born, tradition right up to when the trouble came, then it sorta strayed away, a lot of the men were in jail, things couldn't have been done the way it had. The only thing about the Derry people, the network of support, no matter how poor a family you were, everybody closed ranks and helped you.

When did you become aware of the way things ran here?

When I went to live in my new house there were Protestant and Catholic trouble, the sense I had, was not the sense I had on Waterside, you knew then you were in dangerous ground, which I had not experienced as a young child, but when I went there, as the Troubles started. ’68 was the start of it, then ’69, battle of the Bogside, Damian’s father was missing for a week after. It was not safe to be on the Derry Bridge. At 14 they were coming and arresting them in their house.

Bloody Sunday was the nightmare of nightmares. My granny couldn’t babysit and my uncle said I’m not babysitting to let you go because the streets will be run with blood today, I’m telling you today is a dangerous day and I’m not watching wee ones if anything happens, he was a much older man, lived in Belfast, he knew the score better than we did, but never talked about it, he wouldn’t let me go that day. After Bloody Sunday, peaceful was not gonna work at that stage, not after Bloody Sunday, The first time I went to the Kesh was ’73 and me mother, my last visit was in ’98, when he got out in the peace agreement 25 years, I never left the – I have a sister that got arrested, she went to Fermadgh he went to Crum for a murder he didn’t commit, I had to move house, lost my job to keep the family together.

Was there ever a time you said this was all too much?

No because I was responsible for wee ones, we were strong women, we called them our boys, all the girls, we took care of the boys, the purpose was to get one man one vote, get houses, get the children educated and not about the unionists, to rule use, they decided where we live, how we got jobs if you went for a job, don’t matter how bright they were, once they asked you what school you’re at, you didn’t get the job. The people in Springtown were the best people in the world, they both lived with no heat, no running

water, nothing. They marched for a house, it was the old camps Americans used during the war, ask anybody that come from Springtown, those were the people that had it the worst.

Belfast, a different kettle of fish, they're breathing a different air, we never had the bother they had in Belfast, we were more understanding. I had 4 brothers in jail at one time and a sister, husband, nephews, we weren't unique

How often was the house raided?

Well, I'll put it like this, if a bomb went off in the town, don't matter when, certain houses got raided and when the children got old enough, they arrested the sons, son Damien was 14 when he was arrested 1st because somebody said he put Martin McGuinness's posters up on a lamppost at 14 and I went to the barracks, that's when I learned to fight, the first time Don got arrested, it was a miserable day "where do you think you're going" he said "I'm arresting him" I said "no you're not" he said "he's out on a ____ break Big____," "there's a woman here says he's her brother and she's not leaving without him" He said take him and so I left. Community was very tight and no matter where you went in the Bog you'd be offered a cuppa tea.

Interview#1, notes, did not want to be recorded, conversations occurred between September 23-25, 2019 in and around Dundalk

Lived on road leading to Northern Ireland, for six months British tried to close the road at the border and for six months he and his people would go out at night and take it down. Asked if there was a breaking point for him as far as when he got involved with fighting

against the British he said it was just something he knew from a young age. “Eight or Nine years old, I knew the British weren’t supposed to be here from history class.”

Driving into Crossmaglen he points to a barracks off in the distance where the British troops were saying that everything was helicoptered in and out because the roads were not safe for them. He then tells me, as we get into the town square that he had a sniper positioned in the window above for six months. When asked if he believed his actions were justified he responded yes, “we were at war.”

Interview with Dermie McClanaghan, Derry. September 28, 2019

Bogside has been redeveloped, it used to be all these little streets coming off it were small houses, red brick houses, most in very bad condition, some leaning against one another, so I was brought up in one of those wee streets, 100 yards from the Bogside, my father was a working class man, cattle driver, working class area, high unemployment, high emigration to look for work, result families left without father, as boys grew up they also went to England to get a job so you have families that were very affected and those little houses we had the parents of a married couple would have the room upstairs, first married daughter had the room downstairs, 3 families living in a 2 up 2 down, you can imagine the conditions so close together, nonetheless they managed ok, result was they were very close knit families because a young child would be getting device from all directions, grandparents, parents, older brothers and sisters that provided a certain security, when we were growing up at the same time, at the same time it countered the family of unemployment and poverty. A lot of families, fathers were on the dole getting state benefits.

I was brought up in a small house with my two sisters, father suffered from a very bad ___, conscious of his illness, bronchitis, still worked through it. Good man and cared about his family. People on that street on the housing list for 18 years, my family for 11 years and conditions in the house were disgraceful, touched the wall paper and you got an electric shock, rats from under the stairs, no facilities whatsoever, it was terrible, no hot water, bath, bathroom.

I knew my father died of bad health, I also knew there was a political variable in there too, I was so angry and heartbroken, never at an age where I could go out and have a pint with my father, I decided member of the Derry Labor Party, affiliated to British Labor Party all sort of people in it. It was unrealistic to be there in a sense because a lot of those in there could've been for a united Ireland, situations terrible so I blamed the state, 5 electoral wards in Derry explaining. I started doing very radical things like blocking streets and protests, taking homeless families into the guild hall and we're not leaving here until these people are all located houses, date for occupation, a lot of people in the Derry Labor party joined me, very radical left wing in the labor party. Meantime, discontent was obvious. Derry housing Alton common, which I was a member of there was Derry Unemployed Alton Comm. These people decided to take politics to the street, constitutions politics represented by the nationalist party, to represent Catholics/nationalists- Macintyre no charge very moderate man, treated badly by unionism, so he was unaffectionate. Took politics to the streets and constitutional politics were bypassed. Paisley put every catholic into one ___, they were all Republicans, they weren't, radicals had such a powerful effect, McCann, home from London attended a meeting and never went back, He gave the thing an urgency which it hadn't had before,

wanted things done in a hurry, sharpened the idea of what was going on. We organize the 10/5 march, rallied NICRA for support. It was violently disrupted by the state, police. First riot in Derry started that day, after the fth of October, something strange happened, what we thought was sort of something you'd read in the local newspaper was now world news, it was all over the papers, New York Times, London Times, because of the violence of the state. It was much bigger. I think the Catholic Church was worried about our politics and I think the Catholic Church had a lot to do with the next thing that happened, someone called a meeting at the city hotel, moderates attended and we were at a dilemma. "What are we going to do here?" If we go to the meeting they have no legitimacy, I didn't believe that for a second because there's now riots. Don't go every day in the streets, this is a big thing, if we don't go to the meeting and take part in it we aren't democratic, we're not lots of things, a lot of disagreements between the radicals, I couldn't understand Eamon's point of view, people at the meeting were not the sort of people who had been doing what I had been doing, blocking streets and blocking roads because a lot of mid class and businessmen, it was not their forte, so I was also upset about those people are going to represent something completely different from what we represent, we decided to go, voted a 16 man committee, radicals automatically members, Eamon refused committee. I could understand but at the same time I wasn't going to individualize the efforts I made and Eamon's ideology, but there's another reason to build from this radical movement, the radical movement was radical but it was, no agreement about the politics, no single point of view, couple republicans in it, liberal/radical, doing things just because of him. Problems it faced, no ideology we are not going to be seen positively by town if we don't join with people like John Hume. Citizens Arlton Comm.

Was born and they lead civil rights in Derry for the next period of time. I suppose looking back, I can understand why Eamon was saying right, at the same time I understand that the likes of John Hume was gone to talk at Civil Rights march and talk about worker's rights, human rights , talking about Democracy, citizens, he certainly wasn't going to talk about Marxism, that would be my politics, it wasn't his, wasn't the politics of others that were in there, We live in a country that's binary, we have to make sure we don't alienate Protestants, that was nonsense, we were attacking the state. There were safeguards we could've taken. We could talk to pro-unionists more directly, not the politicians, even comm. Organizations should've done that. The truth is, it wouldn't have worked, the NI state is hard binary and it's just the way people have been socialized, especially Protestants working class there not being represented in any economic form. The Unionist people, Paisley, said the civil rights is a front for the IRA , it wasn't but let's face it, if I had been a member of the IRA then, I would've taken advantage of it, but why wouldn't I? There was people on the streets, that a good thing, there's conflict in the state. So the republican movement at that time was in disarray, due to border campaign, ineffectual and write of time there were Republicans minded people but we were not a Republican organization, so republicans thought instead of border campaign, they should've been in the streets, conducted policy around those issues, it was inevitable that the IRA would… There was a house in town where people went to learn how to shoot guns and mace bombs, when you're aware of this you realized the IRA were emerging again, no way you could've stopped that. Trouble is violence is so much part of the division in Ireland that people don't have a moral view on it, some of them, just say it was necessary to fight the Brits because they don't understand anything else, all that was

the mix. Riots in the Bogside, all the time, police would come in , student organizations in Belfast, peoples' democracy, radical students for university organized march from Belfast to Derry, involved people were injured severely, police stood by and did nothing about it. They earned arrived here and there was a dreadful riot in the Bogside, police came in and beat people up very badly and they had bad effect on people in the Bogside, they just beat people up. Then reforms started. 12 August big orange march, citizens action committee Bogside organized Bogside Defense Association of which I was the 1st member but I didn't join it, thought it was nonsense, it was practical use, I didn't join it because it was desperate politics, but they kept the police out and beat them out, B-specials were ready to come in but army came in instead and we all knew they weren't going to do us any favors, they came in to keep the peace but it was only a matter of time because you ever want trouble just put a British officer in the streets of Derry, by then the IRA were on their feet again.

Bloody Sunday March-

Marching with my wife, Pauline and I, we never expected what happened to happen, I didn't expect it, but when I came around, you always went down to a riot. Pauline and I were walking to the Bogside through the high flats and we were attacked by soldiers, they attacked Pauline and I and of course I was trying to pull a soldier off her and he was shouting, "you Irish fing pig" I was starting to hit him and pull Pauline away, what I didn't know by that time, two people had been shot dead, but I didn't know that at the time. What happened is I got Pauline across the flats, got her up the steps into a house, but then I noticed there was a lad lying below me, but I couldn't jump down because it was too high and this soldier was beating him, anyway on the Wiggery Report, this lady

said she saw me jumping over the flats, I was up and realized I would've killed myself, I put Pauline in a house and saw a soldier aiming the rifle and he shot, went through me hair, the door, ceiling and bullet embedded itself in the mattress upstairs, he was trying to kill me. I had blood running down me face, Pauline was in hysterics, she thought I was shot, she went berserk, it was an awful day, they shot people for nothing. After Bloody Sunday people were queuing up to join the IRA. Couldn't let them all in. The IRA is an organization that doesn't need too many people because of the nature of its warfare what the state would call terrorism. IRA were part of the community or better the community was part of them. Nobody in the Bogside, if a __ gone off would never say it was such and such, tell the soldier to fuck away off, that community, my mother prayed for everybody, Brits, IRA, everyone but then as time went on it happened, very much them British papers. "Terrorists" and terrible people, but they were the milkman, man up the street, wee girll delivering papers, guy that worked behind the counter in the shop but to the daily mail and daily telegraph, they were the psychopaths, we just laughed at them, what could you do. When someone of them were lifted and interned, that'll change things again, they become our boys or our wee girls. What happened to the governments you were involved in after Bloody Sunday, the people who were in then, left and joined the IRA.

John Doherty. Interview with the author: Derry, October 3,2019

Derry and Australia, we came from a nationalist family, my father was an engineer, worked in many factories around the town including DuPont, before we emigrated to Australia in the 60's came back in 11/75, I was 14, By 16 I was involve in Fionn Eadin junior wing of the IRA, basically because of the situation coming back from Australia we

knew what was happening because me and Da would get the local paper posted to Australia, in fact my uncle, my uncle is John Hume's brother and he lived by the end of our street, we always knew everything that was happening in Derry at the time, we came back here it was like walking into a war zone, literally walking into a war zone, I used to stand in the streets fascinated by the armored personal carriers going past, ____ the size of a tank, going to school have the people in my school, had my brothers killed outside, some weren't involved at the time, it was just basically all-out war, I was 14, 15 years old and I was always an avid reader all my life, I used to follow all politics around the world, I could tell you about the Vietnam war better than most Americans, any conflict was going on , I got involved in the Republican Movement when I was young, you had to be 18 to join the IRA, I was involved with them for 7, 8 years before I was caught. I was caught in a gun attack, I attacked Fort George, a helicopter base, met another guy, he was shot dead, I was shot 5 times, captured on the spot, flown to a military hospital in Belfast, held there for about a month until I appeared in court and the I was remand for 3 months and sent to the prison, when I got out of prison, I actually went into university, degree in conflict studies, since then doing various work, I got into tour guiding 6 or 7 years ago.

What was going to school like here?

We had to get on bus, get stopped 2 or 3 times at army checkpoints, set them up randomly, just driving along and 2 or 3 jeeps stop, set up a tent. Road block for ½ hour and every man that came to the check point would be searched, taken names and addresses, school busses, they'd come on walk right up the bus, armed and ask you to open your school books, way home something, always had check points around the border, on a Sunday in the north you couldn't get a drink on Sunday, right wing

Christians didn't believe in drinking on Sabbath, all you had to do was go over the border and all the pubs were open. Once the soldiers thought you were involved, you'd get arrested and hounded. My house was raided 10-12 times by the British army, they'd come ½ 4 or 5 am, thumping on the door, they'd all come in, bring us down in the living room, everybody had to stay but me Da had me on them to make sure they didn't take anything, ½ our area would be raided every Monday morning. Hundreds of soldiers on a Monday, this went on for years and tears, but it was all around you at the same time, people, your friends, continue to get killed, soldiers get shot, blown up, it was just one of those things, you just lived through it, didn't think any deeper about it, the IRA itself, they were very professional. They didn't just pick people you had to be committed to it, they warn you, tell you 3 things are going to happen to you if you become an IRA member, 1- could be shot dead, 2- you'll end up in prison, 3- you'll end up on the run, one or all of those will happen along the way and so if you're committed to it, that's what'll happen, so they were very professional in the way they went about things. A Stalemate brought about the peace process, you can't beat us militarily, we can't beat you militarily, what is the point of going on, it's been like this forever.

Was there tension in the community? Did your community create its own society?

Yeah, there's very little amenities in nationalist parts of Derry, nationalist parts of the North, unionists never invested any type of money in nationalist communities, couple comm. Centers but because people didn't trust the police you tended to have the town centers but you couldn't go over to the Waterside, Belfast you couldn't even cross from one street to another. Just by being in the wrong religion you could end up dead, Ardoyne, North Belfast was completely surrounded by unionist areas 1/5 of all killed in

conflict were killed within one mile of Ardoyne. That's how bad sectarianism was in Belfast. UVF, Loyalists, unionists were killed because people we Catholic, it was never that way in Derry

How did news spread? How did you find out what was happening?

Just from the News

Did you join teenage IRA because it was just something you saw what was happening?

Yes, one of my best friends at the time, his older sister was in prison in Armagh for killing a soldier, she shot the soldier, she actually, come up to the 1st hunger strikes, she had anorexia and was down to 4 ½ stone and the goo it let her out even though she was a life sentence prisoner, they said if she stayed in jail she'd die anyway, she's alive today, live in England, nearly all my friends had brother inside, brothers who were killed, sometimes more than 1 killed, everyone around me had people killed by the army or the police.

Was it hatred?

No, never have had any religious hatred whatsoever. I'm an Atheist, I don't like the Catholic Church, never have told my parents at 15 I didn't believe in God, no hatred of the British army, no hatred of the unionist community, but there was a rightness in my view of what was taking place, at the end of the day any history you're involved in, or you have lived through, you take sides, person who sits on the fence, people that do something get things done and the IRA was standing up, first time it came on the streets , it was to protect the Catholic Community during the programs in Belfast, when they were burning down the Conard Monastery, Catholic Church in Ardoyne, that's the first time it

came to the streets and the campaign was to protect the Catholic community from Protestants trying burn them out of the streets. But they eventually evolved once they seen what the army was here to do they weren't here to relieve the Catholic community from the protestants, they were here to prop up the unionist state, it didn't take long, guns w ere pointed at us, so it morphed into an all-out war with the British Army because they were coming from Britain to occupy the North and prop up the unionist state.

Did you see collaborations between the loyalist groups and the RUC?

You don't see it with your eyes but you read about it in the news especially in Belfast, everybody knew, one of the big demands of the early Civil Rights movement was the disbandment of the B-specials, Auxiliary Police Group, considered to be a Protestant unionist militia, no more than that, 100% Protestant, 100% unionist, no Catholics at all and they were the storm troopers for the unionist part, on of the demands was the Auxiliary group many of the former B-Specials became the UD regiment, regiment in the British Army, recruited in the North, many were also involved in the Loyalist Paramilitaries, UVF and UFF, Glenane gang, Babedin Center of the North were responsible for killing 200 Catholics, Dublin, Monaghan bombings, biggest loss of life in one day throughout the trouble, all came from one gang. All members were current or former member of the British Army, RUC, many of the weapons the UVF. A lot of the weapons used were taken from their own regiment everyone knew what was going on but the British Government always tried to deny any involvement between the British sec forces and loyalist collusion in British sec. forces, they investigated 267 loyalist paramilitary members, out of 267 only 4 were not army or police agents. This is when the British started the IRA terrorist Propaganda.

Pat Finucayne- civil rights lawyer, assassinated by IFF in Belfast and in his inquiry, arrested 14 loyalist. Out of the 14 involved, everyone was either an army or police agent, they knew what was going. Head of UFF intelligence was a guy Nelson, he was given all his information by British security forces, who to target, most of the time you'd have saturation patrolling in our areas on days they were going to carry out an attack, there'd be no policemen about, no cops, Brits, No soldiers, gave them a straight run in, then security returns.

What were demonstrations like that you we involved in '74-'75?

Not many demonstrations and such until later in the 70's when the hunger strikes started, handled all the hunger strike rallies.

What did your parents think about your involvement?

You don't really tell your parents about you involvement, they can probably guess that you are because their house is being raided, looking for you, every time they came in the house my mother and father knew they were looking for me, my father would tell me, go in the kitchen and make breakfast before you go, he knew once in prison I would hardly eat, for fear that they drugged the food. Lifted up carpets, floorboards, they would say John, could you step outside, place you under arrest and take you away. Held for anywhere between 2, 5 and 7 just being arrested, not internment, special powers act gave the right to hold you for 48 hours, then 72, then 5 days, then the maximum was 7, and they'd apply for that as you were being interrogated, known as interrogation centers as opposite to police station.

Was there a time when you doubted the outcome?

You really didn't know how it was going to end, you were involved in it because you thought you had to be, I think it was necessary to stand up, fight back for your community's rights, not yourself, it was never for yourself, but you didn't know how it would turn out, I was not a politician, but the leadership of the movement, more the people who knew it was happening and they tell the movement what they're up To and doing what the hopeful outcomes are, until the peace process come along, I guess you could say people knew what they would accept and wouldn't do it.

Saturday Matinee- kids just there to be there or was everybody aware?

If you heard there was a good riot on, if there was a big riot down at the Bog, a lot of people would come into the Bogside, take part in the riot, we were ll the same nationalists from Derry. Brits were occupying our city and if there was a riot up there, you joined in. If a kid of 8 or 9, the bigger men would chase those guys away from being on the front line because, don't get me wrong, it was exciting for a young man, it was also dangerous, you couldn't get killed, but at the same time when you stop young kids from running because they see the older boys doing it, they'll pick up a stone sometimes, you see kids 4 years old, toddlers when a jeep went by they'd throw a stone at it, even when there's not riots going on in the area they throw a stone, every now and again you would get a soldiers firing plastic bullet at a kid that size, I remember a riot at the corner, two men got jogging right down through the middle of it, all the rioters, looked at them and stopped throwing and soldiers firing plastic bullets, they all stopped and looked at them and these two men talking to each other as if they were running in a park. Then the right started up again, one time during the hunger strikes riot on the fly over, American guy came up to me, he was actually staying on Bishop street the army was at the top of Bishop street, fly

over and we were halfway down it, couple burnt vehicles across the middle, this guy had to get up on Bishop's street he says guys will I be ok to go up there past the soldiers and everyone told him the truth. "Stay on their right hand side, all the way up, once they hear your accent, they'll realize you're not from Derry, sure enough, he got to the top and 30 soldiers grabbed him and beat him, because they thought it was a rioter. Don't get me we wrong, It was funny at the time, we didn't think that would happen to him and it did. Violence was always instigated- counter marches.

Why do you think the Brits were so against Catholics having Civil Rights?

It wasn't, they didn't want Catholics to have Civil Rights, it was more they wanted Northern Ireland united with Britain, they were not responsible for the discrepancies in Northern Ireland, Britain did not run the way we did. The unionists run this anonymously from the very day of the foundation of the unionist state and because we were seen as disloyal we were treated as second class citizens. They had us run this for 45 years before the first trouble in the streets for the 1st 45 years not many knew what it was like being an Irish Nationalist living in the state, even the people in the south didn't know what it was like, most of the politicians didn't know as much but it took a violent attack by the state on these civil rights marchers just asking for equality, for the whole world to find out it was like to be an Irish nationalist but tat that time, we were, I'd put us in the same category as the Palestinians living in the West Bank in my opinion, the largest prison in the world, they can't do nothing for themselves, controlled completely by Israel, no ports, nothing, that's what it felt like as a nationalist living in the North at the time. We didn't even control our own city.

By ’74-’75 civil rights movement had basically disappeared?

Disappeared into the background, part of it, no one ever really felt safe, couldn’t have the peaceful marches on the street anymore in Derry, it was an all-out war between the British army and the IRA. Bloody Sunday was one of the biggest recruiting factors. 11 people shot dead in Ballymurphy, during that one tour of duty that regiment shot dead civilians.

Do you see similarities between the British did here and what they did in other places?

No, not really, in most other places they just left, formerly colonies now independent, free countries, we’re still part of Britain, rubber bullets only used in Northern Ireland, never with Britain, CS gas was used extensively. At the end of the day, if every method you have to try and bring a grievance to the people of the British Government is knocked down, swatted aside, discounted, disregarded, what have you got? And when you do take to the streets and peaceful protest, you’re beaten off the streets by the same army that are representing the British State, so it ends up where can you go, what can you do? It was the states reaction to us just having a peaceful protest, we were told from day one we were second class citizens.

In a sense, you had the southern states of America, they did have those apartheid sort of laws, and everybody knows what happened when they to the streets trying for equality, they were beat off the streets by the Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi Police. People could see that it took the government stepping to warn the Government of those states, you better do something or we will come in and do something about you, the Unionists never had that over here, they were allowed to run it as they wanted, but eventually Britain had

to come in, once the guys in the North failed, they came in and run it from Britain, still sided with the unionist state, the enemy was nationalist community. If you didn't have the press, if the cameras weren't there on Bloody Sunday, Britain could've gotten away with describing what happened like in Ballymurphy.