

Notes

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

1. See particularly Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Street* (Belfast, 1990), which includes well-documented sections on the Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland, NICRA and PD. On the NILP also see the following: an illuminating insider's view is C.E.B. Brett's *Long Shadows Cast before Midnight* (Edinburgh, 1978). Brett, who was described as one of the party's political ideologues, was chairman of the NILP's policy committee for 15 years. *The Northern Ireland Question in British Politics*, edited by Peter Catterall and Sean McDougall (London, 1996), includes a chapter on the NILP by Terry Cradden. For a more general overview see J. Whyte, *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford, 1991) and Tom Wilson, *Ulster: Conflict and Consent* (Oxford, 1989). Wilson acted as an adviser to the government of Northern Ireland while Whyte provides an apparently exhaustive bibliography.
2. Generally newspapers were consulted at the British Library (Newspaper Library, Colindale), periodicals at the University of London Library, Senate House.
3. Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland pamphlet, *The Plain Truth*, 2nd edn, Dungannon, Northern Ireland, 1969.

INTRODUCTION

1. Public Record Office, Kew [Henceforth PRO]: PREM 4/53/2. Letter from Bevin to Churchill, 18 June 1940.
2. Bernard Donoughue and G.W. Jones, *Herbert Morrison*, London, 1973, p. 307.
3. *Ibid.* pp. 307–8.
4. Formerly Dr Christopher Addison MP.
5. PRO CAB 129/13 CP (46)381, 'Eire and Northern Ireland'. 16 October 1946.
6. PRO CAB 129/2, CP (45)152 'Relations with Eire'. 7 September 1945. It is reasonable to assume that de Valera's condolences on the death of Hitler (after the opening of the Belsen concentration camp) hardly endeared the Irish leader to Labour Ministers).
7. PRO CAB 129/13 CP (46)391, 18 October 1946. 'Eire and Northern Ireland'.
8. Kenneth Morgan, *Labour in Power*, Oxford, 1985, p. 56.
9. Paul Bew and Henry Patterson, *The British State and the Ulster Crisis*, London, 1985, p. 8.
10. David Harkness, *Northern Ireland since 1920*, Dublin, 1983, p. 106.
11. *Ibid.* p. 106–7.

12. Richard Crossman, *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, vol. 3, London, 1977, p. 187.
13. F.S.L. Lyons, *Ireland Since the Famine*, London, 1985, pp. 568–9.
14. The Cabinet papers released in the late 1970s under the 30-year rule.
15. See particularly two of a number of Cabinet meetings where these matters were discussed: PRO CAB 128/13 CM 67(48)3 & 4, 28 October, 1948; PRO CAB 128/13, CM 74(48)6, 18 November 1948.
16. Ronald Hyam, *The Labour Government and the End of Empire, 1945–51*, London, 1992, p. lxix.
17. Ronan Fanning, *International Affairs*, vol. 58, 1982, No. 1. ‘The Response of the London and Belfast Governments to the declaration of The Republic of Ireland, 1948–49’.
18. PRO CAB 128/13 CM 75 (48)2, 22 November 1948.
19. PRO CAB 128/13 CM 76 (48)2, 25 November 1948.
20. PRO CAB 128/13 CM 81 (48)2, 15 December 1948.
21. Fanning, *International Affairs*. op. cit.
22. PRO CAB 128/15 CM 1 (49)2, 12 January 1949.
23. PRO CAB 129/32 (1) CP (49)4. 7 January 1949.
24. PRO CAB 128/15 CM 1 (49)2, 12 January 1949.
25. Fanning, *International Affairs*. One effect of the refusal to join NATO may well have been to neutralise the usual American concern for Irish unity.
26. CAB 21/2263 Notes for weekly visits to the King, 1947–50.
27. PREM 8/1468 ‘The Royal Style Titles and the King’s Signature’.
28. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 464, cols 1856–62, 11 May 1949.
29. PRO CAB 128/15 34 (49)3, 12 May 1949.
30. This policy of non-intervention was based on a ruling given by the Commons Speaker, J.H. Whitley, in 1923 which is discussed fully in the following chapter.
31. *The Times*, 18 May 1949.
32. *Ibid.*, 17 May 1949.
33. *Ibid.*, 18 May 1949.
34. *Ibid.*, 19 May 1949.
35. Bew, *British State*, pp. 9–10.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
37. Public Record Office, Northern Ireland. [Henceforth PRONI] COM 61/440 17 December 1940.
38. *Daily Herald*, 3 June 1953.
39. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 517, col. 1018. 6 July 1953. Bevan’s remarks were made during a brief debate on an Order to revoke all building controls in Northern Ireland.
40. Patrick Gordon Walker, *Political Diaries 1932–71* (ed.) Robert Pearce, London, 1991, pp. 212–14.

1 'LEAVE IT TO TERENCE': THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT,
OCTOBER 1964–MARCH 1966

1. Interview with Professor Griffith 19 December 1995. John Griffith, a friend of the author's brother, gave invaluable help in unravelling the intricacies of the convention.
2. Now housed at the National Museum of Labour History, Manchester.
3. In 1949 the NILP came out firmly for maintaining the link with Britain.
4. ICBH seminar, London, 14 January 1992.
5. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 536, cols 778–85, 31 January 1955.
6. James Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, London, 1987, pp. 271–2.
7. For five years the CSJ 'mounted a strong publicity campaign in Britain and abroad... Its efforts were particularly effective in building up support for the civil rights movement within the British Labour Party'. W.D. Flackes, *Northern Ireland: a Political Directory 1968–79*, Dublin, 1980, p. 35.
8. Brian Faulkner, *Memoirs of a Statesman*, London, 1978, p. 130; Bew, *British State*, p.11.
9. Interview with Haines, 12 September 1996. He had been appointed 10 Downing Street Press Secretary in January 1969. The author has known him well for many years.
10. CSJNI pamphlet, *The Plain Truth*, 2nd edn, Dungannon, Northern Ireland, 1969.
11. *Irish News*, 3 October 1964.
12. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, Belfast, 1990, p. 100.
13. NEC minutes, Home Policy Sub Committee, 2 December 1963, National Museum of Labour History, RD578.
14. Interview with Roy Lilley [later Editor of the *Belfast Telegraph*] 12 May 1993.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 698. cols 1097–1152. 14 July 1964.
17. *New Statesman*, 6 September 1975.
18. Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, Belfast, 1992, p. 632.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *The Times*, 2 October 1964.
21. *Ibid.*, 3 October 1964.
22. Bardon, *Ulster*, p. 632.
23. The Home Secretary, Sir Frank Soskice, told the Cabinet that the Irish Republic would have to give an undertaking that the remains would be reinterred in Republican territory and would not be subsequently removed. PRO CAB 128/39 CM1 (65)2, 14 January 1965. Wilson had previously told Soskice that he agreed with this condition. PREM 13/530, Casement, note from Wilson to Soskice, 5 January 1965.
24. Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government: 1964–70*, London, 1971, p. 75.
25. *Irish Times*, 1 April 1966.
26. PRO CAB 129/123 C. (65)175, 'Negotiations for a Free Trade Area

- Agreement with the Irish Republic', 8 December 1965.
27. *The Times*, 18 March 1965.
 28. *Ibid.*, 19 March 1965.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. *The Times: Guide to the House of Commons, 1966*, London, 1966, p. 16. From an anonymous article in fact written by one of *The Times's* lobby correspondents.
 31. Interview with Oliver Wright, 8 September 1992.
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. PRO, PREM 13/980 'Relations between the United Kingdom and Ireland', Letter from the Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Terence O'Neill, to the Home Secretary, Sir Frank Soskice, 9 December 1965.
 34. *Ibid.* Minute to the Prime Minister from Soskice, 10 December 1965. On it Wilson had scribbled in pen: 'I agree. Is Sec of State doing it or does he want me to do so – e.g. at lunch'.
 35. *Ibid.* Letter from M.H.M. Reid, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, to R.F.D. Shuffrey, Principal Private Secretary to the Home Secretary, 13 December 1965.
 36. *Ibid.* Note for the Record written by P. Le Cheminant, Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, 4 March 1966.
 37. PRO, DEFE 4/197, MOD Chiefs of Staff Committee, Confidential Annex to COS 15th Meeting (66), 17 March 1966.
 38. PRO, PREM 13/980, Minute to the Prime Minister from the Cabinet Secretary, Sir Burke Trend, 24 March 1966.
 39. *Ibid.* Minute from Soskice to the Prime Minister, 4 April 1966.
 40. PRO CAB 128/41 CM18 (66)2. 7 April 1966.
 41. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th Ser., vol. 163, cols 1623–15, 3 May 1923.
 42. Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson, *Northern Ireland 1921–1994*, London, 1995, p. 160.
 43. Senior lecturer in Law at Queen's University, Belfast, in the 1960s.
 44. H. Calvert, *Constitutional Law in Northern Ireland*, London & Belfast, 1968, p. 101.
 45. *Ibid.*
 46. *Ibid.* Section 5 precludes 'any penalty disadvantage or disability being imposed on account of religious beliefs'.
 47. *Ibid.*, p.103.
 48. Interview with Professor Griffith, 19 December 1995.
 49. *Ibid.*
 50. The Government of Ireland Act states: 'Notwithstanding the establishment of the Parliaments of Southern and Northern Ireland ... or anything contained in this Act, the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof.'
 51. Interview with Professor Griffith, 19 December 1995.
 52. *Ibid.*
 53. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 803, cols 1365–66, 14 July 1970.
 54. *Ibid.* vol. 707, cols 45–105, 22 February 1965.
 55. Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*, London, 1989, p. 583.

56. Mahon and Crawshaw represented seats with a high proportion of Irish voters.
57. Labour MP for Manchester, Blackley, 1964–79.
58. Paul Rose, The Northern Ireland Problem (2) Breaking the Convention, *Contemporary Review*, December 1971, vol. 219.
59. For example in 1971 he recalled going to the House of Commons to pay ‘one of a long series of tributes’ to O’Neill. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 671.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
61. *Ibid.*
62. For a full account of this meeting see Chapter 5.
63. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 718, cols 22–114, 26 October 1965.
64. *Belfast Telegraph*, 29 April 1965.
65. Interview with Otton, 24 September 1996.
66. ICBH seminar.
67. This letter is quoted earlier in the chapter.
68. ICBH seminar.
69. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 177.
70. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 720, col. 39, 9 November 1965.
71. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 178.
72. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 711, cols 1560–62. 6 May 1965.
73. PREM 13/1077, Prime Minister’s Personal Minute, Wilson to Bowden, 31 January 1966.
74. Waller was a personal friend of Wilson’s.

2 THE ‘CRUCIALLY DIFFICULT YEAR’, APRIL–AUGUST 1966

1. Kenneth Bloomfield, *Stormont in Crisis*, Belfast, 1994, p. 86.
2. *Sunday Times*, 3 July 1966.
3. ‘O’Neillism’ was hardly a policy but more an imprecise phrase used to cover the Ulster premier’s conviction that a more enlightened attitude to the minority community, coupled with economic growth (making everyone in the province, Catholic and Protestant alike, better off), would avoid the need for structural reform which, in any case, his party would never accept.
4. Bloomfield, *Crisis*, pp. 108–9.
5. Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, Belfast, 1992, pp. 645–6.
6. W.D. Flackes, *Northern Ireland: a Political Directory*, Dublin, 1980, pp. 60–1.
7. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, Belfast, 1990, p. 64.
8. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 727, cols 437–46, 25 April 1966.
9. *Ibid.*, cols 574–79, 26 April 1966.
10. See Chapter 5.
11. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 727, col. 485, 25 April 1966.

12. In an interview for the BBC *Timewatch* programme made during 1992 but not included when the programme, 'The sparks that lit the bonfire', was broadcast on 27 January 1993.
13. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 727, cols 574–79, 26 April 1966.
14. Interview with Lilley, 12 May 1993.
15. *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 May 1966.
16. PRO PREM 13/980. Note of a meeting between Minister (Army) and Lord Stonham, Parliamentary Secretary Home Office, 13 April 1966.
17. PREM 13/1077 Prime Minister's Personal Minute, Wilson to Bowden, 31 January 1966.
18. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 729, cols 721–23, 26 May 1966. This was an early version of 'the West Lothian question' that bedevilled Labour during the Scottish devolution controversy in the late 1970s.
19. *Ibid.*, vol. 736, cols 224–28, 15 November 1966.
20. *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 May 1966. For Wilson's Tory 'hacks' remark, mentioned by Diamond, see *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 711, cols 1560–62. 6 May 1965.
21. Interview with Paul Rose, 14 August 1992.
22. From transcript of BBC *Timewatch* interview, not broadcast.
23. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 729, cols 923–951, 27 May 1966.
24. *Belfast Telegraph*, 17 May 1966.
25. ICBH seminar, London, 14 January 1992. For Clause 48 of the Finance Bill 1966 see Parliamentary Papers Session 18 April 1966–27 October 1967. vol. 3. Finance Bill Part V11 Miscellaneous. 48 MPs of Northern Ireland: Pension Fund and annuity premiums. pp. 54–5.
26. ICBH seminar.
27. Interview with McNamara 25 June 1992.
28. The Special Powers Act, passed in 1922, was designed primarily to repress the IRA and Republican groups. The Minister of Home Affairs was authorised 'to take all such steps and issue all such orders as may be necessary for preserving the peace and order'. It also provided that action might be deemed 'prejudicial to the preservation of the peace or maintenance of order'; even if not specified in the regulations. It made large blanket grants of authority, including the power to intern for years without trial or relief of *habeas corpus*. Richard Rose, *Governing without Consensus*, London, 1971, p. 128.
29. The above amendments are from the private papers of Kevin McNamara MP, Brynmor Jones Library, University of Hull.
30. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 86.
31. Bardon, *Ulster*, p. 635.
32. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 96.
33. Interview with Thorpe, 10 June 1993.
34. *Belfast Telegraph*, 28 June 1966. (Under headline of '100 MPs may sign motion on Ulster')
35. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 730, cols 1585–87, 28 June 1966.

36. *The Times*, 29 June 1966.
37. Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*, London, 1989, p. 585.
38. *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, vol. V, No II, January 1989, p. 51. However, in his more recent contribution to the Dictionary of National Biography Professor Bew stresses that O’Neill was ‘essentially a man of decent tolerant instincts’. [Dictionary of National Biography. Oxford, 1996, p. 337.] For a summary of his D.N.B. article see the conclusion to Chapter 6.
39. ICBH seminar.
40. Interview with Hattersley, 16 June 1992.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 75.
43. *Ibid.* p. 76.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Interview with Bloomfield, 1 December 1993.
46. *Ibid.*
47. The Orange Order, the largest Protestant organisation in Northern Ireland, with between 80 000 and 100 000 active members. From W.D. Flackes, *Northern Ireland A Political Directory 1968–79*, Dublin, p. 103.
48. Brian Faulkner, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, 1971–2.
49. Interview with Bloomfield. The ‘excesses’ were some of the bizarre traditions of the Orange movement.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Belfast Telegraph*, Ulster Letter from London ‘A Breach of Convention’, 1 July 1966.
52. *Ibid.*
53. For example, Kevin McNamara and Paul Rose in interviews with the writer, 25 June 1992 and 14 August 1992 respectively.
54. Interview with McNamara.
55. *Sunday Times*, 3 July 1966.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. From the Foreword to *Ulster*, by the *Sunday Times* Insight Team, Harmondsworth, London, 1972, p. 8.
59. David Harkness, *Northern Ireland since 1920*, Dublin, 1983, p. 148.
60. *Irish Times*, 6 July 1966.
61. *Belfast Telegraph*, 13 July 1966.
62. *Ibid.*, ‘Ulster Letter from London’, 8 July 1966.
63. Very brief interview with Jenkins, 3 October 1992.
64. Roy Jenkins, *A Life at the Centre*, London, 1991.
65. Bardon, *Ulster*, p. 646.
66. *Observer*, 6 October 1968, in an article headed, ‘John Bull’s White Ghettos’.
67. Letter from Bloomfield to the writer, 16 June 1994.
68. Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964–1970*, London, 1971, p. 270.
69. Keith Jeffrey and Peter Hennessy, *States of Emergency*, London, 1983, p. 241.
70. Ben Pimlott, *Harold Wilson*, London, 1992, p. 405.

71. Kenneth Morgan, *The People's Peace*, Oxford, 1990, p. 254.
72. Pimlott, *Wilson*, p. 408.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 428.
74. Morgan, *Peace*, p. 265–6.
75. Walter Bagehot, 'The Premiership', in Norman St. John-Steuas (ed.), *The Collected Works of Walter Bagehot*, vol. 6, London, 1974, p. 67.
76. Wilson, *Labour Government*, pp. 270–1.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Interview in 1994 with a former Whitehall Permanent Secretary.
79. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *States of Ireland*, London, 1972, p. 164.
80. Terence O'Neill, *The Autobiography of Terence O'Neill*, London, 1972, p. 83.
81. *Belfast Telegraph*, 6 August 1966.
82. ICBH seminar.
83. See for example Foley's speech earlier in the chapter.
84. ICBH seminar.
85. Interview with Paul Rose, 14 August 1992. The writer attempted to see Shirley Williams but she was not available for interview.
86. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 733, cols 1276–1311, 8 August 1966.
87. The debate is given considerable space partly because at no other time during five years before the troops went in was the convention so strongly challenged on the floor of the Commons and also because the CDU MPs achieved, if nothing else, the clearest interpretation of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 yet given from the Deputy Speaker, Sir Eric Fletcher, and Alice Bacon on behalf of the Government.
88. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 733, 8 August 1966.
89. Interview with Haines, 12 September 1996.
90. PRO PREM 13/980, Minute from Soskice to the Prime Minister, 4 April 1966.
91. *Ibid.*
92. 'Harold Wilson's failure to examine seriously O'Neill's policies may, ironically enough, be held in large part responsible for the eventual collapse of O'Neill's government. These policies could only have succeeded if there had been an early implementation of reforms in the area of local government and housing.' Paul Bew and Henry Patterson, *The British State and the Ulster Crisis*, London, 1985, p. 15.

3 PUTTING OFF THE EVIL DAY, SEPTEMBER 1966–MAY 1967

1. Interview with Dr John Oliver, 8 February 1995.
2. *House of Commons Debates*. 5th ser. vol. 745, cols 1821–23, 27 April 1967.
3. Oliver was chief adviser to the chairman of the Constitutional Convention, 1975–6. Born Belfast 1913, entered Northern Ireland Civil Service in 1936 and rose to be Permanent Secretary in the Development Ministry in 1970 and Housing Dept 1974. Retired 1976.
4. Interview with Oliver.

5. William Ewart Bell, Assistant Secretary, Commerce, Northern Ireland, 1963–70 (ended career as Head of Northern Ireland Civil Service, 1979).
6. Interview with Oliver.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Letter to the writer from retired senior civil servant, 31 May 1995. The DEA was abolished in 1969.
9. Ben Pimlott, *Harold Wilson*, London, 1993, p. 431.
10. In the years before the troops were sent to Ulster, in August 1969, the Conservatives had resisted any suggestion of intervention in Northern Ireland affairs by Westminster. However, after August 1969, their policy seems to have changed. During the 1970 General Election campaign Sir Alec Douglas-Home, speaking in Belfast, warned of the circumstances in which Stormont would have to be closed down. Professor John Ramsden, historian of the Conservative Party, has written that Sir Alec was ‘foreshadowing’ direct rule though few would have been aware of the fact. It was inconceivable that he had not cleared his remarks with Heath first. John Ramsden, *The Winds of Change*, London, 1996, p. 342.
11. *The Times*, leading article, 28 September 1966.
12. *Belfast Telegraph*, 28 October 1966.
13. *Ibid.* 29 October.
14. PRO PREM 13/1077, Prime Minister’s Personal Minute, Wilson to Bowden, 31 January 1966.
15. Pimlott, *Wilson*, p. 428.
16. Private information.
17. *Catholic Herald*, 17 March 1967.
18. Interview with Waller, 15 March 1995. The same point about Wilson’s deeply held commitment to Ireland was made by Joe Haines [see Chapter 1].
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *The Times*, 20 December 1966.
22. Kenneth Bloomfield, *Stormont in Crisis*, Belfast, 1994, p. 97.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Terence O’Neill, *The Autobiography of Terence O’Neill*, London, 1972, p. 129.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 61–2.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 87. As mentioned in Chapter 1 the papers released by the PRO in January 1997 included a warning from O’Neill that IRA violence during the anniversary celebrations would be a serious setback to his efforts to cement a more friendly relationship with the Republic: PRO, PREM 13/980. ‘Relations between the United Kingdom and Ireland. Letter from the Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Terence O’Neill to the Home Secretary, Sir Frank Soskice, 9 December 1965’.
30. *Ibid.*, p.137.

31. *Belfast Telegraph*, 4 January 1967.
32. Bloomfield, *Stormont* p. 101. Bloomfield also expressed the respect he felt for Sayers in his interview with the writer.
33. According to Cecil King, Harold Wilson once remarked that Longford had a mental age of 12: Cecil King, *The Cecil King Diary 1965–1970*, London, 1972, p. 19.
34. Paul Rose, *Backbencher's Dilemma*, London, 1981, p. 194.
35. Rose, *Dilemma*, p. 180.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 194.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
39. The report is reproduced by Rose in *Backbencher's Dilemma*, pp. 194–8.
40. Sub-tenants, lodgers, servants, and children over 21 living at home could not vote. 'About 250,000 adults were thus disenfranchised for local government elections. The great bulk of them were Catholics.' From the *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Ulster*, 1972, p. 35.
41. Rose, *Dilemma*, pp. 197–8.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
43. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, Belfast, 1990, p. 70.
44. *Belfast Telegraph*, 17 April 1967.
45. Richard Rose, *Governing without Consensus*, London, 1971, p. 119. Rose says that some 'estimates range as high as £140 million annually'.
46. *Belfast Telegraph*, 10 May 1967.
47. PRO CAB 128/41 CM 18 (66)2, 7 April 1966.
48. Paul Rose, *Dilemma*, pp. 181–2.
49. Interview with Paul Rose. 14 August 1992.
50. Jenkins was not prepared to give the writer a full interview. He spoke to him very briefly, and reluctantly, in a TV studio on 3 October 1992 after he, Jenkins, had appeared in a televised documentary.
51. Brian Wenham, 'Political Certainties and a Doubtful Truce', *Financial Times*, 27 August 1986. Cited by Peter Hennessy in 'The Quality of Political Journalism', *R.S.A. Journal*, vol. no. CXXXV, November, 1987.
52. The papers of the Society of Labour Lawyers, British Library of Political and Economic Science, London School of Economics, Temporary Box numbers 144–55.
53. *Ibid.*, T.B. numbers 63–73. 19 April 1967.
54. *Belfast Telegraph*, 18 April 1967.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Interview with Garrett, 30 January 1995.
57. Interview with Lord Archer, 12 October 1994.
58. Letter from Lord Richard to the writer, 10 November 1994.
59. Interview with Lord Archer.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. Harold Evans, in an introduction to *Ulster*, *Sunday Times* Insight Team, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1972, p. 8. The full quotation is given in Chapter 2.

64. The praise, mentioned in Chapter 1, was contained in *The Times Guide to the House of Commons 1966*, London, 1966, p. 16.
65. Pimlott, *Wilson*, p. 448.
66. *The Times*, 24 April 1967.
67. *Ibid.*
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, 25 April 1967.
70. *Ibid.*, 26 April 1967.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Ibid.*, 27 April 1967.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Belfast Telegraph*, 27 April 1967.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *House of Commons Debates*. 5th ser. vol. 745, cols 1821–23, 27 April 1967.
78. Interview with Oliver.
79. Interview with Haines 12 September 1996.
80. James Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, London, 1987, p. 271.

4 THE PHONEY PEACE, MAY 1967–MARCH 1968

1. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 751, col 1687, 25 October 1967.
2. Some years later his close colleague Merlyn Rees described how ‘politically bruised’ he (Callaghan) felt. ‘Jim Callaghan and the Irish Problem’, *Contemporary Review*, October 1973, vol. 223.
3. ‘Peter Shore – a Wilsonite witness close to the throne – told Wedgwood Benn that the Prime Minister was still convinced about a deliberate plot to dispose of him ...’. Ben Pimlott, *Harold Wilson*, London, 1993, p. 431.
4. Richard Rose, *Governing without Consensus*, London, 1971, pp. 188–9. Professor Rose suggested that the high level of ‘don’t knows’ indicated confusion about the meaning of a complex four-syllable word.
5. Paul Bew and Henry Patterson, *The British State and the Ulster Crisis*, 1985, p. 15.
6. Letter to the writer, from the civil servant, now retired, who does not wish to be identified, 20 October 1996. He also said that the Editor, William Rees-Mogg ‘was well respected, even if he was not looked on as one of the really great editors’, and he added, ‘it always had to be borne in mind that he [Rees-Mogg] was a Roman Catholic’.
7. *The Times*, 2 May 1967.
8. Interview with Rees-Mogg, 13 November 1995.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *The Times*, 2 May 1967.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Interview with Rees-Mogg.
13. *Ibid.*

14. Ibid. 'Canadian Thomsonism' is a reference to Roy Thomson, the Canadian newspaper proprietor, who had recently acquired *The Times*. In a letter to the writer, 22 January 1996, Hickey denied that he would have resigned if taken off Ireland 'provided that the reason was difference of opinion and not a general withdrawal of his [Rees-Mogg's] confidence'.
15. *Belfast Telegraph*, 19 May 1967.
16. Ibid., 1 August 1967.
17. Papers of Society of Labour Lawyers, LSE, temporary box numbers 63–73.
18. Interview with Garrett 30 January 1995.
19. SLL papers.
20. Interview with Lord Archer, 12 October 1994.
21. *Belfast Telegraph*, 3 August 1967.
22. *Irish Times*, 12 and 13 September 1967.
23. Ibid., 2 October 1967.
24. *Belfast Telegraph*, 2 October 1967.
25. Ibid., 3 October 1967.
26. Ibid., 4 October 1967.
27. Ibid.
28. '... a group which is generally thought to have close links with the Communist party of Great Britain; its title commemorates Ireland's best-known Marxist Socialist ... James Connolly'. From Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, Belfast, 1990, p. 106.
29. *Belfast Telegraph*, 4 October 1967.
30. Ibid., 13 October 1967.
31. Ibid.
32. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 751, cols 1662–88, 25 October, 1967.
33. Paul Rose and Kevin McNamara, in interviews with the writer.
34. *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 November 1967.
35. Ibid., 27 November 1967.
36. Ibid.
37. Some years later the Conservative Prime Minister, Edward Heath, offered him a post in a coalition Cabinet after the 'hung' general election of February 1974.
38. Letter to the writer from David McKie, 28 January 1993.
39. Interview with Thorpe, 10 June 1993.
40. Pimlott, *Wilson*, pp. 503–4.
41. Callaghan's own recollection of this visit is to be found in Chapter 1.
42. ICBH seminar, London, 14 January 1992.
43. For example Sir Kenneth Bloomfield, then Deputy Secretary to the Northern Ireland Cabinet, said that at the time he had written a 'position paper' on intervention explaining to the Unionists that they were wrong in claiming that the convention that Westminster did not interfere now had the force of law. [Interview with the writer, 1 December 1993.] Sir Frank Cooper, who was a senior official at the Ministry of Defence in the late 1960s and Permanent Secretary, Northern Ireland Office, 1973–6, described Callaghan's view as 'a rationalisation after

the event'. He said, 'Parliament is still sovereign so this is not an excuse that will stand up. It is this "let's not get involved" argument ... There was gross failure in this country, and indeed in Northern Ireland itself, to appreciate that the thing was getting sourer and sourer and nastier and nastier'. (Interview with the writer, 11 January 1994.)

44. James Callaghan, *Time and Chance*, London, 1987, p. 270.
45. Callaghan, *House*, p. 1.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
49. Merlyn Rees, reviewing James Callaghan's *A House Divided*, London, 1973, in *Contemporary Review*, vol. 223, October 1973.
50. *Irish Times*, 30 November 1967.
51. Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964–70*, London, 1971, p. 220.
52. Cecil King, *The Cecil King Diary 1965–1970*, London, 1972, p. 19.
53. Mary Craig, *Longford*, London, 1978, p. 189.
54. Lord Longford, *The Grain of Wheat*, London, 1974, p. 95.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Interview with Lord Longford, 10 October 1995.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Interview with McNamara, 26 October 1995.
59. *The Times*, 19 January 1968.
60. *Ibid.*, 20 January 1968.
61. *Belfast Telegraph*, 12 March 1968.
62. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1968.
63. Kenneth Bloomfield, *Stormont in Crisis*, Belfast, 1993, p. 97.
64. Andrew Gailey, *Crying in the Wilderness*, Belfast, 1995, p. 131.
65. *The Times*, 25 March 1968.

5 THE ROAD TO LONDONDERRY, APRIL–OCTOBER 1968

1. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 768, cols 731–33, 11 July 1968.
2. *The Times*, 5 October 1968.
3. Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964–70*, London, p. 671.
4. Kenneth Bloomfield, *Stormont in Crisis*, Belfast, 1994, p. 98.
5. ICBH seminar, London, 14 January 1992.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Interview with Oliver, 8 February 1995.
8. See account of CDU meeting at the House of Commons later in this chapter.
9. Michael Cunningham, *British Government Policy in Northern Ireland 1969–89*, Manchester, 1991, p. 17.
10. PRO DEFE 4/197 MOD Chiefs of Staff Committee, Confidential Annex to COS 15th Meeting 66, 17 March 1996.
11. ICBH seminar.
12. Victor Stonham, formerly MP for Shoreditch and Finsbury 1954–8; created a life peer in 1958; Minister of State, Home Office, 1967–9; died, 1971.

13. *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 June 1968.
14. A full version of McNamara's remarks about Bacon can be found in Chapter 2.
15. ICBH seminar.
16. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, Belfast, 1990, p. 109.
17. From the private papers of Kevin McNamara, Brynmar Jones Library, University of Hull.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Interview with McNamara, 25 June 1992.
20. From the private papers of McNamara.
21. *Belfast Telegraph*, 23 June 1968.
22. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 768, cols 731–33.
23. Interview with Whitaker, 27 August 1996. [Whitaker, ironically, was a relative by marriage to Terence O'Neill.]
24. Interview with Sir Frank Cooper, 17 February 1997. Sir Frank went on to be Permanent Secretary to the Northern Ireland Office, 1973–6 and then Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, 1976–82.
25. *Belfast Telegraph*, 23 July 1968.
26. *Ibid.*, 24 July 1968.
27. The report is not to be found among the papers of the Society of Labour Lawyers held at the BLEPS, LSE.
28. *Belfast Telegraph*, 22 August 1968.
29. See below comments of George Clark, *The Times*' political correspondent, 5 October 1968.
30. *The Times*, 28 August 1968.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Belfast Telegraph*, 30 September 1968.
33. Paddy Byrne, typescript in the CDU archive, dated October 1973. NIPRO D3026/7.
34. *Belfast Telegraph*, 1 November 1968.
35. *The Times*, 5 October 1968. The other Labour MPs who went to Londonderry were: Russell Kerr, Feltham, his wife Anne Kerr, Rochester and Chatham, Dr David Kerr, Wandsworth Central [not related] and John Ryan, Uxbridge.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Paul Arthur, *Government and Politics of Northern Ireland*, Harlow, 1980, p. 103–4.
38. *Ibid.*
39. W.D. Flackes, *Northern Ireland. A Political Directory*, Dublin, 1980, p. 44.
40. BBC *Timewatch* transcript, provided by the BBC. The transcript was undated but the interview with Fitt was carried out during 1992 for the programme, 'The Spark that Lit the Bonfire', which was broadcast on BBC2 on 27 January 1993.
41. Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*, London, 1989, p. 588.
42. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 671.
43. BBC *Timewatch* interview with Callaghan. Undated transcript provided by the BBC. As in the case of Fitt the interview was carried out during 1992.

44. Ibid.
45. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, pp. 98–9.
46. Brian Faulkner, *Memoirs of a Statesman*, London, 1978, pp. 48–9.
47. *The Round Table*, January 1969, No 233. The article is dated November, 1968.
48. *The Times*, 7 October 1968.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid., 8 October 1968.
52. See reference to Holland in previous chapter.
53. ‘The magazine’s circulation peaked in the mid-sixties ...’ from the *Guardian* 22 April, 1996.
54. Editor of the *New Statesman* from 1965 to 1970.
55. *New Statesman*, 11 October 1968.
56. Ibid.
57. *Economist*, 12 October 1968.
58. Ibid.
59. Richard Crossman, *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, vol. 3, London, 1977, p. 187. Wilson’s reference to ‘twelve Ulster MPs’ implied they were all Unionists when in fact one was Gerry Fitt, who sat on the Labour benches and generally supported the Government.
60. Papers of Richard Crossman, Modern Records Centre, University Library, University of Warwick, temporary file X5 (papers not yet catalogued).
61. Flackes, *Northern Ireland*, p. 52.
62. Ibid., p. 186.
63. Paul Rose, The Northern Ireland Problem (2) Breaking the Convention, *Contemporary Review*, vol. 219, 1971, p. 286.
64. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 770, cols 882–85, 21 October 1968.
65. Ibid., Cols 1088–90, 22 October 1968.
66. See footnote 17, above.
67. *The Times*, 6 August 1968. Mackintosh was that rarity at the time, a Scottish MP who believed in devolution.
68. Crossman, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 478.

6 ‘HISTORY IS AGAINST US’, NOVEMBER 1968–APRIL 1969

1. From a ‘memorandum’ written by a senior civil servant, now retired, who does not wish to be identified.
2. Kenneth Bloomfield, *Stormont in Crisis*, Belfast, 1994, p. 108.
3. Ibid., pp. 100–1.
4. ICBH seminar, London, 14 January 1992 and interview with Sir John Chilcot, Permanent Secretary Northern Ireland Office [retired 1997], 20 July 1994.
5. Interview with Roy Lilley, 12 May 1993.
6. An electricity sub station near Belfast and the main water pipeline between the Mourne Mountains and the city.

7. From the personal archive of Professor Peter Hennessy, Professor of Contemporary History at Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London. The retired civil servant had put a fictional date on the document: 2 November 1968.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964–70*, London, 1971, p. 672.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. For example the political journalist Andrew Roth in 1977 published a biography of Wilson called *Harold Wilson: 'A Yorkshire Walter Mitty'*.
16. Terence O'Neill, *The Autobiography of Terence O'Neill*, London, 1972, p. 105. The contents of the notes referred to by O'Neill are not known. They are not revealed in the autobiographies of either O'Neill or Faulkner.
17. James Callaghan, *A House Divided*, London, 1973, p. 10.
18. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 673.
19. Brian Faulkner, *Memoirs of a Statesman*, London, 1978, p. 49.
20. Andrew Gailey, *Crying in the Wilderness*, Belfast, 1995, p. 136.
21. *Belfast Telegraph*, 5 November 1968.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid., 6 November 1968.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Gailey, *Crying*, p. 137.
28. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 100.
29. *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Ulster*, Harmondsworth, London, 1972, p. 84.
30. Wilson, *Labour Government*, 673.
31. 'Limited companies were entitled to nominate up to six extra voters. These were a good deal more likely to be Protestant than Catholic'. From The *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Ulster*, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 35.
32. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 673.
33. Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, Belfast, 1992, p. 657.
34. Interview with Oliver, 8 February 1995.
35. Gailey, *Crying*, p. 139.
36. Ibid.
37. Insight Team, *Ulster*, p. 59.
38. Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon, Henry Patterson, *Northern Ireland 1921–1996*, London, 1996, p. 178.
39. *Belfast Telegraph*, 29 November 1968.
40. Ibid.
41. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 774, cols 1038–44, 2 December 1968.

42. *Belfast Telegraph*, 3 December 1968.
43. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, pp. 100–1.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Gailey, *Crying*, p. 140.
46. *The Times*, 10 December 1968.
47. *Belfast Telegraph*, 10 December 1968.
48. *Ibid.*, 11 December 1968.
49. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 101.
50. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 674.
51. Interview with Lilley.
52. ICBH seminar.
53. *Ibid.* The last sentence was a handwritten addition by Callaghan, to the transcript of his evidence.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 103.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2.
58. *Ibid.* p. 108.
59. Gailey, *Crying*, p. 140.
60. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, Belfast, 1990.
61. W.D. Flackes, *Northern Ireland: A Political Directory 1968–79*, Dublin, 1980, p. 108–9.
62. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 102.
63. Gailey, *Crying*, p. 143.
64. Flackes, *Northern Ireland*, pp. 108–9.
65. Paul Arthur, *Government and Politics of Northern Ireland*, Harlow, Essex, 1980, p. 109.
66. *Disturbances in Northern Ireland: Report of the Commission Appointed by the Governor of Northern Ireland*, Belfast, HMSO, Cmd 532, 1969. The Commission was presided over by Lord Cameron and his report is considered in Chapter 7.
67. *Belfast Telegraph*, 6 January 1969.
68. ICBH seminar.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Telephone interview with Arthur, 4 September 1996.
71. *Ibid.* In the Northern Ireland General Election the following month, Hume was returned as MP for Foyle.
72. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 102.
73. *Belfast Telegraph*, 9 January 1969; *The Times*, 10 January 1969.
74. *New Statesman*, 10 January, 1969.
75. *The Times*, 10 January 1969.
76. *Belfast Telegraph*, 13 January 1969.
77. *Irish Times*, 21 January 1969.
78. Flackes, *Northern Ireland* p. 56.
79. Faulkner, *Memoirs*, pp. 50–1.
80. O'Neill, *Autobiography*, p. 115.
81. Interview with Lilley.
82. *Spectator*, 31 January 1969.
83. *The Times*, 1 February 1969.

84. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 674.
85. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 103–4.
86. *Belfast Telegraph*, 7 February 1969.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Spectator*, 7 February 1969.
89. From the unpublished papers of Richard Crossman, Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, temporary file Y2 (papers not yet catalogued). However, an edited version occurs in the published diary for the entry for 25 February, 1969, after the election when it has become obvious that O'Neill's gamble has failed. Richard Crossman, *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, vol. 3, London, 1997, pp. 381–2. The editor of the published Diaries, Janet Morgan, has combined the material from the two entries presumably for the sake of brevity. [Callaghan's secret take-over plan clearly refers to the work being carried out by a specially appointed civil servant, discussed in the next chapter.]
90. Transcript marked 'Official File Copy *Panorama*' 5319/1007 provided by the BBC.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Bardon, *Ulster*, p. 663.
93. Flackes, *Northern Ireland*, p. 159.
94. *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Ulster*, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 71.
95. A cartoon by Garland in the *Daily Telegraph* on 26 February 1969, showed a snakes and ladders board with O'Neill sliding down a snake with the head of Ian Paisley.
96. *Belfast Telegraph*, 25 February 1969.
97. *The Times*, 25 February 1969.
98. *Daily Mail*, 25 February 1969.
99. *The Times*, 26 February 1969.
100. *Spectator*, 28 February 1969.
101. *Belfast Telegraph*, 28 February 1969. Utley was at the time a leader writer on the *Daily Telegraph*.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Gailey, *Crying*, 148. Keir was a former Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and an expert on the British Constitution.
104. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 674.
105. Crossman, *Diaries* vol. 3, p. 382.
106. Most of the entry for 25 February appears in the unpublished transcript as part of the entry for 9 February. See above.
107. Shanks, an applied economist, had written a powerful critique of Britain's economic and industrial performance in *The Stagnant Society*, Harmondsworth, 1961, a book described by the historian Kenneth Morgan as 'a particularly influential work' which 'made an immense impression on the public mind.' Shanks, who died in 1984, was Industrial Advisor, DEA 1965–6; Industrial Policy Co-ordinator DEA, 1966–7.
108. *The Times*, 6 March 1969.
109. *Ibid.*
110. *Bloomfield*, *Stormont*, pp. 105–6.

111. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 674.
112. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 107.
113. Interview with Bloomfield, 1 December 1993.
114. Bloomfield, *Stormont*, p. 107.
115. Andrew Whittaker, *Irish Times*, 21 April 1969.
116. *The Times*, 21 April 1969.
117. *Ibid.* [Bernadette Devlin had defeated the Unionist candidate, Anna Forrest, the widow of George Forrest, the Unionist MP for Mid-Ulster, whose death had caused the by-election.]
118. *Ibid.*
119. *Belfast Telegraph*, 21 April 1969.
120. *Ibid.*
121. Flackes, *Northern Ireland*, p. 80.
122. The writer, then a member of the Parliamentary lobby journalists group, was in the Press Gallery for this memorable occasion.
123. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 782, cols 262–323, 22 April 1969.
124. Jack Lynch, leader of Fianna Fail had succeeded Sean Lemass as Taoiseach in 1966.
125. Wilson, *Labour Government*, pp. 674–5.
126. Crossman, *Diaries*, vol. 3, pp. 450–1.
127. Interview with Paul Rose, 14 August 1992.
128. *Belfast Telegraph*, 25 April 1969.
129. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 675.
130. Brown resigned in March 1968 when Wilson and the Chancellor, Roy Jenkins, closed the London Stock Exchange without consulting him. ‘One estimate is that George Brown threatened to resign from Harold Wilson’s government on 17 different occasions.... On Friday 15 March 1968 his proffered resignation was finally accepted.... No specific issue of policy was cited by Brown as the reason for his departure but it was interpreted by the press as a pointless act of pique’. From Peter Patterson, *Tired and Emotional: The Life of Lord George Brown*, London, 1993, pp. 241–2.
131. George Brown, *In My Way*, London, 1972, p. 190.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
134. Brown was presumably referring to the type of co-operation Dr John Oliver had instanced (see Chapter 3).
135. *Evening Standard*, 24 April 1969.
136. Entry for 27 April, 1969 taken from both the unpublished transcript (box Y4) and from the published Diaries. Crossman *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 458. The unpublished material (in italics) has been used because there are several omissions in the published version, the most significant being Crossman’s claim that Callaghan had ‘kept in careful touch with me’ over the Ulster crisis.
137. ‘It is perhaps extraordinary that a man who had taught politics should have been so naive. The material was probably in a confidential annexe to the Cabinet Minutes. Crossman should have known about these as he would have encountered several in the past’. Peter Hennessy, in

- conversation with the writer, 2 February 1997.
138. Crossman *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 458.
 139. *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Ulster*, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 102. The Insight Team wrote that the committee was the most powerful of all Labour's Cabinet Committees – 'and one supposedly so secret that Wilson insisted it be known merely by a number. Everyone promptly forgot which number it was'. Crossman, they claimed, only got on 'because he kept making a nuisance of himself'.
 140. Ben Pimlott, *Harold Wilson*, London, 1992, p. 547.
 141. *Ibid.*, p. 533.
 142. Kenneth Morgan, *The People's Peace*, Oxford, 1990, p. 302.
 143. On 2 May David Wood, political editor of *The Times*, speculated on Callaghan succeeding under the front-page headline: 'Attempt to replace Mr Wilson may be imminent'. Joe Haines claimed, 'I was the one who first of all tipped Harold off about the plotting. Because we knew early we were able to nip it in the bud'. (Interview with the writer, 12 September 1996.) In her diary entry for 8 May 1969, Barbara Castle records a ferocious attack by Crossman in Cabinet clearly aimed at Callaghan. Crossman had warned that the plotters had better realise it wouldn't work: 'four of the inner heart of the Cabinet couldn't and wouldn't serve' under the supplanter. (*The Castle Diaries 1964–70*, London, 1984, p. 647.)
 144. Peter Hennessy. From 3rd annual CESER lecture, May 1996, 'A question of control: "war cabinets" and limited conflicts since 1945'. Published by CESER Publications, Bristol, 1996.
 145. The entry for Terence O'Neill (by Paul Bew). *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 336–7.
 146. Gailey, *Crying*, p. 144. Asked to comment on this suggestion Sir Kenneth Bloomfield said that he had written all he wanted to say, 'at this stage,' about his relationship with O'Neill in his own book, *Stormont in Crisis*, Belfast, 1994. Letter to the writer, 14 February 1997.
 147. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

7 TO THE TOP OF THE AGENDA, MAY–AUGUST 1969

1. Interview with Sir John Chilcot, Permanent Secretary, Northern Ireland Office, 20 July 1994.
2. Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964–1970*, London, 1971, p. 692.
3. Geoffrey Bell, *Troublesome Business, the Labour Party and the Irish Question*, London, 1982, pp. 108–9.
4. Terence O'Neill, *The Autobiography of Terence O'Neill*, London, 1972, p. 141.
5. The *Sunday Times* Insight Team, *Ulster*, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 85.
6. James Callaghan, *A House Divided*, London, 1973, p. 23.
7. Barbara Castle, *The Castle Diaries 1964–70*, London, 1984, p. 708.
8. ICBH seminar, London 14 January 1992. In the early 1970s the legality of using servicemen in non-military emergencies was privately

- discussed by ministers after the mass picketing at Saltley. From Keith Jeffrey and Peter Hennessy, *States of Emergency*, London, 1983, p. 243.
9. From the undated transcript of *Timewatch*'s interview with Callaghan provided by BBC TV. The interview was carried out sometime in 1992 for the programme, 'The Spark that Lit the Bonfire', which was transmitted on BBC 2 on 27 January 1993.
 10. Chilcot had been Private Secretary to the Home Secretary Roy Jenkins. He had already left the department by this time but was recalled to prepare the plan.
 11. Interview with Chilcot, 20 July 1994.
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. *Ibid.* A question arises from this revelation: were the Conservatives informed of these preparations, possibly on Privy Council terms? If so it would help to explain the speech made in Belfast by Sir Alec Douglas-Home during the 1970 general election campaign, when he warned Ulster Unionists that there were circumstances in which a Conservative government might have to introduce direct rule. [See Chapter 3 note 10.] However, a retired civil servant who had held a senior Whitehall post at the time, has said that he did not know but if he had to guess 'probably not'. Letter to the writer, 9 February 1997.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. *Ibid.* During the interview with Chilcot, the writer asked him why he thought that Jenkins, with his reputation as a great reforming Home Secretary, had not done more to address Catholic grievances? He replied that Jenkins had only just finished his biography of Asquith [Roy Jenkins, *Asquith*, London, 1964.] when Labour won the general election. Jenkins feared that if the Government became embroiled in the Irish question, 'it would, as it had in the latter part of the 19th Century, so distract and preoccupy political attention at Westminster that it would divert political time, energy and effort from the essential reform programme to which Jenkins himself and the Labour Government of the day were then committed on a United Kingdom-wide scale'.
 17. Interview with Wright, 8 September 1992.
 18. Sir Frank Cooper, letter to the writer, 19 August 1996. Sir Frank went on to be Permanent Secretary to the Northern Ireland Office 1973–6 and then Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence 1976–82.
 19. Interview with Green, 15 July 1996.
 20. Bell, *Troublesome Business*, p. 106.
 21. *Ibid.* Benn's own diaries do not bear out his claim. According to his own record there were more than two occasions when Northern Ireland was discussed in full Cabinet. See for example the entry for 4 March 1976. Tony Benn, *Against the Tide. Diaries 1973–76*, London, 1989, p. 526 and the entry for 11 January 1979. Tony Benn, *Conflict of Interests. Diaries 1977–80*, London, 1990, p. 433.
 22. Richard Crossman, *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister*, vol. 3, London, 1977, pp. 477–8. The unpublished diaries: Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, temporary file Y4 (papers not yet catalogued).

23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 675.
28. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 783, cols. 655–56, 8 May 1969.
29. *The Times*, 12 May 1969.
30. *Belfast Telegraph*, 16 May 1969.
31. *The Times*, 21 May 1969.
32. Ibid., 22 May 1969.
33. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 784, cols. 660–69, 22 May 1969.
34. *Belfast Telegraph*, 23 May 1969.
35. Andrew Gailey, *Crying in the Wilderness*, Belfast, 1995, p. 155.
36. *Belfast Telegraph*, 24 May 1969. Alice Bacon [who had been transferred from the Home Office to the Dept of Education in 1967] was attending the conference as a fraternal delegate from the British Labour Party.
37. ‘The ICJ is a non-governmental organisation devoted to promoting throughout the world the understanding and observance of the Rule of Law and the legal protection of human rights ...’. From the *ICJ Review*, June 1994.
38. *The Times*, 19 June 1969.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. W.D. Flackes, *Northern Ireland, A Political Directory 1968–79*, Dublin, 1980, p. 82.
42. *Belfast Telegraph*, 19 June 1969.
43. The Orange Order, ‘traditionally holds its annual 12th of July demonstrations in more than 20 centres in Northern Ireland to celebrate King William’s victory over King James at the Battle of the Boyne’. From: Flackes, *Northern Ireland*, p. 103.
44. Insight, *Ulster*, pp. 101–2.
45. Ibid.
46. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 692.
47. BBC *Timewatch* transcript.
48. Interview with McNamara, 25 June 1992.
49. ICBH seminar.
50. Interview with Paul Rose, 14 August 1992. It could be argued, however, that preferring trouble to come from the minority rather than the majority is a rather wise preference!
51. *Belfast Telegraph*, 30 July 1969.
52. Minister of Defence (Administration) 1969–70.
53. Interview with Hattersley, 16 June 1992.
54. Gailey, *Crying*, p. 157.
55. Ibid., pp. 161–2.
56. Callaghan, *House*, p. 19.
57. Ibid., p. 15.
58. *House*, p. 19.
59. Ibid., p. 22.

60. PRO DEFE4/197 MOD Chiefs of Staff Committee, Confidential Annex to COS 15th Meeting 66, 17 March 1966.
61. *The Times*, 5 August 1969.
62. *Financial Times*, 6 August 1969.
63. Insight, *Ulster*, p. 110.
64. Personal knowledge of the writer who was a lobby journalist at the time.
65. Insight, *Ulster*, p. 110.
66. O'Neill, *Autobiography*, p. 141.
67. ICBH seminar.
68. Interview with Lilley, 12 May 1993.
69. From the unpublished diaries for 10 August, file 154/8/161, two days before the march. Irritatingly, however, much of it appears in the published diaries in the entry for 14 August, vol. 3, p. 618–19, after the march, in the form of Crossman recalling what had been said at the earlier Cabinet meeting. The Editor might have compressed two entries for the sake of brevity. However, presented in this form, Crossman's pre-march thoughts inevitably lose impact.
70. BBC *Timewatch* transcript.
71. Roy Hattersley, *Who Goes Home?*, London, 1995, p. 77.
72. Wilson, *Labour Government*, p. 693.
73. *The Times*, 14 August 1969.
74. Unpublished diaries, entry for 17 August 1969, file MSS/154/8/161; also partly to be found in the published *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 620.
75. The source for this paragraph is the entry for 14 August in the published *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 619. The unpublished papers make it clear that it was written on 17 August.
76. *New Statesman*, 15 August 1969.
77. *Spectator*, 16 August 1969.
78. *Economist*, 16 August 1969.
79. Flackes, *Northern Ireland*, p. 155.
80. Interview with Arthur Green, 15 July 1996. Green was Assistant Secretary Northern Ireland Department of Finance, 1972–8 and then Under-Secretary Northern Ireland Office, 1978–9.
81. *Disturbances in Northern Ireland: Report of the Commission Appointed by the Governor of Northern Ireland*, Belfast, HMSO, Cmd 532, 1969. The Scarman Tribunal investigated the August riots but did not report until April, 1972.
82. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Street*, Belfast, 1990, p. 149.
83. Patrick Riddell, *Fire Over Ulster*, London, 1970, p. 139.
84. Letter to the writer from Green, 16 July 1996.
85. Roy Foster, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*, London, 1988 p. 589.
86. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 784, cols 660–69, 22 May 1969.
87. Crossman, *Diaries*, vol. 3, pp. 477–8.
88. Interview with Green, op. cit.
89. ICBH seminar, op. cit.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 526.

8 CONCLUSIONS

1. Harold Wilson, *The Labour Government 1964–70*, London, 1971, p. 99.
2. *Daily Herald*, 3 June 1953.
3. James Callaghan, *A House Divided*, London, 1973, p. 15.
4. As Purdie pointed out, ‘The CJS and the CDU succeeded in stirring much greater interest in Northern Ireland among British Labour MPs and in giving the impression that Harold Wilson’s government might intervene. This simply created hopes that could not be fulfilled on one side and fears that could not be assuaged on the other’. [Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, Belfast, 1990, pp. 247–8.]
5. Interview with the late Sir Richard Francis, Controller, BBC Northern Ireland 1973–7.
6. *House of Commons Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 768, cols 731–33, 11 July 1968.
7. 20 March 1963. ‘On visit of Sean Lemass’ (Irish Prime Minister). The Diaries of Harold Macmillan, Dept. of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford. I am indebted to Dr Peter Catterall for this quotation.

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This bibliography contains details of sources found useful, rather than all those consulted.

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CAB129; Cabinet Papers

CAB21; Cabinet Office, Registered Files from 1916 to 1965

PREM4; Confidential Papers, 1939–46

PREM8; Prime Minister's Office. Correspondence and Papers 1945–51

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