BERNADETTE DEVLIN AS A COMMUNICATOR FOR
SOCIAL CHANGE WITHIN NORTHERN IRELAND

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by
Barbara Ann Oney, A.B.
The Ohio State University
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Approved by

[Signature]
Advisor
Department of Speech Communication
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1155, Pope Adrian IV, the only Englishman to sit on the papal throne, authorized England's King Henry II to conquer Ireland. Because of missionaries a century earlier, Christianity had replaced tribal folklore of the Celtic and Danish inhabitants.\(^1\) Successive English armies fought the Irish Catholic earls until 1603, nearly five hundred years later.\(^2\) One Irish historian compared the warfare to America's warfare with the Red Indians.\(^3\) Three great Irish rebellions, "waged and suppressed with mutual and unsurpassable cruelties," filled the reign of Queen Elizabeth.\(^4\) The task of conquering Catholic Ireland had fallen to Elizabeth, and if it had not been for the


\(^2\) Ibid., p. 54.


\(^4\) Ibid., p. 12.
Reformation, England might never have conquered Ireland.

By the late sixteenth century, the conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism broadened into a vast European struggle. England's political security demanded that her faith, which was no longer Catholicism, but Protestantism, be imposed on Ireland.\(^5\) However, both the Danes and the native Celts professed the Catholic religion, and were at one in rejecting the new faith. To the Catholic Danish Lords the Elizabethan faith was alien; to the native Celts the faith was not only alien, but utterly abhorred—Protestantism was the religion of the conqueror.\(^6\) A people preeminently devoted to ceremonial rites and emblems, to sacerdotalism, and to the monastic life could love no movement which chose these features of the Catholic faith for special attach. Sidney Brooks, Irish historian, expresses the Irish lack of instinct of sympathy or love for the Protestant movement: "Politically, intellectually and socially it appealed as little to their Irish mind and to their conception of life and society as its spiritual essence and formulas appeals to their emotions."\(^7\) At the close of the Elizabethan reign, Celtic Ireland had ceased to be; the

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 11  \(^6\)Ibid., p. 9.
\(^7\)Ibid., p. 10.
country lay crushed and desolate at England's feet.\(^8\) Thus ended the long first phase of Irish-English relations. The exact date of English victory is unknown, but historians know the year to be 1603.\(^9\) Protestantism was enthroned as the State religion, and conformity to it was prescribed, rather than enforced.\(^10\)

After the English victory, the King granted English Protestants land in Ireland in return for keeping the Irish "in line." Thus, various lords and barons who had done services to the king received large estates in Ireland which established the Protestant retinue in Ireland. The military officer brough his tenants and the beginning of a different kind of society. The Presbyterians of the non-conformist churches moved into Ireland at all levels from the tenant farmer to the nobility; and most of them adapted to the Irish life and were absorbed into the Irish culture.\(^11\)

However, when the Reformation became firm, it became necessary that England not lose its people into the Irish culture.\(^12\) By enforcing subtly the "benefits" of the new religion on the native population, the religious conflict

\(^8\)Ibid., p. 12.
\(^9\)O'Brien, The Shaping of Modern Ireland, p. 60.
\(^12\)Ibid.
got caught up in the political conflict. The politically powerless Catholic lords kept their Catholic religion, but in the spheres of law and land and government, rather than in that of religion, the fruits of the Elizabethan conquest plainly appeared. One historian described the feudal law of England—in the eyes of its professors—the consummation of human wisdom—as it ousted the tribal law of Ireland.

The feudal system of land tenure supplanted the tribal system. Freehold and leasehold primogeniture and entail took the place of tribal ownership and tenancy. Justice was henceforth to be administered in English courts, and judges were to go circuit as in England. The whole machinery of government, as well as law and the judiciary was at the same time assimilated, formally at least, to the English model. Thus, the imperialist policy suppressed the Irish lifestyle; throughout history religion became involved with the imperialist issue. Though, simply speaking, the Catholics were anti-imperialist and the Protestants were imperialist, Father John Duffy has pointed out that from the beginning the lower classes of the Protestant nonconformist churches fought the imperialist establishment and the authoritarian Catholic Church upheld the establishment. Nevertheless, one sees the beginning of the complexity of the situation.

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14 Ibid.
15 Father John Duffy, private interview held at St. David's Parish House, Cardiff, Wales, June 9, 1972.
and the beginning of Protestant supremacy which holds today in Northern Ireland. Recurring revolts by the Catholics against English armies and Protestant landlords continued for over three hundred years, with each revolt being crushed.\textsuperscript{16} Brooks wrote to the animosity, but futility, of these continuing revolts.

Protestantism, veering towards Puritanism, increased the stingency of its enactments. All the animosities of race and religion were precipitated into a fight for land. Twice the natives rose up and massacred and achieved a brief ascendancy, only to see it twice torn from them. Rebellion was answered by wars of extermination—defeat by wholesale confiscations.\textsuperscript{17}

Only in this century did Irish Rebellion reach a degree of success. On the Monday after Easter 1916, two thousand Irish Revolutionaries demanded independence from England.\textsuperscript{18} To add to the strength of these rebels, between 1918-1919 The Irish Republican Army emerged with its fight for independence. Michael Collins, a brilliant political and military tactician, organized a campaign of assassination against the Irish police, of ambushes, and of skillful attacks that created a pattern for modern day guerilla warfare.\textsuperscript{19} Though those people being attacked by the IRA felt the gunmen to be fools, thugs, and criminals, many

\textsuperscript{16}O'Brien, The Shaping of Modern Ireland, p. 65.
\textsuperscript{17}Brooks, Aspects of the Irish Question, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{18}Evans, Ulster, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{19}Ibid.
Irishmen spoke of the IRA gunmen as patriots, heroes, and martyrs.\textsuperscript{20} The explosive attacks kept Ireland in such turmoil that liberal Englishmen wanted to make some concessions to Ireland. However, to keep their investments safe in the North of Ireland, the British Tory Party used the fears of the nonconformist groups against the authoritarianism of Rome: "Home Rule is Rome Rule!"\textsuperscript{21} In 1921 when eighty-five percent of Ireland voted for a rebel Parliament, the remaining fifteen percent, fearing "Rome Rule," partitioned the country. The twenty-six counties in the South, being heavily Catholic populated, chose to become totally independent of England and to be The Republic of Ireland. The six northern counties (making up the area known as Ulster) having a large Protestant majority, chose to remain a part of England, but with home rule. Because this left the Catholics of Ulster without their Irish nationality, some IRA members wished to physically reunite Ireland; for the next thirty years they anticipated such a happening. Though the Border Campaign of 1956-1962 was the anticipated happening, the campaign ended in a complete failure, both in property damage and lives lost.\textsuperscript{22}

After the Border Campaign, things seemed to be quiet.

\textsuperscript{20}Ibid. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{21}Evans, Ulster, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{22}Evans, Ulster, p. 15.
In the minds of many, The Irish Republican Army was on its way to becoming an anachronism, an emotion-filled legend to be added to the pile of legends that litter the land.\textsuperscript{23} However, by the end of the 1960's the IRA forsook arm drills for social grievances.\textsuperscript{24} At a secret convention held in 1969, the socialist believers moved that the Sinn Fein (political wing of the IRA) resume an active part in the government to solve civil rights problems. The Marxist flavor being too strong, the traditional fighters voted against this motion and soon formed the Provisional wing of the IRA to continue the struggle for unification with physical force.\textsuperscript{25}

For nearly fifty years a wealthy minority, mostly Protestant Unionists, had ruled Northern Ireland, while the majority of people, Catholic and Protestant, lived in ghettos. The poor Protestant was afraid to rebel for fear of losing what little he had, but the Catholic had nothing to fear losing, for he was at the very bottom of the social, economic, political ladder. When the Protestants reacted violently to the Catholics' rowdy demands for equal civil rights in August, 1969, Provisional IRA rescued the Catholics. The story of Ulster from then to the present is one of circular violence. With the riots of 1969, the militant IRA defended the Catholic rioters, but by late summer the situation worsened to the extent that British soldiers came

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., p. 26.  \textsuperscript{24}Ibid., p. 177.  \textsuperscript{25}Ibid.}
to put down the riots. The Provisional IRA quickly turned the soldiers from hero status to enemy: as long as the soldiers were in Northern Ireland no unification could take place. The angered, militant IRA increased bombings to make the soldiers withdraw. At this point the soldiers searched homes brutally for ammunition. The IRA increased bombings in retaliation for the searches, which caused the Unionist Government in August, 1971 to intern, without trial, suspected IRA members. The tension from edgy soldiers led to the killing of unarmed marchers. By mid-February of 1972, Protestants had formed their counterpart to the IRA—the Vanguard movement; Protestants and Catholics bombed each other and killed British soldiers. By the end of March, Northern Ireland lost home rule for one year, Westminster had taken control of the government, and killing continued on all sides. Because of this circular violence, the author feels that the situation in Northern Ireland can be explained only as a social movement.

Herbert Simons defined a social movement as an uninstitutionalized collectivity that mobilizes for action to implement a program for the reconstitution of social norms or values.26 People continue to say that our present society is one in which all social norms are being changed, but

Simons distinguished value changes brought about by a panic, fad, business organization, or religious cult from those caused by a social movement. One has only to recall the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's or the emergence more recently of student activists groups to find examples of social movements in America.

That social movements were not unique to Americans may be seen in the violent protest for social, economic, and political change within Northern Ireland. A society existed in which ten percent of the people were unemployed; those who found jobs averaged seven pounds ($18.00) a week; large numbers of people lived either in one room houses or ghettoes because of the housing shortage; a government representative of one-eighth of Northern Ireland let people live in these conditions while it operated on a sectarian basis. The obvious answer was for the working class people, who represented seven-eighths of the population, to elect a government to replace the Unionist Party. Two complex situations made this solution impossible. First, the only persons who could vote were property owners; because of the shortage of houses, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and grown children lived in one house, but only the owner could vote. Second, the Protestant working class voted for the ruling Protestant class, rather than united with the Catholic working class, because it had been indoctrinated with the
belief that all Catholics waited for the opportunity to seize Ulster for Rome. Recently chaos has existed throughout Northern Ireland. To once-sympathetic observers, the violence, which bordered on grotesqueness, has caused the social movement to lose credibility. Though one might never approve of the happenings in Ulster, to be fair he must look at why what happened, as well as exactly what continued to take place in Ulster.

Communication students are fortunate to have a discipline which strives to untangle some of the chaos in today's world by looking not only at man's message behavior but also the motives and effects of such behavior.

**Method**

The author chose to study the social movement within Northern Ireland through the behavior of Bernadette Devlin, but his is not to say that she was the most central element of the movement. However, the author felt that though many people have worked equally hard within the movement, Miss Devlin best represented Ulster's wide span of personal and political ideologies. The purpose of this thesis is to determine the persuasive goals, methods, and influence of Miss Bernadette Devlin within the struggle for social

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28*Evans, Ulster*, pp. 29-55.
change in Northern Ireland. In so doing, three questions
must be considered:

1. What goals, based on the Devlin ideology, does Miss Devlin have for Northern Ireland?

2. What basic values do her audiences, Irish and English politicians, as well as her constituents, hold that allow them to accept or reject Miss Devlin?

3. What strategies and tactics does Miss Devlin use to accomplish her goals?

To determine the Devlin ideology and goals, the
author turned to her autobiography, The Price of My Soul, as well as interviews with her and others. Through the book's discussion of Bernadette Devlin's life, the author found the development of her socialist ideology and those characteristics which made the young woman a dynamic communicator for social change within Northern Ireland. To discover the value-oriented opinion of Miss Devlin held by her Irish audience, the author examined letters-to-the-editor of the conservative Mid-Ulster Mail, radical Derry Journal, and independent Irish News. The opinion held by Irish and British politicians was determined by examination of Hansard excerpts in the Irish News and The Times and the tape recordings of British Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling, former Prime Minister Wilson, Northern Irish Prime Minister Brian Faulkner, and Protestant leader the Reverend Mr. Ian Paisley speaking during a B.B.C. Tribunal on Northern Ireland.
From the record of the Devlin speeches, the previously mentioned papers, the tape recording of the Devlin address during the B.B.C. Tribunal, and a private interview with Miss Devlin, the author extracted the Devlin strategy to bring social change to Northern Ireland. Interviews with Dr. J. G. Simms, scholar at Trinity College on Ulster affairs, and Father John Duffy, negotiator for peace within Ulster, produced insightful overviews.

Finally, the question of objectivity requires consideration. As do the people in the Devlin target audiences, the author has a value-oriented opinion of Bernadette Devlin; Devlin's struggle to offer the majority of Ulstermen a better life is admirable, even though not all her methods are. Though the author believes that completely objective sources are impossible, and has tried to be aware of the value-orientation of the source material. Being understanding of the shortcomings of one's favored side is much easier than being understanding for the shortcomings of the unfavored side. However, whether the reader's sympathy lies with the "oppressed" Irish or the "unappreciated" British, let him read with a conscious effort to understand the other side. This study is the first to explain the happenings in Ulster through a social protest movement; from this study, the author feels that through the Unionist System and the Provisional IRA were of questionable character, Catholics, Protestants, Irish, and British have
behaved in keeping with their idea of virtuous deeds.
The problem is that virtuous deeds, variously conceived
and communicated, have brought Northern Ireland to near-
chaos. How one representative communicator has attempted
to cope with the divisions of that country is the concern
of this essay.
CHAPTER II

THE IDEOLOGY AND RHETORICAL GOALS

OF BERNADETTE DEVLIN

In the civil rights movement which is struggling to free our people from the bonds of economic slavery, I am only one among hundreds of my generation. We were born into an unjust system; we are not prepared to grow old in it. The Price Of My Soul refers not to the price for which I would be prepared to sell out, but rather to the price for which we all must pay in life to preserve our own integrity. To gain that which is worth having it may be necessary to lose everything else.29

Bernadette Devlin wrote the previous paragraph as part of a foreword to her autobiography. In it she makes clear that she wishes to change basically the political, economic, and social system of Northern Ireland. If one ever grasps the ultimate goal of Bernadette Devlin, he must consider how her ideal of "what is worth having" developed from early childhood to the present. Though both Irish and English people often explain Miss Devlin's behavior as being controlled either by God or the Devil,30 she explains that her behavioral pattern and goals developed because she did not like the system in which she lived.


It's easy enough to put a pattern on somebody. I think it came together for me, gradually. You start out not liking what you've got. If you don't like what you've got, you've got to decide either although you don't like it you put up with it, or because you don't like it you change it. 31

Environmental circumstances created (1) Bernadette Devlin--the child protestor, (2) Bernadette Devlin--the student protestor, and (3) Bernadette Devlin--the House of Commons protestor. By considering the situations creating the protestor and the aims for which she protested, the author will construct Miss Devlin's ultimate goal--"A Workers' Republic, International Socialism"

Bernadette Devlin--The Child Protestor

Miss Devlin speaks often of the complexity of the economic, social, and political problems which created the phenomenon of Bernadette Devlin. Because of her parents, she was born into this complexity. Socially, her father, John James Devlin, ranked at the bottom of Cookstown's society; he was the road sweeper's son. Elizabeth Bernadette Devlin, her mother, came from a family of respected businessmen, who were horrified that Elizabeth Devlin married a man of the working class.

Eventually, the Devlin family moved from rat-infested rooms to a house of its own. Though Cookstown's social

community never approved of John Devlin, Elizabeth Devlin's friends flocked to see her when she moved into a house. If she had wanted, she could have retrieved some of her social acceptance that the scandalous marriage had lost her, but she was unwilling to do so at the cost of having her friends ignore her husband.  

Thus, Miss Devlin learned at an early age that society believed the working man inferior. Crude remarks referring to this inferiority encouraged her acceptance of socialist ideals.

Very few people came to our house, and I particularly remember one fellow who came for the first time after my father's death. He looked around at the books and the piano and said, "My God, you wouldn't think this was a working class man's home." Remarks like that make me a socialist.

According to Bernadette Devlin, her mother's true Christianity, which she taught her children, produced a basis for Miss Devlin's being a socialist rather than being merely bitter toward her society. The courage for Miss Devlin to follow her convictions, no matter how difficult the struggle, also came from these Christian teachings.

She [Bernadette Devlin's mother] had plenty of moral courage which to some extent has rubbed off on me. Her attitude all the time was, if in your own conscience you know you are right, it doesn't matter how many people think you are wrong.

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32 Bernadette Devlin, The Price of My Soul, p. 27.
33 Ibid., p. 38.
34 Ibid., p. 29.
35 Ibid.
Whether or not John Devlin was a member of the Sinn Fein, which worked to end the political and economic control held by a small minority,\textsuperscript{36} or of its armed wing, the IRA, his ideas were strongly Republican. Thus, Bernadette Devlin experienced early in life the complexity of Irish politics. One politically significant thing she remembered from childhood was that her father wore a sign of the uprising on Easter Mondays and that her mother strongly objected to this commemoration of the Catholic uprising.

One thing of political significance which I remember from my childhood was my father wearing a lily in his buttonhole on Easter Mondays. We all knew what this meant: he was commemorating the Easter Rising of 1916. Officially, it was illegal to commemorate the Rising, but being Irish, the authorities tolerated what they banned and lots of people wore Easter lilies. My mother, however, objected. Her attitude was that 1916 was over and done with, and Easter lilies were a pointless provocation to our Protestant neighbors. We were just as bad as the Orangemen flaunting their banners in the name of past history on July 12.\textsuperscript{37}

Few children hear bedtime stories of recorded history, but John Devlin told his daughter tales of battles and invasions, the English oppression and the risings, the Irish trade agreement which crippled the country's economy. Naturally, he did not attempt to be objective about all this; this was Ireland's story, told by an Irishman, with an Irishman's feelings.\textsuperscript{38} As some children develop a social conscience from listening to stories about bad children being tortured by bad fairies, Bernadette Devlin developed

\textsuperscript{36}Ibid., p. 12. \textsuperscript{37}Ibid., p. 14. \textsuperscript{38}Ibid., p. 39.
an "unconscious political consciousness" from listening to the story of her country. The first nursery rhyme she remembered learning was: "Where is the flag of England? Where is she to be found? Whenever there's blood and plunder, they're under the British ground!"\textsuperscript{39} In her autobiography she wrote that her father taught her that verse, and she said it as another child would say "Jack and Jill went up the hill," not relating it to England or feeling frustration, but all the same acquiring a partisan outlook.\textsuperscript{40} The songs the Devlin children sang at children's concerts were never the English "I had a bonnet tied with blue" variety, but the Irish "All around my hat I'll wear the tricolored ribbon."\textsuperscript{41} Miss Devlin recalls at the age of seven singing a patriotic song.

The \textit{Croppie Boy} is about a young lad who goes to the priest's house for confession, but after he has made his confession the priest jumps up, announces that he is a Yeoman Guard in disguise, and that he holds the house for his lord, the King. The priest has been beheaded and is floating down the river. The guard then kills the young boy. I don't remember singing this song with any feeling of bitterness. I was taught it for its beauty, and because it was part of the Irish culture, and it came naturally to me.\textsuperscript{42}

In such ways, poetry and informal history, she learned her political lessons as a small child.

At ten, Bernadette Devlin attended a grammar school totally devoted to Republican philosophy. This proudly

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid. \textsuperscript{40}Ibid., p. 41. \textsuperscript{41}Ibid., p. 39. \textsuperscript{42}Ibid., p. 40.
Irish School, St. Patrick's Academy, owed its political orientation to the vice-principal, Mother Benignus, who according to Miss Devlin, "is among the people who influenced me most and one of those I most respect." The students learned Irish history; the students in Protestant schools learned British history. The students learned the same things, the same events, the same period of time, but the interpretations that were given were different. At the State schools the instructors taught that the Act of Union was brought about to help strengthen the trade agreements between Ireland and England; the Catholic schools taught that the Act of Union was a malicious attempt to bleed Ireland dry of her linen industry which was affecting English cotton. To make the two interpretations more consistent with each other, the British Ministry of Education forbade the use of teaching aids published in the Irish Republic.

Miss Devlin writes admiringly of Mother Benignus, who upon being reprimanded for using these aids published by the Republic sent her reply to the British written in Irish as a rebuttal.

While growing up, Miss Devlin grew to be influenced by excessively militant Republican attitudes and began to

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Ibid.

revolt against the establishment, on the simple rule, highly satisfying to a young girl, that Irish equals good and English equals bad. At the age of twelve in a speech festival, Bernadette Devlin made her first political protest by trying to capture the emotion of a true patriot—and she won.

When I was in my first year at grammar school I had a long playing record, The Rebel, on which the actor Michael MacLiammoir recited the works of Padreig Pearse, one of the Martyrs of 1916. I thought it was great stuff, and played it over and over again, and the more I listened to it the more convinced I became that Mac Liammoir had put it over as a work of art, but he failed to convey the true emotion of a patriot saying what he felt. Anyway, I learned three pieces from the record and they were very militant.

In learning the social and political complexities of Irish life, Miss Devlin learned the economic complexities. Because Bernadette Devlin's prestigious grandmother openly denounced the working class man, John Devlin, employers did not hire him for fear of offending Mrs. Heaney, reports Miss Devlin. In this case the Protestants did not keep the Catholic out of a job; significantly, the ruling class-working class conflict kept John Devlin jobless. When Mrs. Heaney did change her mind, few jobs existed in Cookstown or in all of Northern Ireland. Though Devlin had strong Republican sympathies, he had never been involved

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in any trouble, his daughter indicates; when he found his worker's card stamped "political suspect," his hopes ended for working anywhere in Northern Ireland.

He never found out why he was politically suspect. He had never been convicted of anything, but though he went from the bottom to the top of the civil service, he could not discover who had stamped his card in the first place or why. His employer just produced his card with the 'political suspect' allegation superimposed on it and told him he would have to leave the job. So thereafter he worked in England and came home to see us when he could. 49

While John Devlin's English salary had to be tightly budgeted each week to support the family, they did manage a two-week holiday each year.

John Devlin died when his daughter was only nine years old; and then the Devlins' financial struggle began.

Betweel welfare and help from the relatives, they made do with minimum necessities.

Our poverty wasn't extreme, but it was a kind of bottom level poverty, the minimum necessary to support life in decency yet was of the order that my mother could say at teatime: 'If you eat up all the bread there won't be anything for breakfast tomorrow.' 50

As a child, Miss Devlin became incensed at the attitude of the civil servants whom she saw when getting welfare payments. She recalls, "My father had worked and paid insurance all his life, but they made us feel they were paying out money to the unworthy poor who had the blood cheek to

50 Ibid., p. 49.
be orphans. Bernadette Devlin states that she is not a socialist because of any high-flown intellectual theorizing: Life has made her one.

Before concluding this section, the author wishes to discuss Miss Devlin's aims as she applied both verbal protest and force to change situations within her high school that she considered undesirable. When one thinks of high school girls, he thinks often of chattering and gossiping. Yet, Miss Devlin recalls that the "head" senior girls, instead of gossiping or making cynical remarks about the teachers, analyzed the situation in Northern Ireland and discussed why most of them would leave it. Two school episodes add a variety of insights into the character of the young protestor. For Bernadette Devlin, no authority figure was great enough to cause her to alter her ideals in submission. For instance, by contradicting even her beloved Mother Benignus, Devlin began the love-hate relationship between the two of them.

In one blinding flash she [Mother Benignus] realized that her favorite patriotic Fenian wall was decorated with British generals and heroes, and she just tore the chart from one end to the other, right off the wall. "No, Mother, I don't agree with you. It doesn't do any harm to learn about those people. They have as much

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51Ibid.
52Irish News, April 17, 1967, p. 5.
right to be considered patriots as Pearse or Connolly or anybody else.  

The other episode occurred when Miss Devlin and two other girls made themselves responsible for the behavior of the students in the school, with control that was "less than democratic." Bernadette Devlin recalls one particular incident of having guards on the cloakroom to make sure girls did not wear their outdoor shoes inside the building. "So we built up our little syndicate of Stalinism," says Miss Devlin, "which lasted only a few weeks, for that was all that was necessary to impose discipline in the first place."  

In Bernadette Devlin's high school behavior, one sees the defiance of authority, the acceptance of the use of force to achieve an end, the adherence to her own conscience, no matter who thinks she is wrong, and the ability to recognize a problem, find a solution, and control others to make the solution effective.

**Bernadette Devlin--The Student Protestor**

Ideally, students go to the university with the idea of improving some aspect of their society, and Bernadette Devlin was no exception. In her last years at the academy she had considered being a teacher for gypsies and later considered either joining the Ministry of Health and Social

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54Devlin, The *Price of My Soul*, p. 69.

55Ibid., p. 67.
Services or the Ministry of Education. When, however, she went to Queens University in the fall of 1965, she went only with the vague notion of being able to improve some aspect of life in Northern Ireland. At this particular time, politics for Miss Devlin meant debate, not action. Completely aware of the injustices in Northern Ireland's society, she had a non-sectarian, non-establishment attitude toward the whole problem; to her it made no difference whether a person was a Catholic or a Protestant: What mattered was the "essential" beliefs of Christianity.

Among the best traitors Ireland has ever had, Mother Church ranks at the very top, a massive obstacle in the path to equality and freedom. She has been a force for conservatism, not on the basis of preserving Catholic doctrine or preventing corruption of her children, but simply to ward off threats to her own security and influence. In the Protestant North, the church is not so obviously a part of the Establishment, but it would never come out and support a clash with the government. But I make a distinction between the doctrines of the church, the essential church, Christian beliefs, and the structure of half a dozen popes.

During the first two years at Queens University, Bernadette Devlin searched for more than a religious ideology to follow, not understanding any more than that she looked for some organization to consider realistically the injustices of Northern Ireland. However, for her, none of the political parties [Tory, Liberal, Laborer, National Democratic, Young Socialists] at the university satisfied

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her search.

They all had a sort of self-importance, as if their interest in politics raised them above the level of ordinary people, and they went in for an intellectual type of discussion which had no relevance to any kind of society I knew. They tried to be very sophisticated, working out policies and inviting guest-speakers down; but they weren't real. You get the impression that they really did not care what went on outside the university, so long as they had plenty to talk about.  

For Miss Devlin more real politics existed in the Folk Music Society than in any of the political parties. The folk society sang black civil rights songs before anybody else in Queens was interested in the racial problem; and its society sang songs about unemployment in Belfast long before the Civil Rights movement took it up. Miss Devlin felt that this was a good society because it combined an American influence with a determined Irish influence.  

After Miss Devlin became disenchanted with Queens' political parties, she continued her search for an ideology by moving into the "do-good" organizations. These were Catholic societies which visited the poor, decorated houses for old people, did voluntary work at hospitals. She stayed with them until she decided they were only perpetrating aspects of the system she did not like.

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59 Ibid., p. 76. 60 Ibid. 61 Ibid., p. 77.
When we visited old people in their homes we were letting off the neighbors and relatives who should have done it and who instead of saying, "Those people are doing it--why don't we?" were saying, "Those people are doing it--we don't need to." By carol-singing at Christmas to collect money for coal for poor families, we were relieving the local authorities of their responsibility. They just budgeted our contribution into what they spent and cut down on their own spending.  

For a while after the "do-good" societies, Bernadette Devlin wandered about by herself making terrorist plans. The burning of an American communications base in Derry served as her highest terrorist ideal. As far as the theory of burning the base to publicize Northern Ireland is concerned, Bernadette Devlin believed the idea to be excellent; however, she confesses the fear that someone might be in the base prevented her from acting. Miss Devlin's militant Republican days did not last long. The basis of Republicanism was that if the British did not control Northern Ireland, Northern Ireland would have no problem; however, Miss Devlin felt getting the British out of Northern Ireland would not erase all problems. With her following statement, one sees the basis of a political goal: "It wasn't simply getting Britain out of Ireland that mattered; it was the fact that we were economically depressed and I couldn't see terrorism solving that."  

In the last months of 1967, Miss Devlin began turning away from Republican thinking, seeing a larger pattern of

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62Ibid.  63Ibid.  64Ibid.  65Ibid., p. 78.
causes.

I began to take into consideration the fact that all was not well in the South of Ireland. I began looking at the Ireland I wanted to unite, and I realized that the task was not to free the six counties, but to start all over again the national revolution. There were no free counties, anywhere in Ireland. The Irish had replaced the British in twenty-six counties, but they had done nothing to change the system.  

Because Miss Devlin saw the need to start over again with another national revolution, one sees the basis forming of her ultimate goal. Bernadette Devlin began to identify closely with the goals of James Connolly who, she felt, was the only real socialist in the 1916 Rebellion.  

He had said, "Remove the British and raise the tricolour over Dublin Castle tomorrow, and Ireland's problems will remain, because Ireland's problems are economic and social."  

Though Connolly spoke this in 1916, Bernadette Devlin felt the statement applicable for 1967. One begins to see Bernadette Devlin's ultimate goal, a thoroughgoing economic-social revolution. Her final disillusionment with Irish Republicanism occurred when she came to believe that the Irish people, themselves, were responsible for the failure of the 1916 Rebellion.

I'd read [January 1969] Frank O'Connor's life of Michael Collins, The Big Fellow, and this sparked off my disillusionment with Ireland. In 1916 the leaders

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66 Ibid., p. 88.
67 Mid-Ulster Mail, April 10, 1969, p. 1.
had different political tendencies but said, 'Let's get the British out first, and we'll sort out the political problems later.' But they fell apart too soon to carry out the second part of their programme and they fell apart, not on the basis of their political jealousies, but from personal jealousies.\(^{69}\)

When Bernadette Devlin decided that in spite of all the emotion and songs of glory, the Irish themselves were responsible for the failure to complete the revolution of 1916, this ended her traditional Republican days. Thus began her journey to develop an unpolitical, economic-based workers'-state brand of socialism. Miss Devlin felt if the Irish were going to be made British by law, they must be British by standard of living as well. "Over the months of 1968 I moved away from Republicanism to concern for non-political social justice."\(^{70}\)

On August 24, 1968, Bernadette Devlin, her brother, and a friend joined the first march of the Civil Rights Association. Miss Devlin recalls reading about the march in the newspaper and saying, "Civil rights march! Excellent idea! It's about time somebody did something about the situation in Northern Ireland."\(^{71}\) In spite of the "civil rights" label, the politicians of this march demanded Catholic equality and majority rule for the Catholic areas. "People like myself," said Miss Devlin, "had not come to

\(^{69}\) _Derry Journal_, December 8, 1970, p. 5.

\(^{70}\) _Devlin, The Price of My Soul_, p. 81.

\(^{71}\) Devlin, private interview, May 25, 1972.
support such demands. We had come because we wanted to be involved—we were not quite sure in what."\textsuperscript{72} Though unsure of just what she wanted to be involved in, she felt something was wrong with a society where the rate of unemployment rarely fell below ten percent, where half the houses lacked at least one basic amenity.\textsuperscript{73} Once again one sees the bulk of Miss Devlin's aim in her concern for the economic situation in Northern Ireland.

Our system is one in which the basic division is thought to be along religious lines, in which it is quite rational for a man to believe he is sentenced to unemployment for the crime of being a Catholic. But he is not. He is sentenced to unemployment because there are not enough jobs, because investment is made on grounds of profit, not on grounds of people's needs.\textsuperscript{74}

On October 9, 1968, after another civil rights march had failed, Bernadette Devlin and others from the march went into session in the university debating hall. They believed they knew how frustrated the ordinary man must feel, having something much more fundamental than a protest march denied him every day of his life.\textsuperscript{75} That night the People's Democracy was born, an organization whose six aims may be considered Bernadette Devlin's first established rhetorical goals.

\textsuperscript{72}Mid-Ulster Mail, August 28, 1968, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{73}Derry Journal, August 28, 1968, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{74}Derry Journal, August 30, 1968, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{75}Mid-Ulster Mail, October 12, 1968, p. 1.
1. One-man-one-vote in local elections.
2. The removal of gerrymandered boundaries.
3. Laws against discrimination by local government, and the provision of machinery to deal with complaints.
4. Allocation of public housing on a points system.

As the organization developed, the students came to realize that even these six aims did not get to the root of the problem. They had asked for an equal share of jobs and houses, but the problem was the insufficiency for all of both. The students realized that the working class, by aligning itself with those who share their religion but who work against their best economic interests, perpetrates its own misery. Instead of Ulster being a Protestant state for a Protestant people, Miss Devlin felt that what the Protestants have after fifty years of Unionism is a Protestant state for the Protestant rich. In November of 1968, the Unionist government made only what to Miss Devlin were suggestions of reforms, not true reforms: Miss Devlin began to feel if there were to be any kind of progress,

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something in the tight Unionist structure had to loosen. 79

By the end of 1968 both Bernadette Devlin and the People's Democracy had moved left. "We had started off without any political affiliation with very little political awareness: the majority attitude then could be summed up in a sort of liberal belief in the necessity for justice." 80 The move left came because the most effective-seeming solutions to those problems discussed were solutions offered by the left. 81 Michael Farrel, an important member of the Socialists' Alliance, influenced the People's Democracy by his consistent explanations of the best methods of attacking the evils of society. 82 After the Long March of January, 1969, Bernadette Devlin declared herself a socialist: "the perilous journey" caused the conscious, sharing-working-trusting-sticking-together philosophy to emerge completely. "We were socialists and we believed socialism was worth struggling for--What's so frightening about being left, if its the only way to get justice." 83

The next stage of development came when Miss Devlin asked herself in what context she wants socialism. To her, something had to replace the Unionist Party, for social


justice would destroy the party. She wrote that the demand of the working class—that irrespective of religion, etc., fathers and husbands should be able to live and work in Ireland with decent wages and something like human dignity—would, if it were granted, break the Unionist government’s back. She felt that there was no point in talking about socialism within the United Kingdom for with a "pseudo-socialist" state in England, "real" socialism could never survive in British Northern Ireland. For Bernadette Devlin the wheel was coming full circle, but with variations. She had moved from traditional, emotional Republicanism to socialism, in the context of Ulster, and now was joining her new-found socialism to her old belief in a United Ireland. "I realized that the essential problem was not to unite the country, but to unite the people, and this could only be done on the basis of socialism."

True to most social protesting groups, the members began to split into various political aims. Miss Devlin felt the major mistake of the People's Democracy was not calling attention to the glaring discrepancy between the Civil Rights Association for a fair allocation (on religious lines) of jobs and houses, and its demand of jobs

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and houses for everyone. \(^{88}\) Opposition for fighting the
election in April came from two fronts: (1) from the doc-
trinal anarchist and ultrasocialist people—they felt elec-
tions were bourgeoisie and should not be touched, (2) from
a sectarian element who were happy that the People's Dem-
cracy should stand against the Unionists but did not want
the party standing against the Nationalists. \(^{89}\) Miss Devlin
felt that at this stage they needed a clearly socialist
organization with defined aims and policies—which would
spread and develop specific local action. By April, 1968,
Miss Devlin was drawing away from the People's Democracy
and would soon be elected to Parliament. Though an explicit
goal was still to be formed, her philosophy appeared in
her own words about her aims of revolution for the economic
rights of all the underprivileged working class people.

What we must at all times make clear is that we are
fighting for the economic rights of an underprivileged
people, not to win back six counties for Ireland eco-
nomically. I believe the South of Ireland is worse off
than we are, and I would hope that as we step up the
struggle in Ulster there will be those in the South who
could step up the struggle there. This is maybe just
ideological talk. It will take a long time to achieve
anything. And, in the end, I believe, it will come to
a clash. For at no time have those in authority re-
linquished their position without a struggle. But,
when it comes to that, it must be fought not in the six
counties by Catholics, but in Ireland as a whole by the
working class. Only if it's an all-Ireland working
class revolution are there enough of us to overthrow
the powers that be. \(^{90}\)

\(^{89}\) Ibid., p. 166.  \(^{90}\) Ibid., p. 151.
Knowing the necessity of spreading the fight for economic rights of the "underprivileged" working class man, Bernadette Devlin carried her ideals into the House of Commons.

**Bernadette Devlin—The House of Commons Protestor**

When Miss Devlin was approached to run for the Mid-Ulster seat in the April, 1969, House of Commons election, her immediate answer was no. "I didn't want to give people a chance to say, 'Look, the P.D. are political careerists like anybody else.' And I thought it wouldn't do the Civil Rights Movement any good to get involved in a wrangle for a seat at Westminster." At a Unity Convention she spoke of not being a candidate and feeling politics a dirty job.

"I am not a candidate in this election, because I don't believe we will get the kind of unity I want which is the unity of the working class, Catholic and Protestant. The unity being talked about here is Catholic unity. I think politics is basically a dirty job. I am not expert enough to play the dirty job dirty. My suggestion is that you find the least dishonest person and put him in." After being convinced that only she could defeat a Unionist Party candidate, Miss Devlin ran for the seat in the House of Commons. On April 17, 1969, Bernadette Devlin became the youngest woman member of Parliament ever elected to the House and the youngest member since William Pitt.

To study the aims or goals of Miss Devlin, one must

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consider the recorded accounts of her speeches. In a brief
late-night campaign speech on April 9, 1969, Miss Devlin
summarized her goals: to have the people of Northern Ireland
realize that the system is not meeting the people's econo-
mic needs, because those in control will not let it meet
the people's needs; to have the people unite against the
system; to work, herself, with and for the people to create
a society which would guarantee religious and civil rights
and equal opportunities. 94

Bernadette Devlin's first goal was to display the
evils of the Unionist Party, which, according to her had
never done anything for the people of Northern Ireland,
Catholic or Protestant. The Unionist Government concerned
itself only with maintaining the artificial sectarian
division in the community which it had fostered to insure
the ruling minority control over the people of Northern
Ireland. When a group of Paisleyites screamed during the
course of her address that they wanted Paisley [Protestant,
Unionist leader], she asked them why they wanted Paisley when
he had promised to fight the election on behalf of them
[Protestant working class] and had betrayed them. 95 In another
address she spoke of the economic depression of Ulster and
the dependence of the people on the system created by the

95 Irish News, April 7, 1969, p. 5.
Unionist Government—Unionist by name, Tory by nature. 96

When asked to explain how the economic dependence operated, Miss Devlin stated that the ruling class wanted only the number of jobs available that were needed to control governmental interests: Because of the scarcity of jobs, men and women worked for small wages. Further, because the few people who had jobs were usually Protestants, the Protestants turned against Catholics for fear of losing jobs to the Catholics and Catholics resented Protestants having the majority of the jobs. 97

Miss Devlin felt the Unionist government had fooled the people far too long. Her next goal was a unification of the Catholic and Protestant working people. The time had come when those who realize the damage that the government had done to the ordinary people must stand together—Catholics and Protestants—and fight against it. 98 Bernadette Devlin felt that Ireland's strength and prosperity lie in the unity of all her people for their common good, the cause of justice, and freedom. In speaking of this unification Miss Devlin said, "This is not a religious war, we want a better life for both Catholics and Protestants. We don't want war. We don't want people to die. It's a

96 Ibid.
98 Irish News, April 7, 1969, p. 5.
struggle for freedom from fear and intimidation." In an interview with the author, Miss Devlin explained the basis for such a unification. The people do not need to get to know each other, they need to know the "common enemy."

"If you can get people to say, 'Look, O.K., I am hungry, you are hungry, let's attack the fellow who's got all the food"—then you have a stronger bond than differences." In uniting to achieve a better society, the people might have to feel the economic system worsened for a while, before there was an improvement. That was the answer she gave to the statement that the protest demonstrations to unite the working people frightened off new industries.

Of what use is it to the people how many factories come to Northern Ireland if the ordinary man obtains no benefit from them? The present industrial policy of the Unionist government means that workers in Northern Ireland are paid a lower wage than those who do an equal amount of work in other parts of the country. The profits of large industries seem to be concentrated on company owners and shareholders, quite a lot of whom are also Governmental Supporters.

After Miss Devlin displayed her horrors of the Unionist government and the need for the unification of the ordinary people, her third goal was to replace the Unionist government with some form of society which would grant civil and religious liberties to the ordinary man. "The ordinary

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100 Devlin, private interview, May 25, 1972.
101 Irish News, April 9, 1969, p. 5.
people are entitled to be part of a decent society in which each would be granted civil and religious liberty and equal rights. Such a society could not and never would be provided by a Unionist government. To understand the complexity of this third goal, one must consider what Bernadette Devlin as an individual strives to do and what she wishes her followers to do.

No address so clearly expresses these previously stated goals of Bernadette Devlin than does her parliamentary maiden speech. She spoke of the British failure to get rid of the Unionist Government; she spoke of Ulster, the present-day society consisting of landlords, the majority of people being the "have nots," but ruled by the "haves," the people being beaten into Catholic areas to prove the protestors were only a "Catholic Uprising;" she spoke of the people of Ulster no longer being fooled by the Unionist government. Though Miss Devlin became a member of Parliament, she often reminded supporters and opponents that her goal in life was not to be a politician. "I soon satisfied myself that the whole grinding process in Parliament worked too slowly to be of any use to the people of Mid-Ulster." In October of 1969, after returning from the United States, when asked if she would soon return to

102 *Mid-Ulster Mail*, May 6, 1970, p. 3.
Parliament, Bernadette Devlin replied that she would return to Belfast, for her goal was to take up the struggle again, not in Parliament, but in the streets: "We want to install Socialism."\(^{104}\)

Considering Miss Devlin's account of her childhood and student days, one is not surprised to find her acclaiming the socialist ideology as the ideal society. Yet Miss Devlin rarely explicitly defines her brand of socialism. The most influential man on her socialist philosophy in the Irish context was James Connolly.

It's not that you have a sort of Bible or recipe book, but it's the principle and ideals of Connolly that are equally relevant today. I think he had a great deal of foresight in seeing that the present day problem in terms of the effect of partition on both sides of the border and that to create a workers' state in Ireland is of necessity a part of the whole international conflict of creating international Socialism.\(^{105}\)

In the midst of her 1969 campaign, the opposition accused her of being a member of the Communist Party. Feeling that the Communist Party is something to detest even more than Unionism, she said that she would never support anything which deprived people of their fundamental rights.\(^{106}\)

How is Devlin's Socialism different from Marxism or the British Labour Party or Northern Ireland's newest Socialist party, the Socialist Democratic Labour Party? Most

\(^{104}\)Mid-Ulster Mail, October 4, 1969, p. 1.
\(^{105}\)Devlin, private interview, May 25, 1972.
\(^{106}\)Irish News, April 9, 1969, p. 8.
simply, Miss Devlin explains the difference as being that such parties do not truly fight the worker's battle. While most of her socialist views would be shared by the officials of the Sinn Fein, there are contradictions of leadership within that organization which means she would not presently join it. "I would join it today and be forced to leave it in six months time."107 For the Devlin Socialism one must first understand the nature of the working class and much more than just in the Irish context. Secondly, to Devlin, one must not become so fascinated by the intricacies of Socialist ideology that he becomes a pure intellectual without the time to fight the worker's battle; he is too busy flaunting the revolution and reading Marx.108 In her autobiography she criticized one member of the Civil Rights Association who knew Marx word for word, but still did not understand the worker's problems.109 The British Labour Party does not, she felt, have a class orientation: it sees things in trying to manipulate the system better, rather than changing a bad system.110 When the SDLP was formed in 1970, Miss Devlin said she would not join it because the party represents the Roman Catholic minority. The party did not make an active attempt to communicate to the working class people working class policies. She felt

108Ibid.
109Ibid.
110Ibid.
that neither she nor the leaders of the SDLP, Gerry Fitt, John Hume, Ivan Cooper, or Austin Currie had the right to do so—she intended to form a loose alliance of those people who believed in the formation of a Socialist Workers' Republic. According to Miss Devlin, in a workers' state, there are no political leaders; the workers lead the workers. Today she still criticizes the SDLP for being typical of Ireland's entire history: A mass movement has been created out of the determination of people not to suffer any longer; it has been used and manipulated by leaders who used the workers' struggles to get their own petty ends.

On May 25, 1972, the author asked Miss Devlin what her goals were. She replied, "I've got but one goal—Workers' State, International Socialism. All other goals lead in toward that."

It's got to be done from the very bottom to the very top. Fighting every day in the factories, fighting the political corruption, fighting the political oppression, fighting imperialism, supporting the fight against it, everywhere else, at the same time, fighting it all day every day, whether it's redundancies, victimization of industry, building specialization, and building office blocks instead.

Miss Devlin explains that this is a twenty-four hour job; "you have to fight them wherever you find them." That is why one needs to know where he is going; at the end of the

113 [Ibid.](#)
114 [Ibid.](#)
day he needs the backing of the theory. "Otherwise you're going to get lost in the morass of fighting; you're going to settle for something that makes tomorrow easier without that realization that to make tomorrow easier you've just made next week worse."\textsuperscript{115}

To become more explicit about Miss Devlin's Socialism, the author has only two recorded statements, a manifesto and a BBC tribunal address. Miss Devlin wrote the following manifesto in answer to those who charged that in the first election campaign she hid her Socialism from her voters.

1. Full freedom for all political organizations to operate openly, and for individuals to express opinions without fear of repression.

2. Prohibition against firms established by public subvention taking profits out of the area.

3. Re-investments of such profits to build new hospitals, schools, and factories, and to create new jobs.

4. A law to oblige such firms to find workers suitable alternative employment before making them redundant.

5. Instead of giving massive grants, exemptions, and facilities to overseas industrialists, this money must be spent on establishing locally controlled faculties.

6. The debts of Northern Ireland Housing Trust must be cancelled so that the Central Housing Authority will not be crippled from the start, and can really set about providing for the needs of all people.

7. Elected tenants' representatives and representatives of those who need houses, must control the Central Housing Authority. Ordinary people are quite competent to manage their own affairs.

\textsuperscript{115Ibid.}
8. Subsidies and real encouragement for local agriculture co-operatives in a drive to keep people on the land.

9. Interest-free, long term loans and capital grants must be made available to small farmers.


11. Imposition of a minimum wage.

12. Parity of pay for working women and for young people doing full-time jobs.\textsuperscript{116}

The other recorded statement is a BBC Tribunal address.

The BBC Tribunal provided a forum for Irish politicians to express their aims for solving Ulster's problems. In her address, Bernadette Devlin told the British government what it must do to solve the problems in Ulster—go home and let the Irish solve their own system-wide problems.

If you want to do something constructive then deal with our problems of homelessness, slums, unemployment. To do that you've got to ban exports, recognize the failure of a private enterprise in North of Ireland, cancel Northern Ireland housing prospect, nationalize the building industry, not evacuate it. Because in fact, it is packed with a system of priorities under which Britain, Northern Ireland, and Southern Ireland is run. You cannot do that. So all you can do is get out. Go home. We will solve our own problems. [Appendix II.]

Bernadette Devlin dreams of a fourth goal, a revolution. Though this goal is dependent on the three previously stated goals, it must be considered the strategic goal for making a Workers' Republic possible. The basis for this strategic goal is deciding that the present system has got

\textsuperscript{116} \textit{Mid-Ulster Mail,} June 13, 1970, p. 3.
to be changed. In an interview with the author, Miss Devlin explained the revolutionary path with its many roads. Once one decides the system has got to change, he has to decide between being a liberal or a radical. If it has to change, one has to decide whether he is prepared to change it. If the going becomes too rough, one is a liberal if he keeps saying that it has got to be changed by letting somebody else do it. If one is a radical, according to Devlin, he starts changing the system. He starts making mistakes because he attempts to change, yet he realizes he makes it worse; he attempts to change it but he realizes that nobody is listening or that nobody understands. Finally, through the struggle to change the system, one realizes he has only one choice, and that, according to Miss Devlin, is to end up a socialist. Because he needs to find the means of changing the system, he has to start criticizing himself and the system, including, specifically, why it exists, how it started, in whose interest it exists, and why he wants to change it. Does one want to change it because he is on the bottom and if he were on the top it would be different? If this be the case, he can make it if he tries hard enough over everybody else’s back to the top. If one decides that the ideal itself of the top and bottom must go, then that is the first step in the revolution. The more one struggles, the more he learns that the Irish problem is not one problem
but an historical problem, a social problem, an economic problem; socialism is the only solution. That is not to say that socialism is a blue print. According to Miss Devlin, socialism is a revolutionary process of criticizing and building through criticizing and "knowing down" what exists in order to build a new society.\textsuperscript{117}

Miss Devlin told the author that she belonged to no political party in Northern Ireland, because no revolutionary organization existed in Ireland. The task exists to build such an organization and this may be done inside or outside other organizations.\textsuperscript{118} In such a potential organization Bernadette Devlin sees the future of International Socialism. That is not to say that present groups like the People's Democracy do not do a good job, but rather that their job is not a revolutionary job.

The just keep drifting backwards, for that very reason of making tomorrow easier, but next week harder. There are a lot of good revolutionaries inside the People's Democracy, but the overall tendency of such movements is, I believe, Catholic Radical as opposed by Revolutionary.\textsuperscript{119}

When asked about her future, she replied, "My future—fighting a revolution! It's hard to say, you just can't predict your own future. Whatever I'll be doing, I'll be fighting a revolution."\textsuperscript{120}

Finally, the author feels that though Bernadette

\textsuperscript{117}Devlin, private interview, May 25, 1972.\textsuperscript{118}\textsuperscript{119}\textsuperscript{120}Ibid.
Devlin—the child protestor and the student protestor—seemed ideologically oriented but goal-less, Miss Devlin will remain consistent with the goals she formed while in the House of Commons. In having to defend her ideology to her constituencies, the ideology became more structured into goals. When asked if she felt satisfied with her attempt to change Ulster society, she replied that they were doing what they had to do; sometimes they were on the top and sometimes they were on the bottom. "But it does not make any difference because we've got all the time it takes as long as we waste none of it. We'll take all the time we need. Sooner or later we'll catch up with them, those who have oppressed the working class, and boy, when we do they will be sorry."121

Conclusion

No conclusion could be more fitting than the one Bernadette Devlin wrote at the end of her autobiography. Though written nearly three years ago, it still portrays her ideology and goals, both political and strategic. One sees the evils displayed of the Unionist government, the plea for the unification of the working class, a desire for a new, ideal kind of society, all to be carried out by the Devlin strategy of "kicking the Unionist government to the ground."

121 Ibid.
For fifty years things have been static in Northern Ireland, and we are catching up on fifty years history in the period of a year. Every day means a new chapter in a book and a new chapter in the life of a person. But whatever happens, never again will the Unionist government be able to govern Northern Ireland as it has done since the country was created by the Act of Petition. The people have made their situation clear. We will fight for justice. We will try to achieve it by peaceful means. But if it becomes necessary we will simply make it impossible for an unjust government to govern us. We will refuse to have anything to do with it. We will build our own houses and refuse to pay rent on those houses of the government. We will take control of our own areas and we will run them. We'll build our own factories, we'll pay taxes to our own people and the Government can sit in Stormont and govern whoever will put up with it, for more and more will stand by a fair system, however illegal, than will stand by a discredited government. Some of them [Protestants] have burned down Catholic homes, but we will not allow our forces to terrorize the ordinary Protestant population. One day they will realize we have no more quarrels with people who happen to be Protestant than with people who happen to be Catholic. They will see that our quarrel is with the Unionist Party Government. For half a century it has misgoverned us, but it is on the way out. Now we are witnessing its dying convulsions. And with traditional Irish mercy, when we've got it down we will kick it into the ground. 122

A variety of influenced made the social protestor, Bernadette Devlin. In the following chapter, the author will consider how value constructs of Miss Devlin's audience influence their assimilating and contrasting her goals as embodied in messages.

CHAPTER III
THE ANALYSIS OF THE DEVLIN BRITISH
AND IRISH AUDIENCE

After establishing in the previous chapter what Miss Devlin wants for the people of Ireland, the author wishes to turn to those people Miss Devlin most desires to influence, the Irish people and the British government. They have reported a wide-range of perceptions of her, as the following montage illustrates:

... human interest story: third year psychology student at Queens, twenty-one years old at the time of her election...
... Fidel Castro in a mini-skirt...
Her courage, tenacity, and vision have been a source of inspiration to all of us...
The murder in this young woman's heart boils to the surface and spills from her mouth as she screams...
She is the brightest, the freshest, and of course, the prettiest Irish politician, and her cry for justice has come across loud and clear...
This wild irresponsible child is a danger to any civilized society and has left behind her a trail of human misery and suffering. \(^{123}\)

How do others feel about Bernadette Devlin and her goals for Ireland? In the violent situation of 1971-1972, the public

\(^{123}\) G. W. Target, Unholy Smoke (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), pp. 87-89.

Devlin Audiences of 1969-1970

During April 1969, politicians, with the exception of the Unionists, spoke with highest regard of the young woman from Cookstown, Northern Ireland. For the majority of Irish political leaders, issues, values, and circumstances came together in the "true Irish" candidate, Bernadette Devlin, who strove to defeat the Unionist government and speak for the oppressed people of Ulster at Westminster. Paddy Devlin, the Republic of Ireland's Labour Party Chairman, told a Mid-Ulster audience that they were lucky to have a candidate of the calibre of Bernadette Devlin; she had shown that she was ready and able to take on the Unionists and beat them on their own ground. "She is a fighter for the people in the best Irish tradition and it is up to the people of Mid-Ulster on Thursday to see that she can carry on in Westminster the fight which she waged so courageously over the past months."124 Gerry Fitt, long time Labour M.P. for both Stormont and Westminster, also hoping to defeat the Unionist Party, supported Miss Devlin. He believed that she symbolized the young generation in Northern Ireland who were not prepared to tolerate the conditions under which their parents were forced to live. "I am absolutely delighted," he said, "that we found this

single unity candidate to oppose the Unionist Party." To the Irish she had defeated Unionism; nothing else mattered.

As an attractive young woman eloquently and emotionally pleading the case of the "underdog" to Westminster, the members of Parliament found Miss Devlin consistent with their idea of who and where and M.P. should be. When she walked into the House of Commons to take the Oath, members welcomed her with good-natured shouts of "Give her a kiss," and "Do you want to do some campaigning for me?" While the Speaker of the House, Dr. Horace King, held her hand and chatted with her, he said that it was out of order for the members of the House to be jealous. All parties enthusiastically received her maiden speech. British Home Secretary, James Callaghan, afterwards praised her ability to speak so brilliantly for her people, even when physically exhausted.

When I recall, Mr. Speaker, what an exhausting election campaign she must have had—we have all been through that process—and then she finds herself no doubt suffering from the attention of the Press and the T.V., and we have all been through that process, too, and then she finds herself faced with the ordeal of coming here and speaking to a fuller House that I ever recall in my twenty-five years [sic.]. I would say that all that means a most formidable ordeal from which she has emerged with very great brilliance. She owed courage and fearlessness. The voice of the people was ringing

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127 Mid-Ulster Mail, April 26, 1969, p. 3.
through and that is why she emerged with such great triumph.\textsuperscript{128}

Do these politicians praise her because they share her belief in the issues of Ulster? This belief led her to state in her maiden speech that she would flaunt traditional, unwritten rules of Parliament, because the situation merited the flaunting, that British troops in Ulster would be killed because Ulstermen were not fond of Englishmen telling them what to do, that a Socialist government worth its "guts" would have gotten rid of the Unionists long ago, that the Unionist Party would continue to engage in a deliberate policy of dividing people in order to keep the ruling minority in power and to keep the "oppressed" people oppressed, that the people would still be beaten into Catholic areas because it was in the interests of the ruling minority to establish that protestors were nothing more than a "Catholic uprising," just as it was in the interest of Chichester-Clark to come over with all his "tripe" about the IRA; and that while she would have no sympathy for violence, she admitted that she had been forced to make sure that the Bogsiders wasted not one solitary stone in anger.\textsuperscript{129}

One British newspaper said that "Miss Bernadette Devlin, twenty-two years old and five feet of revolutionary from Mid-Ulster, conquered Westminster with a passionate plea


\textsuperscript{129}\textit{Scotsman}, April 23, 1969, p. 1.
for justice unequalled in the Commons for many years. The high oratory, on occasion mob oratory, astounded all who listened; the Prime Minister and Mr. Heath, as fascinated as the many peers who crowded into the gallery to hear the 'roar of rage' from below, joined in the cheers as Miss Devlin sat down."\(^{130}\) One could hardly assume that these politicians agreed with the Devlin attack and its revolutionary overtones. Yet, no one listened to the issues of which the Mid-Ulster M.P. spoke. Each approving politician assimilated or overlooked her different political beliefs, because at this time, Bernadette Devlin was in keeping with their base values. To the British politician, her representation of Ulster proved once again that Westminster represented all sides of its people.

The Unionist M.P.'s did not see their role in Parliament differently from Miss Devlin, which is to represent the constituency, but their basic value, uppermost with them, clashed with her basic value. The Bernadette Devlin of 1969 valued foremost a United Ireland completely separated from Britain, while separation from Britain was the last thing the Unionist Party wanted. Its dignity for "who" Unionist members were or "where" they were contrasted at this point with the British ideal: The Unionist Party denounced M.P. Devlin with derogatory statements. One M.P.

referred to her as a Fidel Castro in a mini-skirt. Another said that the wild, irresponsible child was a danger to any civilized society.131

Just as Paddy Devlin and Gerry Pitt supported the Queens student for a defeat of the Unionist Party and a one-day united Ireland, thousands of Ulster men and women supported Miss Devlin. It mattered to them not what role she played in Parliament or what the issues she discussed, only that she spoke for the Irish people. Dr. J. G. Simms, historian, sociologist, lecturer, and scholar on modern Ulster, who spends several months each year in Northern Ireland analyzing the problems of Ulster, explained that the people of Northern Ireland were willing to forgive Miss Devlin anything as long as she fought to make Ulster Irish, not British.132 A Protestant man of Northern Ireland, who was not in the Mid-Ulster district, asserted, in April, 1969, that the members of the Mid-Ulster constituency held in their hands a mighty sword (their vote) which would go a long way to "smite" down the Unionist regime.133 The editor of the independent Irish News exhorted: "On this polling day

131 Target, Unholy Smoke, p. 8.

132 J. G. Simms, private interview held at Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland, May 3, 1972. Professor Simms is not a socialist.

in Mid-Ulster, there is only one direction that all nationally minded voters can take and that is into the polling booths in support of Miss Bernadette Devlin, the Unity Candidate." Miss Devlin proved by her large margin in the by-election that "political sincerity" eventually triumphed over Unionist "religious bigotry," read one letter to the editor. A Mid-Ulster man wrote to congratulate his fellow constituents for electing Miss Devlin as their M.P. and to remind them to increase her majority in the future so that Mid-Ulster would never again fall into Unionist hands. Sometimes, "who" is transcended by higher-valued factors, as in the case of an Englishman residing temporarily in Belfast who wrote of his delight that Bernadette Devlin defeated the Unionist government.

Far be it for me, as an Englishman, temporarily resident in Belfast, to get mixed up in the political situation here. But, may I say how delighted I am at Miss Bernadette Devlin's success? She is a new phenomenon in local politics, and as a dispassionate observer, I hope her success is the forerunner of other victories to provide an alternative to Unionism which is rapidly losing credibility."

In those first months after the April election, another value highly prized by the supporters of Bernadette Devlin was a "fighting spirit." The substantive issue at

stake was not nearly so significant as the value of fighting spiritedly. For instance, one person said she voted for Bernadette Devlin not because she liked her ideas, but because she was a "spit fire" when it came to working for the people of Northern Ireland.  

A Cookstown neighbor wrote that Miss Devlin was a girl who knew and understood the problems of ordinary people, but her youthful energy in civil rights demonstrations proved she might even sway Westminster to come to their aid. Several months after her election, one voter wrote that if it were not for the hard-working extremists there would not be any civil rights movement for the moderates to be moderate about.

Say what you would about Bernadette Devlin, but you can't deny that by speaking at Strabane she consequent-ly ran the risk of losing her seat at Westminster. Can anyone name another M.P. who for the sake of being honest would do that? It would not be difficult for her to say the rights things to keep her supporters hap-py, to sit back and issue the old stinging attack on Unionism and watch the votes roll in election after election. But, she's her own woman, and I'd rather have Bernadette than the subtle politicians in all of Ireland put together.

Several letters to the editor praised Miss Devlin for having given up the many pleasures that young women of her age should be enjoying to enter the dangerous political arena of Northern Ireland.

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Thus, particularly in the days of 1969, only a few—comparedatively speaking—admitted support of Miss Devlin because they valued most highly the ideology of socialism. That issue was one they usually transcended with some other value higher to them. However, a group of her supporters did come from that tradition in politics. A student wrote in April, 1969, that because Miss Devlin concerned herself with the socialistic solutions to problems of Ulster, she had been abused, rebuked, and called a Communist; yet, in his opinion, her socialistic concerns brought her much support.  

142 An Englishman wrote that the present social programs in Northern Ireland insulted the country; Miss Devlin at least offered the "insulted" country hope.

What an insult to a people who have been forced to take to the streets in an endeavour to right the wrongs of half a century with a social service that's a disgrace to a Western Civilization! In the rich society of the North, as Miss Devlin says, 'The rich grow richer and the poor poorer.'  

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Thus, those Irishmen who supported Miss Devlin in the 1969-1970 period probably did so not because of her particular stand on Ulster issues, but because she was congruent with their base concerns, be it defeat of Unionism, the superiority of a "fighting spirit," or the ideology of socialism. Likewise, those who opposed Miss Devlin during the same period did so not because of her stand on specific

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but because they felt she denied their overriding value of "hard work brings success to any man."

In discussing the overriding value which caused rejection of Miss Devlin, one finds it difficult to separate loyalty—British, Unionist, or Protestant. Yet, all the dislike of the Mid-Ulster M.P. came together in the perception that she desired a government which would give people support without their having to work for it. The point in question, socialism, appalled many Northern Irish people. Before Miss Devlin's 1969 election, a Mid-Ulster man wrote that if Miss Devlin was so foolish to have socialism "drummed" into her by her "influential friends" at Queens University, she need not come out to preach it in Mid-Ulster. "The people of Mid-Ulster are honest, hard working people, both Roman Catholics and Protestants, working agreeably side-by-side and have no time nor need for socialism."\(^\text{144}\) Though the "oppressed" people elected her as their champion, wrote one voter, she did them no favors by distorting the facts to fit the Socialist theory by representing Unionism as grinding the faces of the poor.\(^\text{145}\)

Of course, those rejected her who felt Miss Devlin tried to take away what they valued most, their Unionist-structured government. However, in those spring months

\(^{144}\) Letter, \textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, April 12, 1969, p. 3.

of April and May, Bernadette Devlin reigned as "St. Bernadette" in the eyes of Ireland and England. Both Professor Simms and Father John Duffy, Belfast priest involved in today's negotiations, said that all people who desired a better life for Ulster's citizens held Miss Devlin in esteem during these early months. Father Duffy said, "When I heard her maiden speech, my face broke out in a cold sweat, she was so brilliant." 146

Those congruous public opinions of Bernadette Devlin resulted from the fact that the British politicians saw her as a skillful debater in the House of Commons and her Irish supporters saw her as a fighter for them, be it in the House of Commons or in the streets of Belfast. With the exception of the Unionists, the real dividing effect of issues had yet to come.

At the time of her election, Miss Devlin had been called "the symbol of the new youthful, opposition radicalism, which had swept Northern Ireland in the past six months and was representative of demonstrations and sit-ins." 147 However, the year of 1970 saw the fall of "St. Bernadette" as the meaning of youthful, radical, demonstrations took effect. When Miss Devlin attempted to get an emergency

146 Father John Duffy, private interview held at St. David's Parish House, Cardiff, Wales, June 9, 1972.

147 Scotsman, April 19, 1969, p. 9.
debate in the House of Commons on the latest violence in Londonderry, Tory members joined with the Unionist members in shouting that "she's stirring it [violence] up." 148

Though Miss Devlin attempted within the Parliamentary framework to develop the highly respected British debate, the most-perceived issue was simply violence in Northern Ireland. To many M.P.'s a woman who appeared to have had a hand in this violence now tried to have a hand in their House of Commons debate. Such British M.P.'s take their role as deliberator seriously: This does not allow an M.P. to be connected in any way with street violence. 149

Though many British M.P.'s turned away from Miss Devlin when she was taken to jail in June of 1970, many people still supported her. Ivan Cooper, Mid-Derry M.P. spoke to a crowd of Devlin supporters the night after the police took her to jail. "The person who got into that police car last night is a young woman of twenty-three years of age with courage the like of which Ireland has not seen for years." 150 While in jail for [among other charges] inciting riotous behavior, her lawyer received a telegram from forty-four Labour M.P.'s asking him to convey their

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149The part Miss Devlin played in demonstrations had been termed riotous behavior, example being, breaking stones to throw at police invading the Bogside.

warmest gratitude for and appreciation of her courageous stand for decency and justice in Northern Ireland. Even an Englishman wrote a letter to the Irish News to express his congratulations to Miss Devlin on her courage and wished her an early release. While some M.P.'s value foremost Parliamentary dignity inside or outside of Westminster, thus contrasting any similar political beliefs they might hold with Bernadette Devlin, others assimilate her less-desirable, riotous behavior under the honorable label of courage.

In June of 1970, the people of Mid-Ulster re-elected Bernadette Devlin to her seat in the House of Commons. One voter wrote the following toast to Miss Devlin: "So here's to Bernadette's success on June 18, to be returned to fight the battle as the best little member of Parliament Ireland has had this century or the last." During her re-election campaign, a man born in Northern Ireland, but now living in England, wrote to affirm the belief that Bernadette Devlin was still preferable to a Unionist candidate.

This election is not about idealism, but rather political realism as is evident in the coming together of all shades of Unionism in recent days. Another fact of life is that Bernadette Devlin is the candidate most likely to succeed in Mid-Ulster. She may not have pleased everyone since she took her seat in Westminster,

but I hope common sense will prevail in Mid-Ulster and that the voters will realize that a vote for Cunningham or O'Neill will most certainly ensure loss of the seat to the Unionists. Come on, give the girl a chance.154

Though the overriding value of her Irish supporters remained a courageous attack on the government to allow a better "Irish life," the longer Miss Devlin remained in office, the more differentiated and salient, or "ego-centered" this orientation became for each Irishman. Her solutions were neither immediate for the masses or for any individuals. Thus began the criticism of the young woman from Cookstown, not so much because of "who" she should be, or the "why" of her values, or "where" she carried out the struggle, but because the issues she dealt with were not solving the Ulster problems. Throughout the Mid-Ulster constituency, some past supporters said that Bernadette Devlin was not a good representative because of her political interests.155 Whether these past supporters felt her interests too varied or too narrow, it became clear that many perceived her as not having their own best interests at heart. "It was obvious to everyone that her interests are self-centered: A politician who hopes to plan a coast-to-coast tour of the United States in order to procure sales for

her novel, hasn't the interests of Mid-Ulster at heart."\textsuperscript{156}
In February, 1970, another past supporter wrote that Bernadette Devlin had received a chance to show what she thought of Ireland and had thrown it away by her reluctance to accept a small prison sentence. "One feels a little doubtful about her reluctance," wrote the woman, "to suffer with the many men who gave their lives for Ireland; Miss Devlin appears to me to only be concerned with Miss Devlin."\textsuperscript{157}
Because the Mid-Ulster M.P. would not make herself available to help find the whereabouts of an interned man, a prominent Republican family in Coalisland vowed never to support again this uninterested M.P.\textsuperscript{158}

Devlin's Audiences: 1971-1972

Although religious hatred exists in Ulster, religion did not become a major issue in public opinion of Devlin until the Catholics began feeling that she not only accomplished nothing for them but that she spent too much time with the Protestants. How dare Miss Devlin help the Protestant working class, when the Catholic working class was in the condition it was? The only explanation to the dissatisfied was that Miss Devlin was not a loyal Catholic. The words of Miss Devlin about the Catholic/Protestant working class relationship totally disgusted one Catholic Irishman.

\textsuperscript{156}Letter, \textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, July 5, 1969, p. 3.


After witnessing the exhibition that Bernadette Devlin made of herself before an English audience on the David Frost programme by the vulgar abuse of the Catholic Church into which she was born, her phoney [sic] theology, her economic quackery and her boundless brashness, ignorance and egotism, I was left with mixed feelings. They were of utter disgust and of downright pity and charity for her and sympathy with the Catholics of Mid-Ulster in what they let in and stuck with in their anxiety to keep the Unionist out of that seat.159

Many Protestants voted for Bernadette Devlin and supported her because she offered a better life to all people of Ulster. Though Ian Paisley denigrated Miss Devlin from the first, this man gained control over most Protestants after 1969 with his "vibrant voice, mountainous physique and computer-like command of scripture reference, putting on one of the most impressive homiletic turns in the kingdom and blasting the blaspheming, cursing, spitting Roman scum during a demonstration."160 Paisley carried the idea throughout Ulster that Miss Devlin, strongly controlled by the Pope, desired to take away what belonged to the Protestants and give it to the Catholics.161 "The murder in this young woman's heart," Paisley had said, "boils to the surface and spills from her mouth as she screams. The veins of Miss Devlin are polluted with the venom of Popish tuition."162

162 Target, Unholy Smoke, p. 87.
Thus, according to Professor Simms, as this idea spread, which was nurtured by Paisley, Protestant Devlin-supporters joined the ranks of fellow Protestant Paisleyites.\footnote{Simms, private interview, May 3, 1972.}

Further, whether Bernadette Devlin caused Ulster to become more violent from the end of 1970 through 1972, the majority of Irishmen and Englishmen connect her with this violence. As previously indicated, many British M.P.'s no longer found her congruent with their ideal of an M.P. Moreover, many Irishmen who once felt she was their ideal--street politics and all--now turned away from her. Those who once valued her courage and "fighting spirit" wished for some peaceful spirit to soothe the ache and pains of Ulster. One writer declared that the dying Civil Rights movement in Derry was being killed by the "decent citizens" who stay away from demonstrations because "there's only going to be trouble." He pointed out that two-hundred "hooligans" in a crowd of four hundred means that half a meeting is composed of "hooligans" and that there probably would be violence; two hundred "hooligans" in a crowd of 15,000 on the other hand means that the Civil Rights meeting probably would go off peacefully. "If the 'decent people' of Derry do believe in Civil Rights and its leader, Bernadette Devlin, and most of them are very adamant that they do,
then let us see them demanding those rights again—in the streets if necessary.\textsuperscript{164}

This letter created a great response from Ulstermen. One Civil Rights and one-time Devlin supporter summed up his fears and doubts by saying, "As any sane person knows, the time for taking to the streets is not now—in the past, yes; in the future, maybe; but now, no."\textsuperscript{165} In reply to the question of where have the marchers gone, raised by the man worried about the death of civil rights, one Protestant who had marched beside Bernadette Devlin reported that the marchers now live in fear in their own homes, because once-constructive plans have been taken over by "hooligans."

Where have all the marchers gone: I know that most of them are living in fear in their own homes: some are living in caravans because they were burned out of their homes and still are being tormented by hooligans who helped put them there. In the Chamberlain Street and Wm. Street areas many people who have marched now dread to hear the words march or meeting mentioned in Derry because they know what will follow these on their own door steps. Yes, they are living in fear.\textsuperscript{166}

Bernadette Devlin had been always synonymous with demonstrations. When Ulstermen approved of demonstrations, they approved of Miss Devlin; but with their perception of the demonstrations causing the violence raging through Ulster, they quickly condemned the Mid-Ulster M.P. For many people


in the hardest-hit cities like Belfast and Derry, the religious and political ideals for which the Cookstown young woman fought, have been pushed far into the background. Foremost in their minds is that they are afraid: The sick and aged fear breathing too deeply the smoke-filled air; the businessmen fear being ruined by fire; young parents fear that their children's minds are being poisoned. "While appreciating, as who would not, the high minded and uncompromising attitude of people such as Bernadette Devlin," a member of her Mid-Ulster constituency wrote, "I cannot help feeling that if we, who believe in Civil Rights, were to follow the logical progress of her ideals, we should end up in a void."\textsuperscript{167} Though these people agreed with Miss Devlin's ideology, they perceived her ideals too connected with violence. Thus, they valued a peaceful life more than any political ideology and with the contrasting process, the peaceful value ruled over all other factors.

In 1972, violence reached new heights. Where does Bernadette Devlin fit in the midst of these happenings? Unionists, still obsessed with the belief that she took away what belonged to them and made their government hated, led an examination of several Devlin speeches with the hope of prosecution under the Incitement to Hatred Act.\textsuperscript{168}

\textsuperscript{168}\textit{Irish News}, December 31, 1971, p. 5.
English politicians saw her physical attack on Reginald Maudling, Home Secretary, as another example of this violent woman taking the violence she bred in Ulster into the House of Commons. 169 Nearly three years to the day of the world's praise of Devlin's brilliant maiden speech, Mr. Thomas Doyle, who is secretary of the Yorkshire Association for British Ulster, used a 620-year-old Act of Parliament to obtain a summons alleging high treason on the part of Bernadette Devlin. 170 Much had changed since April 22, 1969, and the Westminster opinion had come full circle with the statement of Baroness Stocks when the French government denied Miss Devlin entrance to the country, "It would have been a greater act of international cooperation and friendship if the French had kept Miss Devlin in France." 171

Throughout her brief political career, Miss Devlin's goals of destroying "biased" Unionism, uniting Ireland, and replacing Unionism with a Workers' State had a strong revolutionary overtone: "We must not settle for something that makes tomorrow easier without that realization that to make tomorrow easier, you've just made next week worse." 172 To those who cannot accept this basic value of hers, because

it demands that a politician's role be different from the conventional M.P., or because it demands a different role outside of Westminster, or because it demands acceptance of values and issues different from the usual ones, Miss Devlin is increasingly undesirable. While in the beginning both England and Ireland adored the young Mid-Ulster M.P. because she suited their needs of allowing representation and of being represented, by 1972 no doubt exists that Miss Devlin's revolutionary issues had to be confronted. The one-time supporters of Bernadette Devlin whose values did not withstand the pressures and issues of a revolution perceived Miss Devlin now to be an agent for the Communist Party. One such former supporter wrote that Miss Devlin's Socialist Republic would undermine all of Ireland.

The only Socialist Republic known in the world today are the Communist ones, where incidently basic freedom must be suppressed. Otherwise, the said Socialist Republic would not last six months. Communist states in all cases are kept in existence against the will of the people.173

Increased prominence of such expressions certainly would help to alienate Devlin voters whose primary value was civil rights rather than socialism.

Though it is common to find people who support her ideals, but not her methods, the Provisional Wing of the IRA find her methods not revolutionary enough. These men say they believe in the ideals of the Cookstown woman, but

when asked why they do not follow her advice to slow terrorism, ask, "Has Bernie freed Ireland?" Today people still attend her meetings; followers remain. However, most of them see her not as the Saint, only as their equal, and together they all look to the heroes of the past for a solution to Ulster's problems. One voter wrote in June, 1972, that if any hope was left for Bernadette Devlin it was that she understood Connolly.

Maybe our Bernadette will be able to knock some sense into their [all the theorists studying Ulster] brains and explain the true Connolly while she fights with the knowledge that Connolly wrote: "... the Irish Socialists are wiser today 1916. In their movement the North and the South will again clasp hands, again will it be demonstrated, as in '98 that the pressure of a common exploitation can make enthusiastic rebels out of a Protestant working class, earnest champions of civil and religious liberty out of Catholics, and out of both a United socialist democracy."175

Does this mean that with Bernadette Devlin's own transcending value of the workers' state no one accepts her? Hardly. In Ireland and England some people want an opportunity to offer a different kind of life to the vast numbers of working class people. Today people are no longer charmed by Bernadette Devlin, but men like Harold Wilson, Father John Duffy, and Gerry Pitt support her, though not always happily.

British Labour Leader, Harold Wilson, opposes the

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175Letter, Irish News, June 1, 1972, p. 5.
IRA, all forms of terrorism, and sees solutions by compromise. When Miss Devlin demands an end to internment, a non-sectarian consideration of the problem, and a United Ireland, Wilson assimilates all opposing issues and accepts Miss Devlin by subsuming them under her socialist goal. More than how Miss Devlin should act or with whom or where, he values foremost the fairness that she demands for the minority. He also feels, "For fifty years it has been impossible for the minority to get any representation in a Stormont government in a sense of forming a government or being a minority therein."\(^{176}\)

Father John Duffy, Belfast priest and negotiator for peace within Ulster, says though he believes in the majority of the ideals of Bernadette Devlin, he could never support her because of her methods in dealing with people. "She has neither the respect for human beings or the dignity for which her position calls or the spirit of compromise necessary to be a successful parliamentarian."\(^{177}\) Yet he assimilates all his dislikes of the Mid-Ulster M.P. and supports a revolution. "As sad as it may seem," he said, "in the end the only answer is revolution."\(^{178}\) Father Duffy,


\(^{177}\)Duffy, private interview, June 9, 1972.

\(^{178}\)Ibid.
not a violent man, explained that only a revolution could wipe out the deep-seated hatred that caused injustice to the Catholics and now caused the attacks by the Protestants.

The leader of the Socialist Democratic Labour Party of Northern Ireland, Gerry Fitt, stated in a Parliamentary debate that though he wanted the order abolished, it could not be done by the IRA gunmen shooting and bombing one million Protestants into the Republic of Ireland. On the other hand, Miss Devlin explained in an interview that she did not "dot every I and cross every T" of the IRA (for she thought that the Provisional IRA did not have the politics to back it's military action) it was a different thing to say that they were fighting Imperialism the wrong way, than to say that they ought to stop fighting Imperialism. "So, whatever their mistakes, when the chips are down I will back the IRA against the British Army." Though Gerry Fitt and Miss Devlin see the issue of IRA violence somewhat differently, he submerges their differences to march with her and speak from the same platform time and time again. The superordinate goal bringing them together is that he, too, desires a system where the minority may participate at all levels in the administration of an area.

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Conclusion

In conclusion, who likes Bernadette Devlin? In the early days of her career both Westminster and much of Ireland claimed her as an answer to Ulster's problems. During the next year and a half, Westminster decided it could not accept the issues surrounding the phenomenon of the Mid-Ulster M.P., and many Irishmen felt they had no need for her causing "uproars" in the streets. Whether one is a politician or one of her constituency, if Miss Devlin does not give him what he wants, be it good debate or a job, he becomes disillusioned with her. Besides this frustration and the increased violence in Ulster, Miss Devlin demanded that her supporters look at her substantive issues. She forced into the demands that the British Army must leave Ulster, internment must end, the IRA must be treated as any political force, unconditional talks must not be accepted, Ireland must be united, a Socialist Republic must replace Unionism; she made clear that only a revolution must solve Ulster's problems. In the combination of all factors, not liking "who" Miss Devlin was in the form of an M.P. or "what" issues she talked about or finding her context of "where" she should work to be unsuitable, large numbers of people formed an undesirable opinion of the Mid-Ulster M.P.

Yet to some men the "why," the basic value of equal opportunities for which she fought, caused them to overlook all else. The author does not mean to imply that these
people approve of Miss Devlin whole-heartedly, only that in the end they stay with her. No stereotype may be used to say that Catholics like Bernadette Devlin, Protestants do not; the poor do, the rich do not; the Irish do, the English do not; the educated do, the uneducated do not. The author feels the following generalizations hold true: A man who desires above all else a "proper" M.P. will not approve of Miss Devlin. A man who supports consistently a conservative or radical position on issues affecting Northern Ireland will not accept Miss Devlin, for her stands range from reprimanding the IRA violence to participating in street violence. Those who demand that above all else Miss Devlin should be either an M.P. or a street politician will not find her acceptable. However, anyone who is able to put aside the inconsistencies in this young woman, because he values foremost a better life for the "underdog," will somehow find her acceptable through assimilation.

Considering the "who" she is supposed to be, the "what" she is about, the "why" she is, the "where" she is, and the "when," as determined by her audience, the following chapter will consider what strategic tactics Miss Devlin uses to appeal to her audience and still accomplish her goals.
CHAPTER IV
STRATEGIES AND TACTICS OF THE DEVLIN
CAMPAIGN FOR REVOLUTION

In the preceding chapter, the author discussed the acceptance of Bernadette Devlin because she represented the opposition in Ulster. Dissatisfaction with her representation occurred when Westminster believed the manner in which she represented her views was not in keeping with the standard conduct of a Member of Parliament. Further dissatisfaction arose when the members of her constituency began to feel she could not improve their lives. Yet, the young Cookstown woman expected Westminster and her constituency to feel these ways about her representation. She indicated in an interview that the members of the House gave her sympathy, but in no way understood why she had to "rock the boat;" none of the members, not even the Labour Party, understood her behavior, because, according to Devlin, they had no real "class" orientation. In her view, instead of throwing out the old system, the M.P.'s simply tried to manipulate the system to make things better, and they
expected the Mid-Ulster M.P. to do the same.\textsuperscript{181} As for what
the people of Ulster wanted from their politicians, she reported that, like most people, her constituents did not
know what they wanted, but generally they wanted politicians
to deal with the issues close to them—unemployment, home-
lessness, bad wages.\textsuperscript{182} A few months after her first elec-
tion, Miss Devlin said that the voters who elected her would eventually oppose her because she could not, within this
system, give them the better life they desired.\textsuperscript{183}

At first glance, Bernadette Devlin's conduct since
January, 1969, seemed to be only a multitude of inconsist-
cies. In Parliament she slapped Home Secretary Maulding,\textsuperscript{184}
but to a group of rioting school boys Miss Devlin explained
that such violence solved nothing.\textsuperscript{185} Though it may be the
Devlin nature to scream at members of Parliament to "shut up" while she is speaking or to curse at them or to attack
they physically, this conduct has not bridged the gap of
misunderstanding she said existed between herself and the
rest of Westminster. On the other hand, it has not been
the Devlin nature to partake in total street violence.

\textsuperscript{181}Bernadette Devlin, private interview, held at her
\textsuperscript{182}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{183}Mid-Ulster Mail, June 6, 1969, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{184}Irish News, February 1, 1972, p. 5.
However, if one recalled that Bernadette Devlin said she had only one goal—Workers' Republic to be accomplished by a revolution—one must accept that all her conduct has led toward this goal. The author will use the Perelman labels of choice, presence, communion, and participation\textsuperscript{186} as explanatory of the Devlin strategy to achieve a revolutionary Workers' Republic. These means of persuasion—both the general choices of persuasion called strategies, and the more specific choices, tactics\textsuperscript{187}—govern the particular style that her rhetorical discourse and events took.

\textbf{Strategy of Choice}

In social protest, the protestor narrows the choices to make it appear that only one choice exists, and Bernadette Devlin is no exception. However, in the mere statement of her point of view, various reasons for defeating Unionism came to light as she dealt with the sections of her universal audience.

The author will use remarks the Mid-Ulster M.P. made while in Parliament as representative of her approach to the British political audience and to her more conservative Irish audience. Thus, Devlin said the Unionist system must be changed because it contradicted any form of a just society.

\textsuperscript{186} Though Perelman's "choice" offers a concrete difference in points of view and the Devlin "choice" is much less differentiated, the "verbal magic" of presence, the "oneness" of communion and the "act of participation are the same for Perelman and Devlin.

Few persons, including conservatives, find fault with the Cookstown girl saying, "In asking you to vote for me next Thursday I am asking you to vote for the type of society in which all can live together with social justice and equal opportunity."\(^{188}\) From 1969 to the present, the member from Mid-Ulster has spoken to Parliament about ensuring that its subsidies go to a just, equal, and free society, which did not exist in Ulster.\(^{189}\) She urged Prime Minister Wilson to take into account the problems of Ulster that help keep it an unjust society.

1. A universal franchise in local election is long overdue.

2. It is a fact that the Royal Ulster Constable does not have the confidence of the local population in many areas of Northern Ireland and that the mistrust becomes even more widespread when political matters are directly involved.

3. The retention by the Northern Ireland Government of extremely arbitrary methods is a continuing obstacle to a return to normalcy.

4. The proposed encouragement to local authorities to adopt a points based system of housing allocations has been resisted by a number of local counties.\(^{190}\)

She reminded the members of the House that all the past great Irish figures believed that all men had the right to freedom. "They believed in justice because justice was worth believing in. Today in Northern Ireland they were

\(^{188}\)Irish News, April 12, 1969, p. 1.

\(^{189}\)Irish News, August 4, 1969, p. 5.

\(^{190}\)Irish News, May 22, 1969, p. 5.
witnessing a government operating the worst form of corruption by setting one side against another so that they could to deprived of their human rights." 191 Continually, Devlin demanded that "this house who prides itself on social democracy" come to the aid of Ulster.

The main problem in Northern Ireland is that the Government there considers the unity of the Government Party more important than the unity of the people. The greatest threat to Northern Ireland lies in the fact that at the beginning of this year unemployment was ten percent and is day by day increasing because of the Unionist policies. Not only the military security but social security of Northern Ireland is dependent on this House. 192

In the same Parliamentary debate Devlin warned that the House could not send Ulster soldiers while it had employment policies which worsened the position of the working class—Catholic and Protestant. Such actions increased the divisions, frustrations, and enhanced the possibility of growing violence. 193 The Cookstown M.P. used the issue of the British government not bringing British soldiers suspected of negligence to trial as another example of negation of the British code of fairness. "Activities, such as the right to demonstrate, which are not considered a criminal offense in any other part of Britain, are so considered in the North of Ireland." 194

Thus, by these examples, Miss Devlin illustrated that if Britain let this "corrupt" government rule Ulster, Britain

193Ibid.
194The Times, January 20, 1972, p. 9.
negated all of its democratic ideology. If one believed in democracy, he must choose, according to Miss Devlin, to defeat Unionism.

To her more liberal audience, Bernadette Devlin used the same strategy of choice, but a stronger one. She said that circumstances, being what they were, made today's Ireland "troubled." Particularly good examples of this tactic came from the Devlin speeches delivered in America. While the Mid-Ulster M.P. avoided speaking in Parliament about Ulster's inevitable violence, to both liberal Irishmen and Americans she said, "We don't want war. We don't want people to die, but we do want a better life for all Catholics and Protestants. It's a struggle of ordinary people for a decent life and for freedom from fear and intimidation."\(^{195}\) Though the people of Ulster were exhausted, they would maintain the barricades until the Unionist Government fell; even if they collapsed at the barricades, they had not lost because the Unionists had already taken everything from them.\(^{196}\) On an American television show, the young woman asked the American people what else could be expected but "trouble" when the government deliberately maintained high unemployment among both Catholics and Protestants in order to provide cheap labor? The only reason the Protestants support the government,


she felt, was because they were afraid that otherwise they would lose everything they had. Finally, what could be expected but "trouble" when protestors urged that Ulster's Unionist Party withdraw its political and economic control over Northern Ireland? To the question of was she surprised by the latest outbreak of violence in Ulster, she replied, "Anyone who has lived through Northern Ireland in the past year is immune to surprises." Still using the tactic of the inevetibility of circumstances, Bernadette Devlin told Americans during her 1971 tour, "We will not have equality, nor brotherhood, nor peace in Ireland until the wealth the workers produce is in the hands of the workers." The Mid-Ulster M.P. told University of Pittsburgh students that the fighting in Northern Ireland was getting worse because frustration was growing within the working class.

Rioting in Belfast and Derry is not a religious or nationalist struggle, but springs from economic suppression of the working class. What you are getting is violence from frustrated people. These kinds of people can't take any more. This kind of uncontrolled violence is much more dangerous.

To those who readily accepted street violence, the Devlin tactic offered a third choice. She told the violent Irishmen that they had the same idea, but approached it in

different ways. Bernadette Devlin explained to a group of boys rioting in the streets of Derry in October of 1970 that she too wanted the Unionist Government destroyed, but they all had to go about the destruction in ways to cause lasting damage.201 She addressed a crowded Sinn Fein meeting in Dublin saying that the killing of Senator Barnhill was a big mistake, because his home was not a legitimate target. Senator Barnhill, she added, was a bigot of first class order, but he did not represent British Imperialism and was not a threat to the people or the IRA.202 The IRA made mistakes, the shooting "recently" of a young ranger was the worst political mistake in three years, but since the British Government continually said there was a war between the British Army and the IRA, Miss Devlin said that her side was with the IRA.

So, whatever their mistakes, I don't dot every I and cross every T of the IRA. I think the problem with the Provisional IRA is that they don't have politics to back their military action, which is why so often the military action goes haywire. But it is a different thing to say that they are fighting Imperialism the wrong way than to say that they ought to stop fighting Imperialism.203

Though the Mid-Ulster M.P. said, "If I could throw two petrol bombs at once and considered it was effective

against the capitalist system, I would do so,"\textsuperscript{204} she had not found the time when active violence would work in the interests of the working class. Yet, to emphasize that she and the violent man of Ireland shared the same end goal, she used violent rhetoric against the system. The author feels this was the reason for her strong, derogatory language that disgusted many who were not in her target audience. At times she was merely humorous, such as referring to three Unionist men equaling one Ulsterman guarding the barricade\textsuperscript{205} or saying that since she would not appeal a prison sentence, a warrant would be issued for her arrest, "but they will have to catch me first."\textsuperscript{206} However, only to this particular audience did she speak of the "fascism" of the British Imperialism,\textsuperscript{207} Faulkner's "motley crew he calls a cabinet,"\textsuperscript{208} Paisley--"a neo-Nazi-cleric."\textsuperscript{209} Trying to identify with the most violent Irishmen, Miss Devlin came across more violently than her philosophy actually indicates. "We intend to use our streets and to take over these streets to enforce our point of view."\textsuperscript{300} One hardly would think the Devlin pledge

\textsuperscript{204}\textit{The Times}, February 20, 1971, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{205}\textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, August 20, 1969, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{207}\textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, December 6, 1970, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{300}\textit{The Times}, April 14, 1969, p. 3.
after "Bloody Sunday" meant continuing the civil disobedience campaign. "So let us pledge here to-day that in the face of repression--we have been batoned, intimidated, interrogated, interned and slaughtered on the streets--that we will continue until we have defeated British Imperialism."301

With the appeal to a universal audience, not just one particular audience with one point of view, the first Devlin strategy offered choices of why she wished to change the "evil" system of Unionism, which were in keeping with "who" each audience felt an M.P. should be. One could accept the "evils" of Unionism and the confused state of Ulster because (1) he believed that to do otherwise negated his belief in a democratic society, (2) he believed that the "oppressed" people had no alternative but to rebel for a better society, or (3) he believed that through a variety of approaches all men of Ulster had to fight to free the "oppressed" people. Devlin was precise about the goal presented to the audience, which was ending Unionism; she was precise about the problem, the evils of a corrupt government. However, though she did offer three slightly different points of view, she could not keep each choice or point of view isolated from the other points of view. Thus, Parliament members

received often the view meant for her street followers and the street followers received the Parliament view. With Parliament members thinking her too violent and street fighters thinking her too establishment, her influence in defeating Unionism was curtailed.

**Strategy of Presence**

Just because the "evils" of Unionism existed in Ulster did not mean they were present in the minds of Members of Parliament. Though the young Cookstown woman had made some concessions to her accepted role with her strategy of choice, she put aside all idea of role taking when she presented the story of Ulster to Westminster. By using vivid word pictures Miss Devlin felt she could make present to Parliament the epitome of her experiences as an Ulsterman. One cannot help thinking that Miss Devlin sincerely believed that if she told the Members of the House her perception of Ulster problems, this perception would become present in the minds of the members and they would act accordingly. "I saw some of the rioting on Saturday night and I will make this the subject of my maiden speech. It will be the longest maiden speech ever, but I have to tell them what is happening."\(^{302}\)

Another example was Miss Devlin screaming, while out of order, to the House that she was the only Member who saw "Bloody Sunday," but did she have no right to tell what happened?\(^{303}\)

\(^{303}\)Irish News, February 1, 1972, p. 5.
From the beginning of her Parliamentary career Miss Devlin was reprimanded for language too intense and provocative; yet she continued because she felt through such language Parliament would be forced to feel the problems of Ulster.

Devlin: The situation in Ulster is your fault, your blame, your shame.

Tories: Rubbish!

Devlin: It is not rubbish. You have been in this House a damned sight longer than I have and you know it wasn't rubbish a year ago.

Speaker: (told her her unparliamentary language was too intense and provocative).

Devlin: I will try to be more conventional, less provocative, and less intense. I will now return to the quiet, smug, self-centered attitude with which the speakers in this debate have looked upon the problems of Northern Ireland without any idea of Ulster's social condition. 304

Continually the Mid-Ulster M.P. spoke with a direct relationship to the issues, gave personal detail, and demanded that Westminster take action. After having just come from the riots in Derry, she spoke of the fighting and commanded Harold Wilson to act.

The riots that have taken place in Derry to-day, and the resulting violence in other areas of Northern Ireland show that Northern Ireland is ungovernable under the present constitution. Westminster must act now! The situation in Derry at the moment is such that the people of Bogside are fighting off the combined force of the police and the Paisleyites, who are cooperating

303 Irish News, February 1, 1972, p. 5.
304 Mid-Ulster Mail, October 18, 1969, p. 3.
as a unit. The police have already entered Bogside with the support of the Paisleyites in defiance of orders from senior officers. Therefore the Royal Ulster Constabulary is out of control and can no longer be considered as the force of law and order. The country is in a state of chaos. 305

Devlin concluded by saying that the chaos was the responsibility of Harold Wilson and the Government, who should have acted almost a year ago. They had been warned by herself and others of the possible consequences of their "deliberate total inaction." "It may well be a personal concern to Wilson that given his own position in the Labour Party, he cannot take the political risk of intervening in the North of Ireland, but we consider the lives of Irish people more important than the career of Harold Wilson." 306

On the issue of housing, the member from Cookstown declared a more radical answer than reform, because she watched the same corrupt councils corrupt the reform measures.

The back fighting of the Unionist Government is phasing the introduction of the new authority's responsibility so that the building and allocation of public housing would remain, for an indefinite period, in the hands of the same corrupt councils who had failed to deal with the problem for the past fifty years. The councils gave no pretense of commitment to reforms on the part of the Unionist Party. 307

Miss Devlin demanded that the housing problem in Northern

307 Mid-Ulster Mail, May 3, 1970, p. 3.
Ireland be solved more radically than the Unionist Government was prepared to envisage. One of the major causes, she felt, of the shortage of houses was the lack of finance available to existing bodies. Miss Devlin ends by asking, "What good is building beautiful houses if the people who need them cannot afford the rent?" 308

No better example exists of the Devlin combination of relationship to the time and place of the incident, intense detail, and demand of Government responsibility than her description to Parliament of "Bloody Sunday."

No shots were fired at the British Army. The first shot fired came from the British Army wounding a civilian below the knee. I do not believe that the paratroopers went berserk. It was a normal day's exercise. They did what they were told to do and fired into a crowd of unarmed civilians and thirteen people lay dead. If the dead were all snipers or had been throwing petrol bombs at the British Army, how come the majority of them were either shot in the back or the back of the head? The Government by these activities on Sunday may have lit a fire in Ireland, the flames of which may not die out until the last vestige of British rule is ended. 309

One can have little doubt that few M.P.'s ever tell their perceptions of the issues of their constituency as vividly as does Bernadette Devlin. To do so she has combined personal experience with a rhetorical talent. But, one wonders if she--by using such unconventional verbal tactics--over-shadowed her strategy of making the events of

308 Ibid.
309 The Times, February 8, 1972, p. 1.
Ulster present in the minds of the M.P.'s? Certainly she had no concern for what many M.P.'s valued foremost, the proper Parliamentarian. Because the conflict was present in the Ulsterman's mind, and foreign minds at this point need not feel so presently the conflict, Devlin's strategy of presence applies mainly to the members of Westminster. Though Miss Devlin strove to make Americans feel the conflict while she collected money, this was only for a period of weeks. If in the future Miss Devlin attempts International Socialism, one will see the strategy of presence applied on a larger scale.

Strategy of Communion

With the strategy of communion Devlin desired to unify the "ordinary people" of Ulster. For unless she was able to achieve this "oneness," there never could be a Workers' Republic.

To reach a "oneness" of the working class, Miss Devlin began by establishing her own good character. First she had to appear impartial, which she did by her handling of the Paisleyites. Mrs. Eileen Paisley, wife of Rev. Ian Paisley, admitted that Miss Devlin spoke with her husband in January of 1969 to organize a joint rally under the Civil Rights banner.\(^\text{310}\) Devlin ignored the fusillade of rocks and eggs thrown at her by groups of Paisleyites during the April, 1969 election meetings. Once she continued speaking and appealed

to her supporters not to be provoked into any retaliation.

These people are shouting for Paisley. They are shouting for Paisley because they realize that the Unionist Party has given them nothing and done nothing for them. The crimes of the Unionist Party have been committed against these people as well as against ourselves. . . . These people don't deserve your hatred. They deserve your pity.\footnote{311}

She declared that she would rather lose any election on the basis of an honest vote, than win should the decision be based on religion.\footnote{312}

No better way existed for Miss Devlin to prove her competency, another qualification for achieving the tactic of good character, than by being a Member of Parliament. The fact that she was an M.P. greatly enhanced her credibility as a leader of the people of Ulster, an advantage over other extremists trying to control the people of Ulster. Though her "street language and conduct" hardly impressed fellow politicians in Westminster, the fact that she was in Westminster served to legitimize her in the eyes of her supporters, as well as claiming attention for her in the media. With this status, Miss Devlin found her work easier in the streets of Northern Ireland. From the beginning Devlin told her constituency that she wished to serve their needs; she told reporters on election day that her first task would be to find an office to serve as an "advice center" for her constituency.\footnote{313}

\footnote{311\textit{Irish News}, April 12, 1969, p. 1.}

\footnote{312\textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, May 26, 1969, p. 11.}

\footnote{313\textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, May 17, 1969, p. 14.}
people of Ulster was her establishment of an unofficial inquiry to sit for two days in Derry to investigate the shooting of two men by British soldiers.

The army has already said there would be no independent public inquiry. We think there is need for one. If the evidence given on oath substantiates the claims of the people of Derry, then at least we have proved there are grounds for a public investigation. There are those in Derry who say these statements by the Army and Government are untrue. My function has been to establish the machinery whereby these people can bring these facts to light to discover what is true and what is not.  

By identification with the "ordinary people" Miss Devlin strengthened her audiences belief of her good character. Bernadette Devlin strove to achieve Burke's consubstantiality by destroying any concept that she is not a member of the working class. After her election to Parliament, one demonstration organizer tried to keep her out of a march because she was an M.P. The Mid-Ulster M.P. replied, "I am here because of the workers. I feel more at home here than I do in Parliament. I am a worker!" In April of 1970 Miss Devlin sent the golden key of New York, given to her by Mayor Lindsay, to the Black Panthers on behalf of all the underprivileged of New York. Thus, she reached across the ocean to identify with the "ordinary people."

She showed her concern for her image with the decision not to write a book during her time in Armagh jail, because she felt that she was in danger of exploiting her reputation as

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315 *The Times*, May 2, 1969, p. 5.
crusader for the working class man.\textsuperscript{317}

The second tactic to achieve the communion of the working class was the Devlin appeal to the values held by this particular audience. In the previous chapter, the author discussed the three prized values of Devlin supporters, defeat of unionism, a "fighting spirit," and socialism. The continuing failure of the Unionist Party to solve any of the glaring problems affecting the "ordinary people" of Mid-Ulster had created thousands of disaffected Ulstermen.

One has only to consider the names of the leading O'Neillites to see what class they represent. The Duke of Westminster, the son of Lord Carson, the husband of Lady Mora Hamilton--as motley a cabal of gentil riff-raff as ever came together to con the common people. But the common people of Mid-Ulster are no longer up for sale to the lowest Orange bidder. The official Unionist nomination is "no longer a magic talisman" to attack unthinking thousands.\textsuperscript{318}

In another address she told her audience that the only way they could achieve demands for social justice and equality in the North was by standing together and forgetting old religious animosities. They had to remember, she said, when going to the polls that for fifty years the Unionist Party had deprived the ordinary people of a decent life, or jobs, and of a proper share of housing--for too long the ordinary people had been slaves to Unionism.\textsuperscript{319} Finally, the people

\textsuperscript{317}\textit{The Times}, January 7, 1971, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{318}\textit{Irish News}, April 14, 1969, p. 5.

of Mid-Ulster owed it to the past and future to end
Unionism.

The people of Mid-Ulster owe it not only to the past, but to the future generations by their actions on polling day to see that the Unionist Party was destroyed and that the ordinary people survived. For too long the Unionist Party had refused to be down. Now the voters were being given the opportunity to bury it alive.\footnote{Irish News, April 11, 1969, p. 5.}

To those who feared that prison had stifled the Devlin "fighting spirit" they had only to hear her first address upon release to be reassured. She said that if rioting broke out in Derry again, she would go back to try to stop it; they could no longer afford the luxury of rioting in the streets because it created lasting danger to the system they were trying to destroy.\footnote{London Times, October 26, 1970, p. 2.} "I am irrepentant about what I did in the Bogside and am as much a rebel as before."\footnote{Ibid.}

The Mid-Ulster "rebel" felt that the petrol bombings were morally just because they were done to keep out police who attacked with much more sophisticated weapons such as batons, C.S. gas, and guns.

A petrol bomb injures one person while a C.S. canister could ruin the lives of a whole family. If I could throw two petrol bombs at once and considered it was effective against the Capitalist system, I would do so. At the moment I do not think it would be effective, and active violence will not work in the interests of the working class.\footnote{Derry Journal, October 27, 1970, p. 5.}

On the subject of internment, Miss Devlin said that all
power lay with the people for the government might frighten them, jail them, and shoot them, but the government could not stop them. "A town like Newry has seen internment in the past and it did not scare anybody, but if the British Government or its Stormont puppets try to intern one man they will see what trouble really is and whose law will be kept." Bernadette Devlin congratulated seven escaped internees and those of the same "fearless" spirit who assisted them in the escape.

Let the security forces take note that, given the spirit of the people, the internees and all other political prisoners, further escapes will take place. Then, as now, escapees, convicted or otherwise, must be assured of the active support of the people involved in the Resistance Campaign. It is the clear duty of all to render whatever assistance is necessary to keep our men-folk at all times one step ahead of the repressive machinery of a Police State.

Though many of her constituents did not like the political ideology of socialism, Miss Devlin said she fought her last election on the principles of clear socialism. She asked that the people of Mid-Ulster help her build a strong socialist organization in Mid-Ulster, and this she would do outside of Parliament. To the people who do not so highly value socialism, she spoke of James Connolly, the hero of the 1916 Uprising.

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Politicians are quite fond of quoting James Connolly. It was time we started carrying out his principles. In 1969 I am not asking people to give up their lives for the principles of freedom and equality. I am asking you a much hard thing—that you should give your lives' work toward the achievement of these aims.327

In October of 1970 she told an audience that North of Ireland moved now toward a Socialist James Connolly Republic.328

One may wonder if Miss Devlin attempted to speak to the values of those other than her supporters. With the beginning strategy of choice she certainly accounted for the values of those less likely to support her. However, in the communion strategy, she was interested only in the working class. Through personal identification and a non-sectarian message she hoped to reach all working class people. However, to those who opposed her because they valued peace or working hard for success, she ignored and thus turned to the people with whom she felt she would achieve "oneness."

In her third tactic, Miss Devlin tried to install self-confidence in the working class to counteract their fatalistic view that they were meant to have a low station in life. "It's to an extent a fatalistic approach of 'some are born to own' and 'some are born to work.' That is what

328Mid-Ulster Mail, June 27, 1970, p. 2.
you've got to change, for why in the hell were they born to work?"329 She felt that the working class man was more moral than the Unionist and that the working class man had an obligation to carry on the fight to free Ulster. When addressing a meeting of People's Democracy she called on Protestant workers to unite peacefully with their "Roman Catholic brothers" against the Unionist Government because the real immorality rested with "the armed wing of the Unionist Party" beating the Protestant and Catholic working class back into their respective ghettos.330 "Who does the work? The people! Who earns the profits? The Government of Chichester-Clark! Who earns the profits? The Employers!"331 In the course of a speech in 1970, Miss Devlin said that she had been warned not to make such a speech because her listeners were nothing but a "rabble to be roused."

The mothers and wives who have to make do on a pittance in this town are not a rabble nor are the fathers and sons who go do the pittance to earn that rabble. When we say that we want more for the working class we go further and say we want everything for the working class. And this is not an unreasonable demand for it is the working class who create the wealth which makes a few rich.332

By showing her audience their historical obligation to continue the fight of their ancestors, Bernadette Devlin

330The Times, August 5, 1969, p. 4.
331Mid-Ulster Mail, April 25, 1970, p. 6.
332Ibid.
laid the emotional groundwork for the socialist revolution, as well as unified these people.

The struggle in which you are engaged did not start only six months ago, but hundreds of years ago with the same end—achievement for the people of Ireland, irrespective of your religion, the only sort of society which would give you the right to control your own lives, the right to enjoy the fruits of your own labour, the achievement of a socialist workers' republic. Our struggle is really only beginning. Over the past few years we have broken the back of Unionist thought and now the main task is to organize ourselves to eat into the heart of the system.\textsuperscript{333}

The fight would not be easy, it was not easy 800 years ago, but the fight to free Ulster would continue.

They thought that we had been put down 800 years ago. They thought it in 1798. And we were back in 1916. And they thought in 1916 that they had liquidated the enemy when they shot James Connolly and the leaders of the '16 Uprising. And we were back in the 20's. They thought when they interned our menfolk in the 20's that they had finished us and that we had paid the penalty and learned the lesson. But we were back in the 30's and the 40's and the 50's and the 60's and we're back today. So let Mr. Craig, 'do or die,' for he can't get rid of all of us and those of us who remain and our children who come after us will keep up the struggle until we achieve what we set out to achieve—the right of our people to free our country.\textsuperscript{334}

In the final tactic of the communion strategy, Miss Devlin explained the benefits to be gained by "oneness" of the working class. Only by the working class unity, can Unionism be defeated.

\textsuperscript{333} \textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, October 31, 1970, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{334} \textit{Irish News}, March 20, 1972, p. 5.
uneared incomes while working people try to tear each other to shreds in the streets at the behest of a neo-Nazi cleric, and I believe that until we the ordinary Catholic and Protestant people realize this and join hands together, we have no hope ever of changing the order of things in our society. 335

What they wanted was work and housing; together all the working class could achieve these without the Unionist Government. 336 Yet, this situation would only be resolved by a consistent attempt to assert the essential unity of the "common people" to campaign for the implementation of policies designed to serve the interests of the "common people." 337 "Together we will campaign for concrete issues--opposition to British Imperialism, full employment, workers' control of Nationalized industry, an integrated comprehensive education system, more housing and lower rents." 338 The Cookstown woman said that nothing must distract them from facing together the real menaces of bad wages and exploitation, slum houses, oppressive landlords, rural poverty, and the splitting of families by emigration. 339

**Strategy of Participation**

Though Devlin was able to unite many Irishmen in the belief that Unionism had to be defeated, before the Ulster

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society changed from Unionism to a Workers' Republic, a revolution had to occur. In the participation strategy, Devlin hoped to stimulate her followers into actively participating in the revolution to make all of Ireland a Workers' Republic. Rhetorically discussing her socialist ideology through Ireland and England did not in Miss Devlin's mind satisfy Ulster's needs. Thus, the young Cookstown woman chose the tactic of civil disobedience which was symbolic of the need for change and at the same time evoked the real emotion and actions of a revolution.

During the early part of August, 1969, Bernadette Devlin and her supporters built barricades to keep the police out of the Bogside. Such an act, though pragmatic in hopes of reducing violence, emotionally charged the Bogside residents with the belief that they controlled the establishment. Furthermore, with the barricades, Miss Devlin demanded a revolutionary action from Parliament—end Stormont's constitution.

The barricades in the Bogside in Derry must not be taken down until the Westminster Government states its clear commitment to the suspension of the Constitution of Northern Ireland and calls a constitutional conference immediately representative of Westminster, the Government of Republic of Ireland, and all tendencies with the Civil Rights movement. 340

The Devlin tactic shocked even supporters when she led a group into a secret meeting of the Omagh Urban Council.

According to Miss Devlin, the people no longer had to fear not abiding by custom for they were in the midst of a revolution. "The majority of people had long been dissatisfied with the conduct of this council; why should revolutionists not sit-in on a council which for its own purposes uses our property and Trust."\textsuperscript{341} She demanded the people carry the civil disobedience campaign of striking and picketing to trade unions, tenant associations, and unemployment action committees to fight for decent wages, lower rent, and more employment.\textsuperscript{342} Though the Mid-Ulster M.P. and her followers demonstrated in large numbers from 1969 through 1971,\textsuperscript{343} "the Civil Resistance Campaign had to be further escalated."\textsuperscript{344} Action, such as overloading Stormont with paper-work, was taken to show symbolically that a revolution existed and, too, to add further problems to the Unionist Government.

Everyone in receipt of supplementary or social benefits of any kind was entitled to know how that sum of money was derived. Those concerned should write immediately to the Ministry of Health and Social Service asking for a breakdown of their benefits. Then they would know whether they were being cheated. They would also know that one more civil servant was devoted to working other than implementing Stormont's emergency legislation.\textsuperscript{345}

By February, 1972, thirteen people had died marching in an

\textsuperscript{341}\textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, March 23, 1970, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{344}\textit{Irish News}, December 18, 1971, p. 3. \textsuperscript{345}\textit{Ibid.}
illegal demonstration. Nevertheless, the following week Devlin and supporters again marched.\textsuperscript{346} According to Miss Devlin, "If we are once again faced by the guns of the British Army, all I can do is tell the people: 'Get down on your mouth and nose. Lie down and don't move.'\textsuperscript{347} She wanted people to show that they had no respect for the Stormont Government and had no intention of allowing Stormont to continue.\textsuperscript{348} "This challenge will be made to the members of the British Government!"\textsuperscript{349} By so challenging Stormont's right to existence, Devlin's revolution continued.

Just the fact that the Devlin supporters participated in demonstrations did no good unless the demonstrators realized that such actions were part of a larger revolutionary scope. During a meeting in May, 1969, Miss Devlin asked the marchers to consider the meaning of revolution.

The time for marching up and down the streets has gone. What we the militants must do is to determine for ourselves what militant means. It does not mean irresponsibility. It means determination; and we must be determined. Revolution does not mean violence; revolution means change and therefore, inasmuch as we want change we must be determined to work for change. I for one don't mind being called a militant revolutionary, because I see it in the best term of the words.\textsuperscript{350} She concluded that the time had come when they had to stop


\textsuperscript{347}\textit{Irish News}, February 5, 1972, p. 1. \textsuperscript{348}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{349}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{350}\textit{Mid-Ulster Mail}, May 10, 1969, p. 3.
for a short while (she did not mean stop and forget everything) and think about chaos. The Unionist Government would have never been formed, but for the chaos of 1916, and chaos could give an excuse for the Unionist Government to secure another fifty years of life. 351 When the demonstrators became disillusioned with their efforts to bring about a new life for Northern Ireland, the Mid-Ulster M.P. told the Ulstermen to accept the possibility of civil war, but to realize that they fought for universal suffrage, fair allocation of housing, jobs, change in electoral boundaries, and abolition of the Special Powers Act. "The fight was worthwhile; the fight is worthwhile; the fight will be worthwhile." 352

By the end of 1971, Miss Devlin and her protesters had taken the campaign to London to mobilize the mass of Irish workers in London in a resistance effort to disrupt the machinery of the British Government. After the protesters disrupted the Government through rent strikes, occupation of Government buildings, and interrupting Parliament, Bernadette Devlin said, "We will carry to London the whole campaign being waged in Ireland." 353 Though the Parliamentary system had "miserably" failed to solve the Irish problem, the Mid-Ulster M.P. said she would consider whatever tactic was necessary to make it plain to the Government that some-

how the Irish Question had to be solved quickly.\textsuperscript{354}

Because a leader symbolizes to his followers and to the world the beliefs of his group, Bernadette Devlin's behavior of barricading, demonstrating, striking, fasting, and defying proved she practiced what she encouraged and demanded of her supporters. In Londonderry she carried bricks to build the barricades to keep police out of Bogside. When asked how an M.P. could take such action she replied that she fought for not just today's people, but for all the future people of Ulster.

What I am concerned with now is my life and the lives of these people. What does a career matter against that? Even if the fighting stops there will always be hatred in the air. The Protestants should join us in working for a Socialist Workers' Republic. I intend to fight for that to the last; I will hold out indefinitely.\textsuperscript{355}

When the Mid-Ulster M.P. disagreed with the Prime Minister she demonstrated at night outside No. 10 Downing Street by sitting for long hours on his doorstep.\textsuperscript{356} During August, 1971, Miss Devlin refused to pay the rent of her home on a local authority housing estate as a protest against the introduction of internment. "Displayed in the window of the parlour in her home, number 9 Rathbeg, is a placard which reads: 'Rent strike on here.'"\textsuperscript{357} The young Cookstown

\begin{footnotes}
\item[354]Ibid.
\item[355]\textit{The Times}, August 15, 1969, p. 6.
\item[356]\textit{The Times}, March 25, 1970, p. 11.
\item[357]\textit{Irish News}, August 21, 1971, p. 1.
\end{footnotes}
woman allowed herself only water and medicinal fluid as she fasted for forty-eight hours outside Heath's home to protest the Government's handling of the situation within Northern Ireland. Finally, Miss Devlin defied all aspects of legal authority by making a total mockery of a summons she received as a result of taking part in a banned march.

My attitude to the receipt of a summons is that on Saturday I'll be speaking at a rally in Derry. On January 23 . . . marching. On January 30 . . . marching. On February 18, unless I have something better to do such as marching yet again against Mr. Faulkner's police state, I just might find the time to make a brief appearance at one of his corrupt, farcical courts. If Mr. Faulkner at this stage of the campaign thinks a piece of paper is going to frighten the people of the streets, then it is time he thought again. By February 18 I will certainly still be on the streets; I wonder if Mr. Faulkner will still be in office.

Conclusion

Bernadette Devlin dealt continually with the particular audiences within her universal audience by distinguishing between choices or points of view concerning Ulster. Though she hoped in the beginning to persuade Parliament to follow her advice concerning Northern Ireland, she found Parliament hopeless as far as meeting her perception of Ulster's problems. The breadth of the Devlin strategy rested in her attempt to unify the working class of Ulster and stimulate its participation in a revolution. By Devlin and her supporters behaving


in a revolutionary manner, physically changing Northern Ireland and symbolically representing the change, the revolution had begun. What future strategy did Miss Devlin have? With Stormont gone, the compromises would try to pull the North and South closer together, according to Devlin, under a new, updated Imperialism. "We might have a United Ireland, we might have a federal unity, but we will still have the same bosses and the same counties and that's the main problem. It won't change the problem until we get the bosses out of the factories."360 Until that day of a Workers' Republic, Miss Devlin saw her future as fighting "The Revolution."

CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

When the author asked Father John Duffy if he were glad the phenomenon of Bernadette Devlin had occurred, he replied that he was, but not any more so than he was about many Irish leaders. Is the young Cookstown woman not markedly different from Ireland's other political leaders, past and present? Though similar to all these, Ulster has in Devlin a leader who combined the roles of Parliamentarian, strategic fighter, and political philosopher. At the time of her maiden speech the Mid-Ulster M.P. was compared with Henry Grattan, pleader in Parliament of the Irish case nearly two hundred years ago. In her autobiography she wrote that she saw herself as something of a Michael Collins, the leader of the Easter Uprising, an aggressive, bullying type man. He belonged in the army because he was a fighter with a good strategic brain, but he was totally undiplomatic. Of course, ideologically Miss Devlin developed her Workers' Republic from the writings of James Connolly. Though Charles Stewart Parnell, 1846-1891, and Daniel O'Connell, 1775-1847, were not so interested in developing

361 Duffy, private interview, June 8, 1972.
363 Devlin, The Price of My Soul, p. 49.
political philosophies, both of these Irish members of Parliament were political agitators. Does a combination of roles, M.P., agitator, philosopher, aid one in finding a solution to Ulster's problems? Because of Bernadette Devlin's combination of these roles, it allowed her to attempt to make many different kinds of people aware of Ulster's problems. However, because each of these roles is time-consuming, the Devlin political philosophy, her most important role, lacks thoroughness. One is left with the feeling that Miss Devlin cannot finish what she started, possibly because she may be rejected by a constituency increasingly polarized.

If one feels the young Cookstown woman too ambiguous, he needs to consider the relationship between the Devlin ideology, audiences, and goals. Though Miss Devlin's main concern was developing a Workers' Republic, she had to deal with audiences other than the working class, because of the variety of audiences concerned with Ulster's problems. Though her language is unconventional, she hoped to tell the plight of Ulster to Westminster. By unifying the working class and directing its behavior toward civil disobedience. Miss Devlin saw the beginnings of her revolution. Even though the IRA gunmen were more violent than she, Devlin desired to be in their favor because they, too, fought to end British Imperialism. Though each strategy is in
keeping with the Devlin ideology and the audience's values, a degree of ambiguity has developed. The basic problem is that Miss Devlin does not completely fit any one of these roles. She feels being the ideal Parliamentarian will never bring Ulstermen a better life in her generation, but she must continue in Westminster because it adds to her credibility. Rather than participating with the working class in small changes to make today easier for them, she tells the working class to forget about the problems a revolution causes today, for the future will hold a better life for all of Ulster. Though technically opposed to the militant wing of the IRA, she refuses to break ties with them. On the one hand, Miss Devlin attempts identification with these various audiences, but on the other hand she will not go the one step further to appease these groups. When told that Parliament is unhappy with her, that the working class feels she is not solving its problems, and that the IRA feels she is a traitor, she replies that she is not a Parliamentarian, that she will not give the working class a simple answer that will only delay progress, and that she cannot back the IRA fully. To add to the confusion, the media reports her various verbal and nonverbal acts, which means that Parliament receives messages meant for the IRA and the IRA receives the more establishment-centered
messages. Miss Devlin compromises just enough to stay a part of the various groups, but possibly not enough to form a durable coalition.

According to Miss Devlin, too many political leaders have "sold out" the working class ideals to make, at best, life easier for Ulster, but more likely, to make themselves successful. For this reason she cannot compromise her ideal of a Workers' State with anyone. Ideally, Bernadette Devlin has a solution to Ulster's troubled society. However, few Ulstermen or Englishmen look to her Workers' Republic as a pragmatic solution for Ulster. The unconventional rhetoric of the successful Devlin maiden speech now appalls Westminster. Her spirited speeches and marches that once appealed to the working class man now represent examples of more violence. Both the words and the deeds of Bernadette Devlin did occur in Ireland, and Ulster will never be the same. The Civil Rights marches started without her and would have continued even if she never had joined them. The Protestant-Catholic rioting took place without the help of Miss Devlin. Though Miss Devlin is only a small particle of the whole Irish Question, her rhetorical behavior caused three significant things to happen. (1) By speaking as a member of the working class herself, she helped restore dignity to the ordinary people; they now believed themselves powerful enough to influence Ulster's society. (2) By taking part
in the demonstrations with her constituency, Devlin began a trend for other Irish politicians to identify in this way with the ordinary people. Her behavior forced other Irish politicians, if they wanted to keep their constituencies happy, to understand more personally the Ulster working class. (3) By being so closely identified with the movement, and its loss of credibility, so did Miss Devlin lose her status as St. Bernadette. Now Miss Devlin's behavior has lost all effectiveness on the movement. To regain her lost credibility, the Devlin rhetorical behavior must have a less revolutionary tone, but the author feels that Miss Devlin will not change this tone, because to do so would be to change her ideology. Because she will not modify her expectations for the movement in order to satisfy the pragmatic requirements of the movement, the future holds little in the way of leadership for Miss Devlin. But without her the common people of Ulster would have less hope for a better future: Her extreme rhetorical behavior got the people and the politicians ready for social change in Ulster.

One hears often the comparison of the phases of a social movement with the development of a river. When both are young they are narrow and fast-running; during the middle stage both are narrow and deep; at maturity both are wide and shallow. For Miss Devlin this means that at first she had only a few followers who believed her narrow view; at the height of her career she had many followers who believed her narrow view; but if her Parliamentary career
continues, her views must widen. Of course, Miss Devlin does not want to let go of her dreams of the revolution; but possibly in the future she will have to accept smaller changes. Also, is it possible for Bernadette Devlin to continue such a strenuous physical pace? Time changes youthfulness to experience in a way that acts as a safety valve to protect one physically and emotionally. Though in her heart Miss Devlin will always want the Workers’ Republic, the day may come when getting through tomorrow matters more than next week. Besides Miss Devlin’s widening her own views, if her career is to continue, her audience must widen its views about her.

Though an election is not due to be called until June, 1975, Devlin feels that Heath will call for one in June, 1973. Since her election in June, 1970, her personal, political, and social issues have polarized much of the Ulster population. Though the Catholics respect Bernadette Devlin for not having an abortion, she is still an unwed mother. Any hope of a unity between Protestants and Catholics has been demolished by the Protestant reactionary groups. Today the Catholic and Protestant communities are as divided as during any other time in history. Finally, the Devlin Socialism offered the working class of Ulster no immediate solution to its economic problems. Though
with British Socialism, Ulstermen queued in line for charity, they did so not in the midst of violence; thus, one suspects that the Mid-Ulster constituency will not widen their views enough to re-elect Bernadette Devlin, because she has not met its basic need—giving Ulstermen a better life. For two elections she promised a better life to Ulster, but now all the people see is violence. If Bernadette Devlin is to keep her Westminster seat, she must convince her constituency that the violence is nearly over because she has found the answer to Ulster's problems; further she must prove that to not re-elect her would be to deny themselves the solution. If Miss Devlin could fill some new and wider need of her constituency, she might be re-elected. However, the fact that she is a fighting, socialist, representative in Parliament no longer matters to Mid-Ulster. The author feels that the Mid-Ulster constituency will choose a candidate from the Socialist Democratic Labour Party, a more moderate party which offers Ulstermen a peaceful involvement with social concerns.

In the earliest days of Bernadette Devlin and the People's Democracy, she felt that if the Unionist Party were defeated and Civil Rights leaders replaced the Unionist leaders, a just society would reign throughout Ulster. Some might not consider this revolutionary because such a change is a dispute in the distribution of benefits and power within the same value system. However, by the end of 1969, Bernadette Devlin demanded revolutionary value change in
that she envisioned a Workers' Republic, a classless society. From this thesis the author concludes that the movement for social change within Northern Ireland occurred as is probably universally the case, because those on both sides of the movement took their positions in order to control their own society. Revolution occurred when one group felt that the present value system did not allow it any way to control its society. Ideally, to have a society with some degree of social harmony, one overriding value must unite the people, or the society must be large enough to contain several controlling groups. However, in Ulster no central value united its people, such as a love for Ulster. Because Ulster is small, only the Unionists had control. The Unionist Party kept governmental control out of Catholic hands, because Catholics repeated constantly they they felt no love for a British system. To complicate Unionist and Catholic conflict for control, the lower class Protestants formed a reactionary group to protest against the Catholics. Thus, the answer seems to be a destructive civil war after which those left will have a common value--building a new society. If Eric Hoffer is right about the fate of "a man [or woman] of words," Bernadette Devlin will not be part of that activity.
APPENDIX I

EXTRACTS FROM THE MAIDEN SPEECH
OF BERNADETTE DEVLIN

We came to the situation in Derry when the people had had enough. Since 5th October, it has been the unashamed and deliberate policy of the Unionist Government to try to force an image on the civil rights movement that it was nothing more than a Catholic uprising. The people in the movement that struggled desperately to overcome that image, but it is impossible when the ruling minority are the Government and control not only political matters but the so-called impartial forces of law and order. . . .

How can we say that we are a non-sectarian movement and are for the rights of both Catholics and Protestants when, clearly, we are beaten into the Catholic areas? Never have we been beaten into the Protestant areas. When the students marched from Belfast to Derry, there was a predominant number of Protestants. The number of non-Catholics was greater than the number of Catholics. Nevertheless, we were still beaten into the Catholic area because it was in the interests of the minority and the Unionist Party to establish that we were nothing more than a Catholic uprising
--just as it is in the interest of the Hon. Member for Londonderry to come up with all this tripe about the I.R.A. . . .

We come to the question of what can be done about incidents like that in Derry at the weekend. Captain O'Neill has thought of a bright idea—that tomorrow we shall be given one man, one vote. Does he think that, from 5th October until today, events have not driven it into the minds of the people that there are two ideals which are incompatible—the ideal of social justice and the ideal and existence of the Unionist Party? Both cannot exist in the same society. This has been proved time and again throughout Northern Ireland by the actions of the Unionist Party.

In the General Election, Captain O'Neill had the big idea of dividing and conquering. Captain O'Neill, the "liberal" Unionist, said, "Do not vote for Protestant Unionists because they are nasty Fascist people." When the Election was over, he had no qualms about taking the number of so-called "Fascist" Unionist votes and the "liberal" Unionist votes together, adding them up and saying, "Look how many people voted Unionist." . . .

The Unionist policy has always been to divide the people who are dependent upon them. The question of voting is tied up mainly with the question of housing, and this is something which the House has failed to understand. The people of Northern Ireland want votes not for the sake of
voting but for the sake of being able to exercise democratic rights over the controlling powers of their own areas. The present system operates in such a way that Unionist-controlled councils and even Nationalist-controlled councils discriminate against those in their areas who are in the minority. The policy of segregated housing is to be clearly seen in the smallest villages of Ulster. The people of Ulster want the right to vote and for each vote to be of equal value so that, when it comes to the question of building more houses, we do not have the situation which we already have in Derry and in Dungannon.

In Dungannon, the Catholic ward already has too many houses in it. There is no room to build any more in that ward. It would appear logical that houses should be built, therefore, in what is traditionally known as the Protestant ward or, euphemistically, the "Nationalist" or "Unionist" ward, where there is space. But this would give rise to the nasty situation of building new houses in the Unionist or Protestant ward and thus letting in a lot of Fenians who might out-vote the others.

I saw with my own eyes 1,000 policemen come in military formation into an oppressed, and socially and economically depressed area—in formation of six abreast, joining up to form 12 abreast like wild Indians, screaming their . . . heads off to terrorize the inhabitants of that area so that
they could beat them off the streets and into their houses.

I also accept that policemen are human and that if someone throws a stone at a man and injures him, whether he be in uniform or out of uniform, if he is human he is likely to lift another stone and, either in self-defence or in sheer anger, to hurl it back. Therefore when people on either side lose control, this kind of fighting breaks out.

The situation with which we are faced in Northern Ireland is one in which I feel I can no longer say to the people "Don't worry about it. Westminster is looking after you." Westminster cannot condone the existence of this situation. It has on its benches Members of that party who by deliberate policy keep down the ordinary people. The fact that I sit on the Labour benches and am likely to make myself unpopular with everyone on these benches—HON. MEMBERS: "No." Any Socialist Government worth its guts would have got rid of them long ago.

There is no denying that the problem and the reason for this situation in Northern Ireland is social and economic, because the people of Northern Ireland are being oppressed not only by a Tory Government, a misruling Tory Government and an absolutely corrupt, bigoted and self-interested Tory Government, but by a Tory Government of whom even the Tories in this House ought to be ashamed and from which they should dissociate themselves.
Therefore I ask that in the interests of the ordinary people there should be no tinkering with the kind of capitalist methods used by both the Northern Ireland Unionist Party and Mr. Jack Lynch's Fianna Fail party. It was with no amusement but with a great deal of horror that I heard the somewhat peculiar statement by the right Hon. Member for Belper (Mr. George Brown) about an O'Neill Lynch United Party. This brings home to me that Hon. Members of this House do not understand what is going on. Of all the possible solutions of our problem the least popular would be an agreement between the two arch Tories of Ireland.
APPENDIX II

BBC TRIBUNAL—JANUARY 21, 1972
BERNADETTE DEVLIN

Gentlemen the purpose of this program is to presumably find a solution to the Northern Ireland problem. An answer cannot be found unless the right questions are asked. With the exception of myself, I think everyone else on this program, in one form or another, represents merely reform. If we have learned nothing else from Northern Ireland surely we have learned that reform no longer works. Take this program. In the clamor of charge and countercharge against the program taking place, the one relevant criticism was not laid by a single newspaper, by a single critic: The IRA have no spokesman present here tonight. Whatever varieties of arguments are used to justify their exclusion from the program, until they realize that not only must you talk but you must listen to what the IRA have to say, they will get nowhere.

Tonight solutions envision councils, commissions, conferences, community governments of every shade and description. But in the areas that eventually run them, in the Bogside, Armagh, in the Forks, in the Ballymena, the people who have gathered around their sets tonight watching this
program, with one eye on the television and one eye on the streets and a veering ear kept out for the sound that will warn them that once again the British Army has its way into the area. They condemn the irrelevance of these very suggestions, because the answer they want, the questions they ask, are in their terms immediate and simple. They want to know how do you stop the British Army coming into your area, terrorizing your own neighborhood, taking away your menfolk, rading your home and interning the people? The answer to them is equally immediate, equally simple. The answer to them is support your local IRA and when you hear the alarm come out fighting. That may horrify your legal mind. I'm not saying that is the way it should be. I'm not saying it provides a logical solution or even an immediate solution, but I am saying it is a fact, and a fact that you refuse to deal with. If you really want a solution, stop sending Mr. Maudling on his sleep walking tours from army headquar ters to the cabinet offices, stop sending Mr. Wilson as the pageboy for Mr. Heath, and start dealing with the real problems.

You see, Gentlemen, the point in question is not really the way you rule our country, it is not really the way you exploit us. We don't want a new deal from the way you run us. It is the very fact that you rule our country at all—that is the basic question. If you want to solve our problem, then what you've got to do is withdraw your
troops and explain the basis of IRA support on that basis. You cannot beat the IRA; you cannot have a military victory, so start solving the real problem. If you want to do something constructive, then deal with our problems of homelessness, slums, unemployment. To do that you've got to ban exports, recognize the failure of private enterprise in North or Ireland, cancel Northern Ireland housing prospect, nationalize the building industry, not evacuate it. Because, in fact, it is packed with a system of priorities under which Britain, Northern Ireland, and Southern Ireland is run, you cannot do that.

So all you can do is get out. Go home. We will solve our own problems. Release the internees. If you asked me why should the internees be released, I ask you why should they be interned? You have no right to intern six hundred of our men. And, until you release them, there will be no one to sit at your conference table. There will be nobody to talk about talking, and there will be nobody to plan settlements. And if any party, group or politicians should come and sit at your conference table and reach a settlement before the internees are unconditionally released, then that settlement is not binding on me; it is not binding on the people I represent; it is not binding on the people and the right to strike; and it will not work. The solution in short is that you recognize that we do want peace,
we and the people who suffer. There can be no peace, there can be no solution, until British Imperialism in our own country has ended. Thank you.
APPENDIX III
PRIVATE INTERVIEW—MAY 25, 1972
BERNADETTE DEVLIN

Author: When did the ruling class in Northern Ireland get started?

Devlin: Well, I don't think you can take it in a Northern Ireland sense nor do I think you can put a date on it; not just a specific date on when they got started, probably the beginning of the problems was where Britain as a main island developed from feudalism into capitalism. Ireland didn't have an opportunity to do that because she was always just that stage behind Britain and was never, in fact, allowed to develop from feudalism to capitalism. When capitalism developed, in fact, when feudalism developed in Britain, it was imposed on the Irish, and that to some extent is why you have the traditional, not necessarily conscious, kickback against it, but you have what some people describe as the Irish Syndrome of "you name it—I am against it." If it is true at all it is true because the stages didn't develop in Ireland as they developed in Britain; each of them were prematurely in their own sense imposed on the Irish. Feudalism with Stronghold
and Capitalism with growing industrialization, not necessarily in Ireland, but in Britain, and the need, therefore, for lands and property in Ireland. I don't think you can really put a date on it, but if you want to take it back to where you can begin to find the roots of it, you can take it back to Stronghold, which was when the Holy Alliance of the Catholic Church of the ruling Monarchy in British Feudalism in Ireland began to be corrupted on two fronts: one by the development of Christianity in Ireland, not necessarily as an ideal, but a conflict of the organized and centralized Church of Rome as opposed to the peculiar sense of Christianity that existed in Ireland and at the same time opposition of foreign rule from Britain which meant foreign lords, and that is probably where it got started.

Author: How did the Catholic-Protestant bitterness get started?
Devlin: Well, you see it's not that Catholics and Protestants are disagreed on fundamentals of theology; that isn't what causes the problem. People just don't argue over the thirty-nine Articles, the infallibility of the Pope. It is as communities, you know, it's not the theology of the churches; it's the community of the members that make it a religious problem. The Catholics
back the one ideology for many and varied reasons and the Protestants back another. And, you take that back, again not solely related to Irish politics but related to British politics. At the beginning of the century you had the Liberals in power and the determination of the British Conservative Party, British Tory Party, to come to power, and in order to do that Churchill himself, Randall Churchill, at the time stated quite clearly, his exact quotation is "let us play the orange card and hope that it is the ace and not the duce." And you know that just sums it up—he actually said that himself. "Play the orange card and hope it is an ace and not a duce." So the whole Irish problem was, in fact, at that time used to smash the Liberal Party. And it did it very effectively; there are now six Liberals in Parliament while at the turn of the century they composed the government. And, therefore, they used a complex situation, where again sort of going back through history, you had the native Irish population which was Catholic, it was either Catholic or completely non-Christian, but the only sort of organized religion that really existed was the Catholic Church. Any dispute that existed was between the more centralized and to some extent alien to the Irish communities, and broke down their clan system by making a difference within the clan for
people of religion who did no work but were entitled to support because they preached. You had that kind of difference, then you had the Reformation, the break away in Britain from the Catholic Church, and you had the various nonconformists churches. Then Churchill decided to play the orange card and he was the person who in the British Tory Party successfully tied the Protestant faith, not as a religion, but as a community, because they were centered in the north which was the most successful plantation. They were a settled community in the north; they hadn't integrated to the same extent as they had in other areas in Ireland and, therefore, they were the natural lever to use against the Liberals in a situation where you had an international war and the Irish rising at the same time. And they just built on it from there, and then having partitioned the state using the Protestant community as a buffer, but really in the interest of Northern industrialists, because at the time of the partition the linen industry was a localized industry. The people who ran the economy were centered in Ulster, where as the position now is the linen lords are gone. The British have taken all that over now and are international monopolies. So that the orange card is discarded from the packet. It is no longer any use
so you throw it out and if necessary, you walk over
the Protestants which is just British policy. They've
no longer an economic role to play, but in the main-
tenance once the state was set up it was necessary
in order to maintain the state, which was, in fact,
under the threat of violence from the Protestant
backlash—the orange backlash—was set up in the face
of democracy when 85% of the country had voted for the
rebel Parliament, the remaining 15% were allowed to
partition the country. This is why in Ireland arguments
like democratic majority just don't hold true because
people have an immediate experience within their own
life times of the ruling class not accepting their own
terms of democracy; so in order to keep the underpaid
Protestant the homeless Protestant, the working calss
Protestant in line with the partition statement, there
had to be an identification with the State, and so they
maintained the fear of the disloyal Catholic element—
the threat of Unified Ireland being once again Rome Rule.
In order to do that you had to have discrimination which
was marginal. It is like the position of the poor
white and the black in America. The poor white really
has nothing except that his skin is the same color of
President Nixon's for a start. And even if he is on
one of the bottom rungs of the ladder there is someone
beneath him—the blacks. And, every move forward of the people beneath him he sees because instinctively he recognizes that nobody at the top is going to give way. He sees that if the balance has to be withdrawn he's got to lose. But so while his privileges are marginal because he's got so little, he's got to hang onto those privileges. His wages may be as bad but his opportunity of earning them is greater. His accommodations may be equally as expensive, equally poor quality, but his chance of getting it is better as long as he totes the party line. So that was maintained through fifty years and this is the reason why there is so much chaos in the Protestant community at the moment. That the policy of "not an inch" became not just a slogan but it became a necessity as the whole monolith grew up it couldn't move an inch because the first inch moved meant it would all fall down and it's falling down. Now the Protestants have divided from the aristocracy. They realize that they gave them nothing, they don't want to know the Chichester-Clark's, the barons who have literally ruled the country. If you go through the Prime Ministers, they are all interrelated, all aristocracy. And they broke from that but the fear still remains of uniting on class basis with Catholics and so they are driven into more and more frustration as they realize that they got nothing from
the last arrangement, but they feel somehow or another that was because they were cheated by their own ruling class and so now they want a Protestant working class also.

Author: But, not a Catholic working class also?

Devlin: No, because they don't see the class analogies handing over to the Catholics just as—the analogy isn't too great and it is a mistake to say that the Black/White in America is equal to the Catholic/Protestant in Northern Ireland, it's not true. But, there are specific instances which help to explain it. It's like the hard hats in America who fight militantly for trade union rights against the boss, but keep blacks out of the trade union. It is exactly the same struggle. They fight against their ruling class, but you can't let the others in. "They're not trustworthy. They don't really want to work. They are lazy. They're not like us. They like welfare." They've just got that dichotomy of mind which is a product of the past fifty years.

Author: Are Catholics taught to hate Protestants and vice versa?

Devlin: Not true, not taught to hate them. There is less hatred on the part of the Catholics toward the Protestant, not because they are nicer people, but because
they are the minority, because they can see what they have to gain by not only attacking the State, the owners, the rulers of the State, but by having the added weight of the Protestants with them. It is because they are on the bottom rung. The Protestants have a greater fear of the Catholics because they’ve got further to fall. At the minute people aren’t taught hatred. You breathe it in. If you are born in the ghetto, you just, it is in the air. You breathe it in. No mother, few mothers take their children and say don’t play with him because he’s a dirty rotten Protestant or he’s a Pope loving’ Catholic. They just don’t do it. But if you’ve got kids living first of all in separate ghettos because it suited the voting system, they don’t know why they don’t go into the other estates, but they just know there will be fewer fights if they stay out of it. They know that they go to different schools. They don’t understand or know the other community. And it just becomes easier as you grow older and learn that there are lots of things you don’t have, the neighboring ghetto is easier to react against, easier to attack than some kind of system you don’t understand. And so it becomes. You learn it when you go for your first job and they ask you your religion. You just learn to say I am the wrong religion. Maybe the wrong
religion is Catholic, maybe the wrong religion is Protestant. But you learn it is the wrong religion and then you rebel against the other one. Why should they have it. And because of the whole cultural ritual of August 15 and July 12 you absorb the culture. Nobody takes you aside and teaches you, just like nobody takes us into school and says private property is sacred. They have a right to own and you must work. Nobody ever takes us in and explains that to us. But we just absorb it. The Rockefellers own and the Smiths work. Nobody actually explains that to you when you are six. You're not taught it in school, but you soon absorb it.

Author: Is college where the communities begin to break down?

Devlin: Yes, or when you get into the factory and work. Again, depending upon your areas. Well it does in some places, break down. If you are organized in the trade union, again, you might fight for trade rights. Again, it depends to some extent upon your area, on the factory. In Belfast if you want a job in the shipyards and 450 of them are Catholics, you just accept that. Then that works, militates, against all your activities. You say why should we beat our heads against a brick wall trying to get better wages for the union when the union allows that sort of thing to continue. It just sort of permeates the whole society.
But it breaks down where you have organized labour or where you have radical discussion. It breaks down in the universities and at the same time you get some of the most reactionary elements right in the universities.

Author: Will interaction overcome the problem?

Devlin: I don't believe there are any liberal solutions to it. If you say as Community Relations office in Northern Ireland says, that people must get to know each other, well that doesn't solve the problem. What do people want to know? That you are a relatively decent guy, that you do wash your kids, you do send them to school you're not lazy, would like to work. It doesn't solve the problem that there is no work, that it is hard to wash your kids because there is no hot water, you don't have a bathroom, you've got a dry toilet out the back.

Author: Are there racial problems in Northern Ireland?

Devlin: We don't have any racial discrimination, because the State was set up quite tightly to stop infiltration from the South in the belief that if they sneaked across the border from the South the Catholic minority, being in fact, such a large minority, was liable to become a majority and vote the government out of office.
So we just don't have a great deal of racial integration except on the level of particularly in the South of Ireland where wherever there is equal integration it is not on an equal footing. There are relatively no Germans, French, Americans, Blacks, Whites, Yellow, Brown, workers in Ireland. There are lots of German factory owners, American factory owners. German ranchers who move in to the farming community where everybody has forty acres and he moves in and buys 120 acres. You don't hate him because he's German, but because he's got 120 acres of land. So you don't really have racial conflict.

Author: Is the female worker discriminated against?

Devlin: Oh, yes. Well, again it is an economic situation. Women are cheap labour. So if you are in a large profit area where you've got massive unemployment employable, they'll do equally hard work for less wages. And this is particularly prominent in places like Derry, Strabane where you have 29% male unemployment, but the only factory in the town employs predominantly female labour because you get it at two-thirds the rate.

Author: In your book you said that statements like, "My God, this can't be the home of a working class man" made you a socialist.

Devlin: It's again a peculiar idea like the working class
man ought to make color television sets, but they haven't got any right to own them. I find this predominantly in America. Got a lot of middle class students, kids from pretty wealthy homes, walking around dressed up as workers. You know it was the thing to wear trousers with the back side out of them and patches on the knees and all frayed at the end as if that was your solidarity with the common ignorant workers, that sort of patronizing nonsense. The reason workers have patches on their knees is because they don't get enough wages to buy a good suit. If they had enough money working class people wouldn't walk around dressed like that, if they had enough money to dress better. So I believe we are entitled to--we make the Rovers, the color televisions--the right to have them. It's just that we don't ever have enough money.

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Author: You are not any part of the SDLP?

Devlin: Not a chance--that's a traitor's party.

Author: How are you different from Austin Currie, Ivan Cooper, John Hume . . .

Devlin: In shape, form, size, content, mentality, any way you make it that's a sure! And they're typical of Ireland's entire history. Eight hundred years we've
been lead. A mass movement has been created out of the determination of people not to take it any longer, that has been used and manipulated by leaders who have claimed over the back of that movement—to lead it solely to betray it—and used a worker's struggle to get their own petty ends and that's exactly what people like Austin Currie and John Hume are it. And you have their present position where when internment was introduced on August 9 it suited them because the whole population was in an uproar to make the pledge that they would have nothing to do with the state administration until such time as that outrage on liberals ended. And they're having a meeting tomorrow. Tomorrow they are going to talk, they're going to say, "we don't like civil war, in the interests of saving lives, the IRA are guilty of outrages," in the interests of humanity we are now going back on our word. You must come with us because we are moderate, respectable people because we don't want the bosses overthrown, all we wanted was that there be a greater proportion of Catholic bosses. It wasn't the view, what they really mean is that we are not complaining about the set up, just we didn't have a big enough share of the pie. That's all they want. Presi-
dential seat for John Hume, cabinet seat for Austin Currie or that kind of terminology. More room for the Catholic bourgeoisie in Northern Ireland is really what they want. Three years of workers fighting and dying, hard luck on the workers. They'll still get the same wages, they'll still work where somebody else owns, but the difference is the Catholic owners will have a better chance of owning than they had before.

Author: What about your special project, the factory you hoped to start in 1971?

Devlin: We're still fighting on that, still actually working on the factory. You can just see how the system works against you. We managed to fight and get 75% of the capital. That time I went to the States and did the lecture tour, we raised 25% of the capital so the government gave us the 75% grant. And, logically that's 100% of the money, but not for the government. We've got to produce 100% of the money, pay it out and then we get 75% of it back. But if you've only got 25% then you're just not in. We attempted to buy the machinery from the concern that had moved out. But, the government pays the 75% grant on machinery, but not on second hand machinery.

Author: What do the people in Northern Ireland want from their politicians?
Devlin: ... Like in this country we run flag days for cancer research and we pour masses of money into the Concord. And we are told that is because the people want the Concord. They must because Parliament wants it. But if Parliament was so sure that was the truth, why don't they just for one year run a flag day for Concord and put Concord's money into the cancer research, and see if they would get as much money for Concord as flag day as they would—nobody would pay for it because the people who want Concord just don't give money for flag days.

Author: Do many of your followers accept socialist views?

Devlin: By the majority of the people who would vote for me, I would say not, but by the same token, the right always says to me, you represent nobody. I've been twice elected on a revolutionary socialist programme. I've never deviated from those principles and I've been twice elected. I would love to say that that means there are 39,000 revolutionary socialists in Mid-Ulster. I know that there are not. But by the same token they cannot say I am unrepresentative because I am a socialist and at the same time say that Ted Heath is representative. If the same confusion exists for the people who vote for me, though they might not
agree with my views, is that whatever the people like, they hate the system. They're not sure what they want in its place, but they know that they hate what they have had for fifty years, not in a malicious sense; they despise it. They can't live under it. They want it changed; they say well at least she is fighting.

Author: Does your participation in demonstrations help get votes?

Devlin: Originally they did, yes. They vote for me mostly because I represent some kind of hope at least of fighting back. Even the people who do not agree with a word I say think that bad as I am I'm better than what they had.

Author: Did you want the British troops after the riots of August 1969?

Devlin: No, No, the majority of the people in Bogside were glad that the British Army came in simply because as the British Army came in, then the "B Specials" and the police pulled away very shortly after that. The British Army never got into the Bogside at that period. They still kept them outside the barricades. They were glad to see them because they would have been glad to see anybody who was stronger than the police and not fighting against them at that stage. But, it was inevitable that the British Army should ultimately
be treated the way they are treated because they didn't come in with the primary objective of saving lives. The came in to maintain the position of the State. And when you've got mass riots between the police and the people, the State is broken down. And it is the same in America. The day that you move the army in is the day you say civil powers don't work. It is the day you admit the state is broken down. The day that you do that is the day you admit that the State has no right to govern. So the army came in to stop Stormont from crumbling, and at the same time to save face for Jack Lynch and the government of the Irish Republic who were left in the position that either they put their troops on the border to stop their own population from going across in the aid of the Catholics in the North or they sent their troops against Britain, which of course, they couldn't do because Britain ruled them, Britain was their economic master. In order to protect the British investment in the South of Ireland, it was necessary to send the British Army into the North.

Author: Said that you have lived too long on English charity?

Devlin: It's not charity; we've paid for every penny in hard red blood. Not just to the Irish, but to the
English workers. It's not such things as charity to workers. We made it all. They take it and they have the impudence to hand us back pittance and call it charity. That's why when I say we have lived on it too long I don't mean that we don't want their charity. I mean they don't give us half enough, we want every penny that they've got. That's right. It's all ours. We've made it. We work for it. We produce the wealth, we produce the fortunes, we produce the power. We don't want anything more than is our right and that is everything we produce. We don't want their looking people up in internment camps and then saying to let them go as a concession. That's an insult and they should never have been there. If they let them all out they haven't done us any favors. They just put people where people ought to be.

Author: What happened at Bloody Sunday?

Devlin: They opened fire on the people. They quite obviously had a military strategy which was to fire on—two people were shot—about seventeen minutes later the paratroopers came in and opened fire and the most reasonable explanation is that two people were shot in order to produce a target which the IRA would have to defend. Then when the IRA defended it the paratroopers would come in and hopefully from the mass of people
get a quite large number of hooligans, rioters, IRA men and claim a great victory, clean out the Bogside and it just didn't happen. The IRA did not fire back, so the military waited its fifteen minutes and said, well, it's a good plan so go ahead with it. And the only flaw in the plan was that the IRA weren't there and thirteen people ended up dead. At which time Mr. John Hume never said drive the British out.

Author: Are the hooligans taking over the demonstrations?

Devlin: The thing that they have nothing else to do is the product of the State. They created ten percent unemployment, we didn't. It is quite true that people have nothing else to do. They might as well throw stones in the street as sit and do nothing. It passes the time. A lot of young kids just see it like that. It's interesting, a good crack, it passes the time. It works out a lot of frustration. They've bred the hooligans, and on their own heads be it.

Author: How many years have you left in Parliament?

Devlin: Election was what, June '70? I have at the very most, that's June '75. The next election has to be called before then. But, it will be called before that if the Prime Minister wants it, the Tory Party in power
can call an election any time in the next five years. But the longest I've got to run is '75. I would imagine sometime next year, possibly an election next spring, next autumn.

Author: Will you be running again?

Devlin: Probably. Yes, it'll be some fight. Mother Church will be out in all her glory.

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