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Tom Fraser Intro to the Issues

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00:00 Milofsky introduces Tom Fraser, Provost of the Magee Campus of the University of Ulster and professor of history. Milofsky tells Fraser the purpose of videotaping and asks for his permission to use the tapes for classroom and documentary film purposes. Fraser gives his assent.

00:45 What I'm going to do in this talk is to explain in as painless a way as I know how the nature and characteristics of a "contested society" which I think is the key to understanding conflict in general but Northern Ireland in particular. What we are dealing with is a contested society and of course we had a major peace agreement in 1998 but it's still problematic in many respects (in 2003). The important thing to recognize from the start is that part is that the agreement came after nearly 70 years of violence and I'll talk about the nature of that... quite a bit of the violence. There is NO desire in this society to return to the kind of violence that we experienced in the 1970s and the 1980s and into the 1990s. So we are, honestly, a bereaved society which has come out of the violence but has not completely solved the problems yet but actually we are moving in the right direction.

01:58 It is, however, still a contested society. One of the things I want to talk about here is not necessarily the solution to the problem of divided loyalties and allegiances but the transformation of the situation from ways in which that difference resulted in violence to ways that difference is acknowledged and respected so that people can work together while recognizing difference, if you can follow that particular line of argument. There are various ways you can look at a contested society. You can try to solve that contest, you can try to regulate it or you can try to change it. I will argue that what in fact we are going through in Northern Ireland through protest is an effort to change the nature of conflict.

03:00 When I say we are a contested society, there are absolutely no questions whatever about what the basic nature of that conflict is because if you possess enough knowledge and familiarity by now you'll know that it is basically a contest between nationalism and unionism and a nationalism that, I'll say a bit more about it in a moment, is seeking the reunification of Ireland on the basis of a joint nation. The unionist philosophy aims to retain Northern Ireland within the structure of the United Kingdom, also based on the principle of self-determination. The Protestants view themselves as British and their destiny as a group is to remain part of the British governed nation.

04:00 But essentially, deep down there is this fairly straight forward contest between those who regard themselves as nationalists and those who regard themselves as unionists. Before looking, however,…. (tape ends)

Tom Fraser transition to next tape identified by jump cut

On this tape Tom Fraser provides a historical introduction to the Troubles by focusing on several major themes. First, he talks about Ireland's strategic position relative to Great Britain

and how this has made the island, on one hand, very important to Britain for military reasons but, on the other, a target of indifference where local Irish life is concerned. Second, given this indifference, Fraser develops three arguments for why native Irish people, the Catholics, are hostile to England and nationalistic in their orientation. The first argument concerns religious difference, the second deals with socioeconomic inequality, and the third concerns the importance of indigenous Irish culture. Fraser then talks about the Unionist perspective and the Protestant history in terms of the English colonization of the north and the events of the 1600s and 1700s. The main event here is the reign of Catholic King James, the rebellion against him, which was significantly fought out in Northern Ireland, and the ascension of Protestant King William of Orange. This led to events that are symbolically significant to Protestants, the Siege of Derry and the Battle of the Boyne. These events have current importance because they are a focus of Protestant fraternal societies that undertake huge marches several times each year and these marches tend to be provocative of Catholic violent responses. So although the events surrounding the defeat of King James take place a long time ago, they are important for understanding Northern Ireland today.
(This is a continuation of the tape "Tom Fraser Intro to the Issues 1/2," but there appears to be a large chunk missing in between tapes. In the previous tape, Tom gave his permission to be taped and introduced what he was going to be talking about. However, it was only 4 minutes long. This tape starts out with Tom in the midst of his lecture.)

4:15 Tom: "I believe as a historian that much of what we understand in history actually derives from geography. Those of you who have studied the history of the United States will know that. So much of what formed the United States of America actually derived from the nature of North American geography. And I think it's true of any society that you go to. If you look at German history, so much of German history is explained by the fact that the Germans are a powerful ethnic group in the middle of Europe. This is similar to France, Spain, and Italy. It doesn't matter which society you look at." That is equally true of Northern Ireland.

5:10 Tom: "The basic fact of Irish geography is perfectly clear, we are on an island. What we know about Ireland is that islands do evolve their sense of distinctive identity over a period of time. It doesn't matter what period of Irish history you look at. What you are going to find is that Irish things have their own identity. So the fact of Ireland being an island is the fundamental temperament of how Ireland evolved."

"But you are aware that we are an island lying next to another island just east of us called Great Britain which is a close, powerful, and large island. At its closest point, we are only 30 miles from the British island. At some points you can actually look across the water and see

the island of Great Britain. What I'm trying to get to is that there always has been a fundamental tension in Ireland."

"Now Ireland is an island with a distinct sense of identity. But it's an island that has always been in the pull of the larger and more powerful island to the east. And one of the major problems of Irish history is how, if at all, can Ireland escape from the almost magnetic pull of the larger British island to the east. If you understand that basic element of tension, I believe that you have understood one of the basic elements of tensions in development."

7:40 Tom: If you are based in Britain and you look to the west, how does Ireland seem to you? The answer is quite simple, Ireland is part of your defense perimeter. And if you look at the course of British and Irish history, then you see that the island is essential to the defense of the British island. The phrase that was used for centuries was that Ireland was the back door to England. So if you are English or British, Ireland was seen as essential to your defense and therefore you had to ensure that Ireland was as firmly under your control as you could make it. And that has been true from the period in the 12th century when the English colonization of Ireland began and lasted until the end of the Cold War. As recently as that!

"One of the major speeches in the peace process here was made in 1990 by a man called Peter Brook who was the British Minister responsible for Northern Ireland---the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland was the technical title. He said 'Great Britain no longer has any economic or strategic…STRATEGIC.. interest in Northern Ireland.' I think what he's saying is that 1990 is effectively the year of the collapse of communism. Would Peter Brooks have been able to say this 10 or 20 years before? The answer is almost certainly, "Not." Northern Ireland from the beautiful perspective of Britain, and we'll come back to this again later on, was seen as essential to British defense.

10:00 Tom: "It's also relevant to know that Britain was always the wealthier island. Not only did it have more people, but it was more prosperous.

10:20 Tom: "But essentially if we get back to what I was talking about which was Britain's defense. What that leads to in the first of January, 1801, was the final act of union between Ireland and Britain. As we'll see in a moment, Ireland has in one form or another been a part of the British system since the 12th century in the middle ages. But it was only on January 1801 that the two countries were formally united. And the title of the country becomes the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

11:05 And of course with a modification that is still the name of the country. If you go to the United Nations in New York the British delegation sits under the designation of The United

Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. That's the title that was essentially put in place on the 1st of January, 1801.
"And the idea of the active union was to make a single country. There had been a Parliament in Dublin down to 1801. That parliament was abolished. The members of Parliament sat in London, there was no parliament in Dublin anymore. Ireland was represented by the parliament in London, but London took the decisions which governed Irish affairs."

11:55 Tom: In 1801, formally you have this new country, if you'd like, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Think of the Union flag flying over the Kingdom. The Union flag consists of the flag of England…the red cross of England, the Scottish flag, and the diagonal red line representing the Cross of St. Patrick added to the Union flag. You know sometimes when I'm traveling in America I come across historical representations of the revolutionary period and they show an English flag. If you look you'll notice that the flag does not include the Cross of St. Patrick because that was added after the Revolutionary War.
The point I'm trying to make, however, is that by putting the Cross of St. Patrick onto the Union flag meant symbolically that Ireland was incorporated into the full union of Britain. "But it was assumed that this act would create a single country. But if you fast-forward to 1900, what you will find is that 75% of the population of Ireland was dissatisfied with the Union and was demanding a kind of self-government for Ireland. This is what we know as Nationalism. That the people of Ireland should take the decisions regarding the country rather than the parliament in London."

14:15 Tom: "So why 1900? By 1900, essentially what was being said was that for 75% of the Irish population, the Union had failed. 75% of the Irish population was looking for some kind of self-government. Why is this?"

14:30 Tom: "Well there are three reasons. The first of these is religion. What set 75% of Ireland apart from Britain was religion. The British, the English, the Scots, and the Welsh were and are predominantly Protestant. The Reformation of the 1530s had made these different groups of the British nation Protestant. But this had not happened in Ireland. 75% of the Irish population remained Catholic. So there was a very clear distinction in religion between Britain and the bulk of the Irish population. Very clear indeed.
And one point that I will always make that is essential…essential to remember…is that in 1900, unlike in Europe in 2003 (I make no observations about the United States), we are overwhelmingly a secular continent. In 1900 that wasn't true. People took their religion extremely seriously. and their religious identity very, very seriously. Europe has changed in the

past 100 years. But in 1900, religious identity was very, very strong indeed. So the fact that the bulk of Ireland was Catholic set them apart from the majority of the British population."

16:20 "What had reinforced their sense of alienation was the fact of full Catholic emancipation. Full Catholic emancipation did not come until 1829. The plain fact was that in the 18th century, Catholics suffered disabilities both in Ireland and in Britain, in terms of representation of parliament, in terms of holding public office, etc. And the assumption in Ireland in 1801 was that the Union would bring full emancipation to Catholics. And it did, but not until 1829. In other words, it took nearly 30 years. And during these 30 years when Catholics were in Ireland for emancipation, that sense of grievance and alienation became inbuilt. They say politics is often a matter of timing. So Catholics from the start, never really felt a part of the British nation."

17:30 Tom: "The second reason for the emergence of nationalism was under economic reasons. I made the point that Britain was always the more prosperous of the two islands. What you got in the 19th century was the industrial transformation of Britain. Britain was the pioneer of the world's industrial revolution because Britain had the raw materials to develop industry. So Britain developed the great industrial cities like Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, Glasgow, Swansea, and others which made Britain the economic powerhouse of the world at that time." "Now stand back and think of Ireland and think of what resources we do not have. We don't have coal, we don't have iron ore, we don't have any of the ingredients to make an industrial revolution. Ireland only has one raw material in abundance, which you've already experienced, which is rain (a few laughs appear). So the one raw material that we do possess is rain and what that makes for us is a good farm. This may be a bit of an oversimplification, but if you look at the 19th century, you'll see a rapidly industrializing Britain and then Ireland, which is a big farm. And that, of course, increased the differential between the two islands."
But..but and there is no problem in this room for identifying the great calamity of farming in 19th Century Ireland. That was one of great events in 19th century Irish history, the Great Famine which began in September 1845 and lasted until 1849. The Great Famine was a catastrophic failure with the potato crop. Potatoes were the basic diet of the Irish people. It failed through disease and between 1845 and 1849, 1 million people on this island died of either starvation or disease. And up to 2 million migrated to the United States. It's the one thing about Ireland in the 19th century that people remember. And when we take our tour led by my colleague Neil Jarmin in Nationalist communities in Belfast, you will see wall murals commemorating the Great Famine and the Great Hunger. That is something that has existed in Irish folk history from that day to this. And you can't underestimate the importance of the famine because it led to the very simple question in people's minds: 'What use is the Union to us if it results in a calamity of such enormous proportions?' And therefore the way to deal with that was to have your own

government in Dublin taking decisions having to do with the land rather than having a government in London, which seemed callous and remote. So the economic dimensions focused clearly for obvious reasons on the famine, which was one of the fundamental determinants of Nationalism."

21:25 Tom: "And the third element, which I think is true of any nationalism, is the idea of culture. Nationalism was the great ideology of the age in Europe and in the United States during the 19th century. People asked themselves fundamental questions such as 'What makes me what I am? What makes me Italian? What makes me German?' People in Ireland asked themselves the same question and came up with ideas about identity, religion, and Irish culture…the significance of Irish sports, of Irish language, and Irish literature. And there was an enormous revival of Irish culture in the North of Ireland in the late 19th century. So by 1900, men and women in Ireland could take pride in the cultural achievements of Ireland. Most of us would argue that unless you had some pride for the nation, then nationalism is barely possible."
18:15 Tom: "So these are the three arguments which you have to understand in terms of where Irish nationalism came from and where it still sits today. Although certainly things have changed, the phenomenon of nationalism still remains as an essential part of political discourse in Northern Ireland today."

23:00 Tom: "But 25% of the population did not identify with nationalism, the identified with unionism. And unionism is the wish to retain the union. Unionism actually takes its name from the Union, which came from 1801. So why is it that 25% of the population failed to identify with nationalism and wished to retain the link with Britain, rather than see some sort of parliament or administration in Dublin.

23:45 Tom: "Well the first of these things is religion. The unionists were overwhelmingly Protestants and were overwhelmingly concentrated in the part of Ireland you're now in, Ulster, the northern province. So where have these Protestants come from and why did they fail to identify with the rest of Ireland? This takes us back to the starting point of where we are at the moment, the critical events of the beginning of the early 17th Century and then the critical events of the late 17th Century.

24:30 Tom: British power in Ireland had always spread from Dublin. Dublin was always the British base in Ireland. The province of Ulster, this northern province, had always been the hardest nut to crack from a military point of view. Ulster under its traditional Irish leaders always resisted the spread of English power most tenaciously. But by the early 17th century, that traditional Irish power was breaking. And in the year 1607, the two leaders of the local Irish

society (two Earls or traditional landowners) with their followers left Ulster. In Northern Irish society, it's known as the flight of the Earls. And these men with their followers sailed from Lough Swilley, which is only 10 or 12 miles from here and left for Spain and they were seen no more. What that meant was that the traditional Irish society was left without leaders.

26:13 The government in London saw its chance and declared that the land that had belonged to these men now belonged to the English Crown and the policy of plantation was set in line. The idea of plantation was a very simple one. The traditional lands had been taken over by the crown. Protestant settlers from Scotland and England would be brought across and planted and settled on these lands so that Ulster would remain firmly loyal to Britain. This is when, in 1613, the traditional name of Derry, or Doire—meaning oak grove-—was renamed Londonderry to emphasize its connection to London, the capital of England. This is still a very lively issue. If you have not come across it you certainly will in your period here. Catholics or nationalists refer to the city as Derry whereas Protestants and Unionists much prefer the name Londonderry. Londonderry is still the official name of the city. The city council, which has a majority of nationalists, is in the process of trying to change that. I say that simply to emphasize that those events of 400 years ago still have an echo in the politics of the city and of the society.

27:40 Tom: "So the idea of plantation was centered on thousands of Protestant settlers from Scotland and from England travelling over here to settle. That is, quite simply, the politics of the Protestant population. That's why many of us who study the Northern Ireland conflict define it increasingly as a conflict in ethnic terms. These are two communities which regard each other in very different ethnic ways. Now that does need some modification because over the centuries, people intermarried so the lines are not as clearly drawn. But nonetheless, the Catholic population in Northern Ireland sees itself as the descendants of the native Irish population. But the Protestant community in Northern Ireland sees itself as the descendants of the Protestants who settled here in the 17th century."

29:00 Tom: "Before I leave the aspect of religion, go back to the essential point that I made 10 minutes ago. If you're dealing with the political situation in 1900, you're dealing with people who believe very strongly in religious identity. Very strongly indeed, which would be true in the United States as well in 1900. And as far as Protestants were concerned, what they had feared in 1900 was being dominated by some kind of parliament in Dublin in which they would be a 25% minority."

29:45 Tom: "The second thing identifying Nationalism was the economy. The economy of Ulster in the 19th century developed very differently to the economy of the rest of Ireland. Essentially

from the 1850's in the two major cities in Ulster, Belfast and Derry, became industrial cities. Essentially they became outcrops of the British industrial system." Now you already have been in Derry long enough to see the relics of the great shirt and textile factories in the city from the 1850's onwards. Ask yourself a simple question, if you like, where did the shirt manufacturers in Derry sell their shirts? "The answer is quite simple, in the British market and in the British empire."

30:50 Tom: "But much more important is not Derry, but rather Belfast. Belfast did turn out to be a major industrial city on the lines of industrial cities like Manchester, Pittsburgh, Cleveland or wherever. And in particular from the 1850's, it developed one of the great shipbuilding industries in the world." He brings up that Belfast is responsible for creating the Titanic. Tom then describes the immensity of the shipyard 100 years ago when it had 30,000 workers on board. It was the largest shipbuilding complex in the world at the time. Today there are only 90 workers though.

32:20 But along with the shipyard, Belfast had other things as well. "Belfast had the biggest rope factory in the world. It also had enormous employment for women. Belfast was the world capital of the linen industry and it employed something like 70,000 women. Ask yourself again the question, what were the outlets for Belfast industry were for. Outlets for the industry were in the British empire. If you go back 100 years, the British empire was a system of globalization. It controlled 1/4 of the world and its population. And the products of Belfast were sold…well, where were they sold? Were they sold in Galway? No. In Cork? No. Were they sold in Kilkenny? No. Were they sold in Waterford? No. They were sold in Vancouver, Cape Town, Singapore, or Melbourne or any of the great cities of the British Empire. In other words, the industrial dynamic of Belfast was to remain part of the British system."
Now hold in your minds the economic comparison, the nationalist comparison question, what use is the British connection to us if our people die by the hundreds of thousands? To which the Unionist answer, of course, was, "What matters to us is not really what happens in Ireland, but our products have to marketed in the British Imperial system. So the economic perspectives in Belfast, less in Derry, but certainly in Belfast were fundamentally different from the rest of the island.

34:25 Tom: "And finally, you can take on the element of culture. Protestants in the late 19th century have different traditions than they do today. The most famous series of events in the city's history were the Siege of Derry in 1688-1689—you've already seen this on the walls. In order to understand the very different mental world of the Protestants and the Unionists you

have to go back to these events of 1988/1689. When you go around Belfast you always see the slogan painted up, “Remember 1690.” One of the classic slogans in Northern Irish history. To understand the mental world of the Protestant and Unionist community, you have to understand the significance of 1688-1689.

35:15 Tom: “We have to focus for a moment on the civil war which happened throughout Britain and Ireland in these critical years. In 1688, the King of both Britain and Ireland was King James II who was a Catholic—over Britain, which was supposed to be Protestant. And in 1688, there was a revolution in Britain in which King James II was overthrown, I always feel his rather ungrateful daughter Mary who was brought over from The Netherlands with her husband William, Prince of Orange, who became King William the 3rd. And what developed was a civil war throughout Britain and Ireland between these two figures, Catholic King James II and his Protestant son-in-law William III. That civil war was largely fought in Ireland because as a Catholic, King James II knew that he could rely on the support of a predominantly Catholic Ireland and could use Ireland as a base to regain his crown in London. The Protestants, as we know, rallied for Protestant William III. That, of course, is how you get the Siege of Derry. It was important at the time but through history it also has become metaphor for Protestant resistance against a predominantly Catholic Ireland.

36:55 The largest parade—we’ll be talking about the topic of parades next week—the largest parade in the so-called parading season here takes place in the city in August and is hosted by the Apprentice Boys of Derry when some 15,000 members of this organization created to commemorate the Siege of Derry parade through the city. It takes two and a half hours for the parade to pass a given point, possibly the largest demonstration of its kind any place in Europe. “Protestants see the defense of Derry as an essential part of their sense of identity. That was followed in the following year of 1690 by the victory of the Protestant forces of King William III defeated the Catholic army of King James II at the Battle of the Boyne close to the town of Drogheda. This was the great battle, as far as the Protestants of Ireland are concerned. That is their great victory. In 1795, Protestants here came together to form the Orange Order. In forming this exclusively Protestant society, they would bond with the traditions of the late 17th century. But this exclusively Protestant society of the Orange Order was the driving force behind the formation of in 1905 of the movement we know as Ulster Unionism. And what we have by this time is the polarization of Irish politics which is Unionism that is comprised almost exclusively by Protestants and Nationalism which is overwhelmingly Catholic.” He then asks if there are any questions so far.

39:40 Question: “So the Siege of Derry was basically Protestants sieging Derry because they didn’t want the Catholics to take over?” Yup essentially. The Protestants were inside the walls…. But were Protestants outside and were they trying to take over Northern Ireland, taking it away from the Catholic king?

39:55 Tom: “Well the Protestants were inside the walls. And basically what happened in 1688 and 1689 was that Protestants from all over Ireland were afraid of what they saw as the ascension of Catholic power and they fled. The interesting thing about Derry is it’s the last wall-city in Europe. There are fortifications in the 17th century later than ours, but the walls of Derry (from 1618) were put there as a defense mechanism for the Protestant population. So the Protestants have been brought in as the minority, they felt vulnerable and therefore there has to be, if you like, a place of refuge for them. If native Catholic Ireland rebelled against them, as they did in 1641 first, they want some sort of protection.

41:00 Tom: “So when trouble broke out in 1688, Derry was a small city then in terms of its population…we don’t actually know how large, but no more than a few thousand at most. But, when trouble started, Protestants from all over Ireland, particularly in the North, fled to Derry because they knew the walled city was there. That they did this actually was very interesting because you usually lose a siege. Generally lose a siege. Think of the Siege of Yorktown, for example (the decisive battle in the American Revolutionary War, that took place in 1781, lost by the British to a combined force of American revolutionary troops under Washington and French troops) and how important that was to the American Revolution.
Once you get inside a besieged city, you have cut yourself off from supplies and you are utterly dependent on the supplies that you have within the walls. Many more people died in the Siege of Derry because of disease and hunger than actual fighting. That’s perfectly normal during a siege. So as far as the Protestant population has told us, the siege lasted a total of 105 days which is the longest siege in Irish history. And the fact that they survived the siege… and you are going to meet the Apprentice Boys? The Apprentice Boys are the Protestant society in the city, which commemorates the siege and you’ll hear about all of these conditions from them.

42:35 Question: “Were the Earls an occupying force or were they traditionally Irish? Who controlled Ireland before the Earls?”

42: 50 Tom: “It’s complicated because the English base in Ireland was always Dublin. English power in Ireland was always up and down the east coast because that coast is low-lying and has a fertile land. It was known as the Pale which was the English part of Ireland. But if you were outside the Pale, you were no longer under British law. You were then under Irish law and

you were governed by chieftons. This was the case for hundreds of years and it was a basis of tension. By the late 16th century..this is where you have to translate but you always have to do this because events do not happen in isolation…there was a major power struggle between England and Spain, partly over control of the New World. It is all to do with the whole process of European expansion into America…you know, Spanish settlements and so on. There was a major power struggle.

44:44 And by this time, the British decided it was time to gain control of the whole of Ireland. It was just too dangerous from their point of view to have any part of Ireland outside of English control. So by the 1590's, the English were steadily expanding their military power throughout Ireland. It was all part of this larger war against the Spanish. And the critical period was around 1603 when the English forces succeeded, basically through superior military technique, in gaining control of this part of the island. In 1607, the two major Earls… the Earl of Tyrconnell which is the area we now call Donegal and the other of Tyrone…Tyrone is the county just south of us…they had been targets of violence and they decided to leave. In actual fact, we don't know why they left. Native Irish society, which was the structure that was here, literally left for the hills. The British government saw its chance and sent in its own people.

46:30 Question: "Since Ireland was predominantly Catholic, is there any reason that France didn't come over?

46:35 Tom: "Yes. The French were very much in support of King James II in 1688."

46:50 Question: "Well he was married to a French Queen, but why didn't the French forces come over?"

47:00 Tom: Well, they did. What the French did in 1688-1689 was send over generals and specialists to assist King James II. Why they didn't send over more in the way of French soldiers…it's interesting. They didn't. But what we call the Jacobite army—that's the Latin name for James, Jacobus. The Jacobite Army came with two French generals and it was their misfortune that within days of the siege that these generals were killed in combat, so the native Irish forces were cut off almost from the start.

"So the French involvement in that period and the Spanish involvement 100 years earlier does explain the English preoccupation with Ireland as a threat to security. In some way or another, Ireland was always tied to these conflicts."

Tom Fraser transition to next tape identified by jump cut

48:25 Student: Is there a certain percentage of votes that Northern Ireland gets? Or is it different every election?
Tom: The Northern Ireland members who sit in the...there are two levels of government at the moment, one of which is operating and one of them is in suspension. There's the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, and if I was told that you'd still be here for a longer amount of time, but I think I was told somebody else would be dealing with that later, but that's followed up by the assembly and executives in Belfast. But Northern Ireland still returns 18 members to the Parliament in London, and that's simply divided up into geographical places according to population. So as we sit here, we are in the district called Foyle. John Hume, who I think you are meeting later on, is the sitting member in Parliament for the Foyle constituency in London.

49:25 Student: So its the same amount for people, they generally don't change the numbers of people they keep in Parliament?
Tom: Yes it's simply divided up. Theres this thing called the Electoral Commission which covers the whole of the United Kingdom, and its politically neutral and all it does is divide up the area according to population.
Student: Okay so its like..
Tom: A bit like Congressional Districts for you guys.
Student: Okay. So its just whoever gets elected that year, its not like allocated.
Tom: Yes, yes.

49:58 Tom: Okay are we good to... (looks out at students who I suppose confirm that its alright to move on) Okay. Well, what these members did was instead of going to London, they formed what they called the Assembly of Ireland, in Irish (Dáil Éireann) which is also the name of the Irish Parliament in Dublin. They proclaimed their allegiance to the Republic. I sort of emphasize

the Republic, because they which placed a legitimate claim to their own government in 1916. They then began a campaign against the crown. Remember that the British crown to them is an illegitimate government in Ireland. In January 1919 they began campaigning against the police and formed their own army which they called the Irish Republican Army for these reasons which they regarded as the legitimate army of the Irish Republic. What I'm trying to trace for you is what is for Republicans their sense of legitimacy from the confirmation of the Republic in 1916, to the elections in 1918, to the formation of their own Parliament, Dáil Éireann, in 1919 and the formation of their own army the Irish Republican Army in 1919. Essentially by 1921 the IRA forces the British crown into a standstill and the predominantly Nationalist, 26 counties of Ireland became independent not as a Republic then, but as the Irish Free State. So, in 1922 the Irish Free State consisted of 26 predominantly Nationalist states who became independent as the Irish Free State and later in 1949 becomes a Republic. But what of the rest?

52:05 Tom: I did say 1916 was important for both. 1916 was as important to the Unionists as it was to the Republicans because in 1914 thousands of young men from the Ulster Volunteer Force joined the British army. And they became the basis of what was known as the 36 Ulster Division. Basically, the British army recruited entirely from the Protestants and Unionists from this part of Ireland. In 1916 on the first of July to be precise, the British army began its great defence against the Germans in France known as the Battle of the Somme. And such were the horrendous conditions of the first World War that the slaughter was enormous. In the space of...and of course what was not unique to the 36 Ulster Division, but that's what matters for our purposes...in the space of 36 hours 5,500 young men were killed. The way they were slaughtered away on the Western Front the First World War was horrendous. Now Northern Ireland is a small society and Ulster was the same (Northern Ireland did not yet exist). Ulster was a closely knit society and the loss of 5,500 young men had an absolutely devastating effect. For the Protestants, the Battle of the Somme is what the Easter Rising is to Republicans. For Protestants, they said, “Look we sacrificed our own young men in the Battle of Somme in the British cause, we deserve our reward.” And the Battle of Somme is commemorated in the Protestant/Unionist community as much as the Easter Rising is in the Republican community. This is the Protestant community saying, "This is our Britishness, we have sacrificed our young men and we need a reward." Yes (as to answer the question of a student).

54:10 Student: At one point was the UVF strictly Unionist or was it ever Unionist and Nationalist?

Tom: It was strictly Unionist. What was interesting about the Battle of Somme was many of Nationalist men also joined the British army and one of the other British assault divisions in

1916 was the 16th Irish Division which was largely recruited from Nationalists from Belfast and they lost horrendous casualties too, but they are never remembered in the same sort of way because there no interest on the part of either the Unionists or the Nationalists, frankly, after the war to remember to remember them. So what matters in terms of the starting ground is the Battle of the Somme.

When you do your tour in Belfast with my colleague Neil Jarmin, he will tell you about the wall murals in Belfast, I'm quite sure, sometimes those have lasted if you remember, and the timeline might not, because as you remember the murals are always changing. But you will certainly find in the Unionist areas of Belfast these wall murals commemorating the Unionist sacrifice at the Battle of the Somme.

So 1916 is a critically important date to each of the political traditions. I will say the most important date in the 20th century. Essentially what the Unionists were getting out of this was the partition of Ireland. I did say and I'm sure you know, the Irish
Free State comprised the 26 predominantly Nationalist and Catholic areas of Ireland, but the 6 counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Londonderry, Fermanagh, and Tyrone plus the cities of Belfast and Derry were retained within the United Kingdom. And that's why of course we get the title of the country, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

56:13 Tom: So in 1920 Northern Ireland came into existence in 1921. In 1921 essentially the Unionists get what they want, they get their reward, if you like, for their loyalty in the First World War relatively put and Northern Ireland has retained its 6 counties within the United Kingdom But greater problems come in.

The problem first of all was that although these 6 countries were predominantly Protestant/Unionist, they were not exclusively so and 33% of the population of that was Catholic/Nationalist. Take Derry city for instance. The city had a Catholic/Nationalist majority but was retained inside Northern Ireland and hence inside the UK.

Now the plain fact was that Nationalists in Derry or any other Nationalists in NI felt just as Irish as someone in Dublin or Galway anywhere else. What was being denied to them, they felt, was the essential sense of national identity, national self expression. That was the initial trouble which took Nationalists in NI a long time to recover. Now Nationalists felt cut off from Irish independence.

The population at 33%, I have always argued, was both too big and too little. What I mean by that: NI was given its own Parliament and government and one of the curiosities of 1921 was

that Northern Ireland got home rule, which it had resisted in a curious way. It gets home rule, which was a Parliament set up in Belfast. Now I don't know... You can actually see where the Parliament building was built, Stormont. The problem with the Parliament was rather straightforward. As long as people voted according to identity, there would always be a Unionist majority. 2/3 of the population was Unionist, there was always going to be a Unionist majority. So from 1921 until that Parliament was abolished in 1972, it was always a Protestant government. That's why I say the Catholic minority was too small because 33% can't become the majority and can't gain control of the leaders of Parliament. Nationalists and Catholics were by definition between 1921 and 1972 excluded from Parliament. That's why I say the minority was too small. But, it was also too big because 33% cannot alternately be ignored. You can ignore a small minority. Take the Irish Free State. In the Irish Free State the Protestant minority was 5% or 6%. You can ignore 5 or 6%. And that 5 or 6 percent Protestant in the Irish Free State in political terms was simply politically ignored. You can ignore them because they're never going to become a threat. But, 33% is just too big and ultimately the frustrations of that minority are going to come to the surface. That essentially is the case...it took to the 1960s to do it, but by the 1960s the frustrations of that minority have indeed come to the surface. I want to pause on that, because in many respects what then happens to Northern Ireland is incomprehensible unless you understand the basic proposition that NI comes into existence, it is suddenly given political self determination, self expression to the Unionist community. The Unionists get what they want and they are retained within the UK. It does not give the Nationalists what they want, they want to be a part of the United Ireland, they feel themselves as Irish and they are also, because of the structures of power put in place, excluded from power essentially from 1921 until the abolition of that Parliament in 1972.

1:01:00 Tom: Now does everybody understand that? Because you see unless you do nothing we do in the next couple of weeks is going to make any sense. Yeah?
Student: Well I understand it, but I just had a question in general. Why didn't a lot of the Catholics in NI just migrate to the Republic of Ireland? If they wanted a union anyway.
Tom: Why didn't they?
Student: Yeah, I guess I was asking why didn't they.
Tom; Some did actually. If you go back to 1921 you do get some shift of population, now it wasn't all that much, though some people did migrate. What is actually much more interesting in a curious way is the members of the Protestant minority elsewhere on the island came north. There was a fair bit of intimidation of isolated Protestant communities in areas of County Cork, Monaghan, and County Donegal and if you talk to unionists, for example, many of the unionist families here today you'll find two generations back had come across from Donegal because they did not feel safe there. I will be talking later next week of the particular problems of

Portadown and the parading problems there and how deeply seated the sectarian problems of Portadown are. And if you talk to Orangemen and unionists in Portadown as I have then what you'll find is that many of them are two generations descended from Protestant families who left the Irish Free State and settled in Portadown, which was the nearest large county to the Irish border and their attitude was that they had been chased out by Irish Nationalists and they won't let it happen again. So these folk memories are important.

1:02:55 So there is some population movement but the one pattern that is important still is in towns of counter-political attitude. There's not any Catholic migration south of the border, but Protestant migration north of the border which, as I say, you'll find for example, Orange lodges….Orange Order I'll be talking a bit more about the Orange Order next week...but when go into the large Belfast Orange processions on the 12th of July, you'll find a lot of examples where they refer to the Sons of Donegal in Belfast, they are actually descendants of the Protestant families that felt they had to leave Donegal. It's these kind of traditions which are worth remembering in times of conflict.

1:03:55 Tom: Okay so everyone understands the basic thing. I just want to move on in the final part to see how some of these things were reinforced where we will see how some of these things reinforced in terms of the substance at the end.

Three things, I think, are important. The tension between Protestants and Catholics in NI might...MIGHT... have worked themselves out, but for the great calamity which took place. North of Northern Ireland...and this had nothing to do with Ireland whatsoever, but it had everything to do with the world economic system and this of course was the most important day of the economic period in 1929 which was the Wall Street Crash. The Wall Street crash had ramifications everywhere, and it affected a lot of places, for example Edinborough. There were desperate consequences for industrial work, including here. The social consequences for cities like Derry were, first of all, economic devastation. Unemployment spiraled and there was no system in the period from 1929 through the 1930s of any kind of unemployment relief or social welfare. It meant that the two communities were fighting for jobs and it heightened, there is not question, it heightened the division between Catholic and Protestant. Catholic empoyers employed Catholics. Protestant employers employed Protestants, and frankly there were more Protestant employers than Catholic employers. Patterns of discrimination were built up. So in 1929 the Wall Street crash produced absolutely devastated economic consequences which then spilled over into relations between the two communities.

1:07:00 Tom: The second thing, which was important, was the outbreak of WWII in Europe. Dublin and Belfast took entirely different directions in 1931. The leader of what was still

technically the Irish Free State, Éamon de Valera, the great survivor of 1916, declared Ireland to be neutral and Ireland remained neutral from 1939 to 1945. Because NI, however, was part of the UK, NI from the very beginning was apart of the British war effort. So Northern Ireland was involved from the start in the allied war effort, while the rest of Ireland was not. And what that did was that it essentially sharpened the difference between the two parts of Ireland. It's really hard to overestimate how much.

1:07:02 Belfast for instance suffered two devastating air raids in the spring of 1941, some of the heaviest air raids ever to mounted on the UK. There were people killed in that day not a 15 minutes walk from here in the air raids in 1941. When the US became involved NI became a major area for American forces in the invasion of Europe. In fact, we actually cover up here one of the major command headquarters in the second world war because McGee College became a major American base headquarters and if you stand at the front of the building and see how the car park comes up so far, but only so far. Underneath there was a major command bunker and in 200 years time archaeologists will come dig it up, but they don't now because there is a drainage problem. If they dug it up they'd find all of these tons of coffee that have been grassed over. The problem in the making is that NI was very, very fully part of the allied war effort and indeed Eleanor Roosevelt came here during the Second World War, Bob Hope came here, effort and all the major figures you'd associate with the American war effort came...

1:08:37 Tom: Yes. Absolutely. So anyone important in the American war effort came here. But, what it did you see was that it very clearly sharpened the difference between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland. And it was Irish neutrality that was continued in the Cold War when the NATO alliances formed in 1949, Ireland did not join whereas NI, again being part of the UK, became part of the NATO alliance. In fact there was a large NATO base made here until 1976. So, the division of Ireland became even more acute due to these aspects of WWII.

1:09:25 And the third thing that happened after the Second World War was that the UK introduced a system of social welfare, of a free health service, for instance. Of unemployment insurance. it's known as the British Welfare State and because NI was apart of the UK, that also applied here. Also it was by definition did not apply in the rest of Ireland. So NI becomes socially very different from the rest of Ireland, and that in fact what is happening is that the differences between NI and the rest of Ireland are becoming sharper and sharper. But, the grievances of the Nationalist minority were not going away. Nationalist minority throughout that period is still inside NI unwillingly part of the UK and subject to these labels of discrimination.

It was particularly true here in Derry. The city at that time was governed by what was then called the Londonderry Corporation, the name LONDONDERRY Corporation. The city had a clear

Nationalist majority, but the voting system was so arranged so that the Unionists who only formed only about 1/3 of population of the city actually controlled the Corporation. The system which is familiar to you is gerrymandering, of course a very American term. The Londonderry Corporation was really the focus of the grievances of the Nationalists throughout Northern Ireland. It focused on issues such as the allocation public housing, public housing is a very important thing. Today it is less so but in the 1960s it was very important. Issues on the allocation of public housing, issues of allocation of jobs in the city in which there were very high levels of unemployment, and very strong feeling of course that the city's natural majority, which was Nationalist, was being denied what that majority would have demanded.

1:11:45 The result of this in 1967 was the formation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. And the timing of course was no accident because what hitting all of the radios and television screens in the 1960s was Martin Luther King and the struggle for civil rights in the USA. So the title Civil Rights Association was absolutely no accident. And it took as its focus the grievances of the Nationalist population here. On June 5th 1968, the Civil Rights march started to assemble just across the river from here at the railroad station with the purpose of marching to articulate grievances over civil rights in the center of the city. The government of NI banned the march and a result was the police then , the Royal Ulster Constabulary, dispatched the march by force. The 5th of June 1968 is the starting point in many respects for our modern political development.

1:13:03 Relations between the Nationalist community and the NI government worsened throughout the winter of 1968-1969 and what brought the crisis into focus was, Derry...once again every year on the 12th of August, the Apprentice Boys of Derry hold their major parade in memory of the siege, entirely a Protestant parade. As it was going through the edge of the city center, young Nationalist youths from the Bogside began throwing stones at the end of the procession and then the police. What then began on the 12th of August in 1969 and lasted until 14th of August was what was known as the Battle of the Bogside. Now you've already been to the Bogside and seen the mural commemorating the Battle of the Bogside, but by the 14th of August, the British government had decided to intervene. The things had gotten so out of control that they had to be taken out of the hands of Belfast and taken over by London. What happened was that on August 14, 1969, they had introduced the British army in a peacekeeping role. Once the British army had been employed, the situation changed forever because London, British government was now absolutely and fully involved.

1:14:40 Then also on August 14 a second thing happened. The rioting which before had been contained to the city here, moved to Belfast. And the divisions between the communities in

Belfast have always been much, much, much more acute than they have been in Derry. No one had been killed...so far one man had died as a result of a police beating in the spring of 1969...but no one had been killed as a result of the rioting between Catholics and Protestants.

In Belfast it was very different and on August 14, 1969, 10 people were killed while rioting in Belfast. These are the areas that you'll see when you go through the tour, there is the area of peace lines as they are known that were created to separate the two communities and to keep this kind of thing from happening. But in 1969 walls did not exist but you'll see them yourselvdes. 1969 saw Northern Ireland changed forever. The events of 1969 were truly revolutionary, they had shaken NI completely to its foundations. The fact that 10 people had been killed rioting, the British army had been introduced as a security role, men and all of the pieces in the jigsaw had literally fallen apart. 1969 was the culmination of what I'd been talking about in the early 1920s. Tensions that had been there in the system from the early 1920s ...that's why I asked if everyone understood what these tendsions were...come out in 1968-69 and everything that has been attempted from that day until now has been an attempt to put the pieces back together again. A very simple concept in mind, that everything that has been done from 1969-2003 is essentially trying to get NI back to some kind of solution, containment, transformation call it what you will. What I'm trying to do is set the context for the people you are going to hear from and the places you are going to see and the lectures you're going to...enjoy (laughter).
However, now it can be time for questions that you might have.

1:17:15 Student: Was it relatively just before the Battle of the Bogside, was that internment? When did that begin?
Tom: (gets up and moves away from the lectern, probably to hear the student better) Interment is 1971. Interment was impossible before 1971, but it was used before then. What I should've said was there were 2 IRA campaigns before that. One was as early as WWII and one between 1956 and 1962 and these failed largely because of lack of support in the Nationalist community. But interment was certainly used then. The internment which people think about mostly is the one that was introduced in August of 1971 once the Provisional IRA campaign got under way.

1:18:20 Student: Um I think, what I'm thinking about is hearing something I don't know, just before the Battle of the Bogside, how the police force and the military going into the Bogside, was that spurred by anything?
Tom: It was really from, October 1968 onwards there was increasing rioting in the Bogside. It came into focus particularly in early January 1969 when a breakaway movement, Paul Arthur will actually know a lot about this, ask him about this because he will know a lot more about it

than I do. But, a breakaway movement from the civil rights movement called the People's Democracy decided to have a march from the center of Belfast to the center of Derry. And it was something of a court trailing exercise (?). They had to pass through the eastern part of the city which is Protestant / Unionist and these marches had to pass through them. On January 4th 1969 there were 2 series of attacks on the marches. As a result of which there was very widespread rioting in the Bogside in sympathy and when you went there you would see the Free Derry corner and lots of signs that read "You are now entering Free Derry." What that meant was that the security forces, which meant effectively the police at that time, were not allowed to enter the area. That remained relatively true until July 1972 when there was effectively little to no security presence and thats a very important period of the political history of the city. And that's why there is a wall to to commemorate that.

1:20:35 Student: Would the barricades over Free Derry declaring, did that keep the forces out? Or was it more that the police couldn't get in if the troops couldn't.
Tom: It did and it didn't. What it really kind of was was an expression of a sort of independence from the British state as much as anything else. When I actually came to Derry in 1969, one of my first memories was going through the barricades which you could actually do pretty easily. The barricades just went up around the Bogside at that time. It wasn't an attempt.. security forces did go in and they went in a very heavily armed presence and they were attacked in the course of that. It became normal for a long time as a "no go area" for the security forces.
Milofsky: Wasn't there a high rise housing development there? And that was a problem because people would stand up there and they would throw rocks off the top.
Tom: Yes sure.
Milofsky: Yes (addressing students) and that was right next to this Free Derry establishment, so imagine 30 story buildings that was a Catholic housing project that people couldn't get into very easily and IRA members would use it for attacks from the roof of the thing, so it was torn down.
Student: It seems as though if there was such a force and the people were fighting armies, did they not want to cause the casualties of shooting a shell on top of this building? It seems like the forces were kids with gasoline bombs acting as an army, it seems like they would have the force to be able to overcome that.
Tom: Well thats what was happening. That's something many Unionists argued that the security forces had enough forces to do this. It's an interesting question in that it ties into some of what we will be doing next week. So we will park it until then because it sort of runs ahead of what we meant to cover for today. So would you mind if we part from it for now?
Student: Yea sure.

1:23:10 Student: I have a few questions. Were the social welfare programs extended to Catholics in Northern Ireland?
Tom: It was to everyone.
Student: Alright. And also during WWII when Ireland...the north of Ireland was part of the country they said they would have the use of 4 ports. Did they use the ports during WWII?

Tom: That was a major source of grievance on the British and later the American government because again going back to the simple fact of geography, all of the convoys from the US or Canada which came into the Britain which of course from 1942 effectively were the American troop convoys landed in Ireland, had to come in around the St. George's channel, which is south of Ireland or the North Channel which goes by here. Now the 1921 treaty between Britain and Ireland allowed for the use of 4 ports, one of which was Belfast, which we can forget about. The other 3 were Loch Swilly which helped come out of the North Channel, Queenstown in Cork and Berehaven in the southwest of Ireland. The argument for keeping that was the by 1917 Germany had almost defeated Britain through a submarine campaign and the British navy, when the treaty was made in 1921, insisted, if you like, that the price of Irish independence was that the British navy would have use of these 4 ports to command the sea approaches.

But in 1938, Éamon de Valera, who was then Prime Minister in Dublin negotiated with Britain that Britain would evacuate the treaty ports and Britain did. So when war was declared in 1939, all Britain was left with was Belfast and Derry which was not included in the treaty, although Loch Swilly was. What it meant was that, because Britain couldn't feed itself in terms of agricultural production and it was also looking to the United States for armaments, all of the convoys had to come past here. Which meant that the Germans could put all their submarines in one area rather than spreading them out over the south of Ireland and the north of Ireland, all the submarines could be concentrated in one area. Both London and Washington at various points put very strong pressure on Dublin to allow the British and American navies to use the other ports and Dublin simply held its neutrality policy and wouldn't do that.

1:26:15 Tom: The Irish policy of neutrality during WWII is actually kind of interesting because de Valera did cooperate with the allies to some extent. For example many young men in the south of Ireland who wanted to join the British army were allowed to do so. And I think some 50,000 or something did so. They also allowed the British and American air forces to overfly their territory. And when Belfast was bombed in 1941 he sent fire engines north to assist with Belfast. There's a famous story actually, one lady whose house was bombed and she was dug out of the rubble by a fireman whose uniform she didn't recognize, and she says "who are you?" and he said "the Dublin fire brigade, the one you've been blown up for." So there was cooperation, but the

essential policy of the Dublin government was one of neutrality which caused particular frustration on the issue, of course.

1:27:35 Student: (theres some sort of movement happening but I think what he's asking is whether any of the riots were driven by this neutrality and anger toward one side not helping the allies? Though I definitely heard him say something about the Vatican so I can't say for certain what he actually meant...)
Tom: It was seen essentially as the test of Irish independence. The line that de Valera took was that Ireland had struggled for hundreds of years to be independent of Britain. How did you test that? You tested it by not taking part in Britain's war. So when the test comes in 1939 Ireland chose the path of neutrality. The partition of Ireland was also an element. In response to the question, how could we take part, his argument was that Germany is not occupying any part of Irish territory, whereas Britain was occupying part of Irish territory. So that sort of explains their path in the war, it was that simple. It was the test of Irish independence from his perspective that Britain was occupying a part of Irish territory and Germany was not. This mistake however, it was a mistake that remained in the end of the war on... (tape cuts there must have been a scratch or something) He expressed his condolences to the German ambassador and the impact of that on Britain and the United States was devastating because by 1945 there had been knowledge of what the Germans had done. The argument for that was Roosevelt died 3 weeks before, so their ambassador wasn't allowed in the US to give his condolences to the American ambassador, so he gave it to the German one. Its the test of neutrality.
It you read anything on democracy in the Truman archives in Missouri the diplomatic consequences in Britain and the United States didn't quite condone that. Though it was an act of neutrality it wasn't a very smart move politically.

1:30:25 Fraser gives his permission once again for the lecture to be taped and says its okay for it to be in the archive. The class claps for him in thanks and then the tape ends.

1:30:28 Tape Ends