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History, Truth Recovery and Reconciliation in Contemporary Northern Ireland

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ABSTRACT

During and after the Northern Ireland conflict of 1968-98, various initiatives were undertaken to promote peace and reconciliation. This chapter focuses on conciliatory and reconciliatory ventures that involved revisiting the past. First it considers attempts, particularly by the Cultural Traditions Group, to promote a deeper understanding and appreciation of history and cultural diversity. Second, it notes the investigations into controversial killings, and discusses the significance of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry. Third, it considers briefly some recent initiatives to tackle the legacy of the conflict. Finally it considers the implications for historians of reconciliation projects that envisage an academic input.

I rith na coimblinte a tharla i dTuaisceart Éireann idir 1968 agus 1998, agus ina diaidh, cuireadh tionscnaimh éagsúla ar bun chun síocháin agus athmhuintearas a chur chun cinn. Déanann an chaibidil seo iniúchadh ar iarrachtaí a bhain le hathbheithniú ar an stair. Bhí sé mar aidhm ag an Cultural Traditions Group tuiscint níos fearr ar an stair agus ar na hoidhbreachtaí cultúrtha éagsúla a chur chun cinn, agus súil acu go dtiocfadh caidreamh níos fearr idir an dá phobal as. Cuireadh fiosruithe oifigiúla ar bun chun teacht tar ar an bhfioscéal a bhain le dúnmharuithe áirithe, mar fhaoiseamh do mhuintir na marbh agus mar shreagra ar shearg an phobail. Tá tábhacht faoi leith ag baint le Fiosrú Dhombhach na Fola sa chomhthéacs seo. Faoi láthair tionscnaimh éagsúla ag iarraidh dul i ngleic le torthaí an fhoiréigin. Mar chonclúid féachann an chaibidil ar an ról a shamblaíonn grúpaí athmhuintearais le staraithe i gcuid de na tionscnaimh seo.

The question is how Northern Ireland might approach its past in a way that heals rather than poisons, that enables everyone to focus on building a shared future, not looking constantly over shoulders to a divided past.

Peter Hain¹

Thus the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland explained the task of the Consultative Group on the Past, set up to examine ways of dealing with the legacy of conflict in Northern Ireland. The years 1969-1998 witnessed 3,289 deaths, 42,216 injured, 10,142 explosions and 359,699 house searches². The “Troubles” began with hostile reactions to civil rights marches in 1968; many Protestant Unionists viewed Catholic allegations of discrimination as gross exaggerations and an attempt to subvert the state³. As violence escalated, the British government sent in troops, the IRA reorganized hoping to end British control over Northern Ireland and Protestant paramilitary activity increased. The British and Irish governments, previously in dispute over Northern Ireland, came to see it as their common problem, to be addressed by promoting “parity of esteem” between the two communities⁴. Within Northern Ireland a plethora of projects sought to promote tolerance and reconciliation dur-

ing and after the “Troubles”. Some of these sought to re-visit the past with a view to uncovering hidden truths through official inquiries, some presented a more nuanced image of community relations through historical investigation, others gave voice to victims of the conflict. This chapter looks at some of these initiatives, and considers their implications for historians.

BACKGROUND

A sense of victimhood and injustice pervaded popular Catholic nationalist history, which recalled endurance during centuries of British oppression and anti-Catholic discrimination, particularly under the “Penal Laws” of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Irish Protestants, concentrated in the North since the “Plantation of Ulster” by English and Scottish settlers in the early 1600s, recalled their deliverance during the political turmoil of the 17th century. A sense of siege pervaded their popular history. The 19th century witnessed the rise of Irish Catholic nationalism, closely associated with the Catholic Church and the erosion of the Protestant minority’s power and influence. Notwithstanding the significant contribution of a few Protestants to Irish nationalist movements, most Protestants were “Unionists”, determined to maintain the union with Britain. Unionists campaigned vigorously against proposals for limited Irish autonomy on political, economic and religious grounds, frequently arguing that Home Rule would mean Rome Rule. After the establishment of the Northern Ireland state under the umbrella of the United Kingdom, the Catholic minority (about one third of the population), were reluctant to accept the new political arrangements and hoped for eventual reunification with the Irish Free State, leaving Protestants fearful of this enemy in their midst. In the 1930s prominent Protestant figures openly discouraged Protestants from employing “disloyal” Catholics⁵. Catholics remained outside the state educational system, residential segregation was common, endogamy was the norm.

PROMOTING TOLERANCE AND RECONCILIATION

From the early years of the Troubles various initiatives were undertaken to promote contact and improve relations between Catholics and Protestants. These ranged from integrated education and children’s holiday schemes to an Inter-Church Group on Faith and Politics. Attempts were also made to promote a better understanding of cultural heritages. The Northern Ireland Office’s Central Community Relations Unit promoted the formation of a Cultural Traditions Group, which sought to highlight positive aspects of cultural diversity. Speaking on *Varieties of Irishness* at the first of its conferences, in 1989, historian Roy Foster examined the complexities of Catholic and Protestant involvement in cultural activities in the past and argued strongly that cultural diversity was not inevitably confrontational⁶.

In 1990 the Cultural Traditions Group came under the umbrella of the Community Relations Council [CRC], an independent but government funded body providing support and grants for community relations initiatives⁷. The Group hoped that cultural traditions work would enable local history groups and other cultural bodies to “reassess their histories”, and provide a safe way to “acknowledge contentious historical material which questions simplistic views of allegiances, past and present”⁸. Aware of the dearth of material for such work, its journal, “Causeway”, aimed to act as a resource for cultural traditions initiatives, carrying short works on historical and cultural questions. Through the CRC, the group provided financial support for new publications and for reprinting of out-of-print titles relevant to its interests⁹. Some of these reflected the cultural heritage of a single group, e.g. Eamon Phoenix’s study of the “Irish News”, Belfast’s Catholic nationalist newspaper, and Billy Kennedy’s work on the Orange Order¹⁰. This reflects the CRC’s belief in

providing opportunities for groups to explore *their own cultures, beliefs and traditions*¹¹. According to Mari Fitzduff, first director of the CRC, without “single identity work”, efforts to promote mutual understanding were more likely to lead to defensiveness and be less effective¹². Some of the works subsidized clearly aimed to dispel myths and explain beliefs – Norman Richardson’s *A Tapestry of Beliefs: Christian Traditions in Northern Ireland* and Gary Law’s *The Cultural Traditions Dictionary*¹³. This approach was extended to the education system when Education for Mutual Understanding became part of the curriculum in 1992.

MULTICULTURALISM CRITIQUED

Scholars have highlighted many problematic elements in this multicultural approach. Tracing the roots of multiculturalism to the United States, sociologist Bill Rolston argued that race relations there were interpreted as emanating from cultural ignorance and prejudice rather than exploitation, state power, and institutionalism¹⁴. He noted a similar absence of a structural level in the multicultural approach in Northern Ireland: “Colonialism, politics, triumphalism, institutionalised discrimination, state power – all are left behind when entering this multicultural world”. For Rolston and others, British multiculturalism was an attempt to “depoliticise nationalist culture and in particular republican¹⁵ resistance”, focusing instead on the psychology of those in conflict¹⁶. The emphasis on equal respect for both traditions could also be problematic: Finlayson identifies a contradiction between assumptions that cultures are innate, fixed, to be respected as they are, and the hope that encounters with the other’s culture will lead to change¹⁷. For Desmond Bell, the emphasis on pluralism in heritage projects can reinforce divisions: in relation to the Tower Museum in Derry he has argued, “the curators may have unwittingly ended up hypostatizing the very undoubtedly abhor¹⁸”. Richard English has suggested another unwelcome outcome: he argued that granting equal legitimacy to traditions associated with the conflicting political objectives of supporting the state and dismembering of the state fed the fears of Unionists and the hopes of Republicans, contributing to instability and violence¹⁹.

The Cultural Traditions Group was not blind to such issues. One of its leading figures, Maurice Hayes, openly acknowledged difficulties that could arise from cultural diversity, noting, for example, the triumphalism of some Orange processions and the offensive intentions of some manifestations of the Irish language²⁰. The group’s journal, “Causeway”, carried scathing criticism from David Butler of the evasiveness of “consensus solutions” to the conflict²¹ and a strong declaration from Steve Bruce that distinctiveness meant divisiveness in Northern Ireland²². As the group’s first chairman noted, the group envisaged “a process of self-searching debate, finely balanced at times between hope and cynicism²³”.

THE PEACE PROCESS

Ultimately negotiations between paramilitary groups and the British and Irish governments, rather than community relations projects, led to ceasefires and paved the way for the Belfast Agreement of 1998. This Agreement, reached by the British and Irish Governments and most Northern Ireland political parties, provided a framework for devolved, power-sharing government and various measures to prevent discrimination and protect human rights. It also required a commitment to nonviolence from political office holders. The Agreement specifically recognized the work being done to promote reconciliation and mutual understanding, and saw it as having a “vital role in consolidating peace and political agreement²⁴”. Indeed the tortuous negotiations leading up to the Agreement and the many setbacks during attempts to implement it testified to the need for such

action. So too did the initial increase in sectarian violence at the interface of Catholic and Protestant districts and the loss of support for the moderate Social and Democratic Labour Party and the Ulster Unionist Party to Sinn Féin and the Democratic Unionist Party, parties more likely to drive a hard bargain. Clearly new initiatives were required to dispel distrust and promote goodwill.

EXCAVATING ATROCITIES

Mysteries surrounding many of the killings during the conflict continued to constitute a serious grievance, but a number of steps were taken to uncover the truth. The Police Service of Northern Ireland set up a Historical Enquiries Team to re-examine all deaths relating to the conflict between 1968 and 1998; this aims to bring a measure of resolution to the families. A police ombudsman was appointed and uncovered evidence of collusion between the police and the Protestant paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force in a number of killings²⁵. Another grievance involved the IRA's killing and secret burial of the "Disappeared" – about fifteen people²⁶, most suspected of being informers. In changed political circumstances, the IRA provided information regarding their whereabouts, and, in 2003, apologized for the grief caused to the families. Despite extensive excavations, however, the locations of a number of bodies remain unknown.

By far the most elaborate investigation undertaken has been the Bloody Sunday Inquiry. On 30 January 1972, "Bloody Sunday", the Parachute Regiment shot dead 13 civil rights demonstrators in Derry and injured 14 others, one of whom died subsequently. "Bloody Sunday" attained iconic significance in Republicans' history of British oppression in Northern Ireland. The army's argument that soldiers were responding to attack left Catholics outraged. Relatives of the dead were incensed by a hastily convened inquiry chaired by Lord Widgery concluded that none of the dead had been handling weapons at the time of the shooting and the firing of some soldiers "bordered on the reckless", but also that there was "a strong suspicion" that some had been firing weapons or handling bombs during the afternoon²⁷. Calls for a more thorough investigation fell on deaf ears until January 1998 when, in the context of the peace talks edging towards agreement, British Prime Minister Tony Blair announced a new inquiry²⁸.

Chaired by Lord Saville, this inquiry gathered evidence from about 2,500 people, 922 of whom appeared in person before the tribunal between March 2000 and January 2005²⁹. The oral hearings took place in the Guildhall, which houses the Derry City Council chamber, a highly significant location: on Bloody Sunday, demonstrators were prevented from gathering in the Guildhall Square, their exclusion from that public space reinforcing their general sense of powerlessness at the time. Cross-examination at the hearings revealed considerable fusion of individual and collective memories as witnesses struggled to clarify what happened on Bloody Sunday³⁰, and realized they had confused what they saw on the day with what they saw on television, what others told them, or what they witnessed on other occasions. Due to the vast scale of the evidence as well as the difficulties in reconciling contradictory accounts, the Inquiry, at the time of writing [2008] has not yet completed its final report.

Though essentially a fact-finding mission, the Inquiry undoubtedly had therapeutic potential, allowing those affected to tell their story. Hearings were widely reported in the media, and transcripts of the evidence were available on the Bloody Sunday official website. Meanwhile, the production of two drama documentaries further heightened awareness of the issues: *Bloody Sunday* (2002), written and directed by Paul Greengrass, and *Sunday* (2002), written by Jimmy McGovern and directed by Charles McDougall, a film described by Derry-born politics professor Paul Arthur as cathartic³¹. For a brief period the Derry public could revisit the past by participating in crowd scenes of *Sunday* or sitting in the public gallery at the Bloody Sunday Inquiry, or both.

Nevertheless, a number of factors militated against the Inquiry's potentially healing effects. Witnesses could seek permission to give evidence anonymously or from behind a screen if they felt their lives were in danger and military witnesses were permitted to give evidence in London rather than in Derry; thus those involved in the shootings could avoid facing victims or victims' families. Recalling the details of the shootings proved deeply distressing for some witnesses. Cross-examination could be aggressive. As Khumalo has noted elsewhere in this volume in relation to the TRC in South Africa, the drama, the performance element of the public hearings was significant. In the imposing setting of the Guildhall, however, it was clear that the legal teams were far more experienced performers than some of the civilian witnesses. The experience of being quizzed in a very formal and public setting by highly skilled lawyers on the details of events imperfectly remembered after thirty years proved quite intimidating for some witnesses. Others were horrified at being asked in public for information about IRA members and their activities around the time of Bloody Sunday.

While the inquiry has confronted a serious Catholic grievance against the British State, it has not eased tensions between Catholics and Protestants. Gregory Campbell of the Democratic Unionist Party, a frequent critic of the Inquiry, has protested at its enormous cost [now standing at £181 million!] and argues that it will not bring closure³². Many Protestants resented the focus on 14 nationalist deaths: between 1969 and 2001, 1,287 Northern Ireland Protestants were killed as well as 1,523 Northern Ireland Catholics, but of the 3,524 deaths of people from various backgrounds and origins killed in the conflict, over 2,000 were the responsibility of the IRA and other Republican organisations³³.

In 2004 separate inquiries were announced into the killings of three other Catholics - Robert Hamill, lawyers Rosemary Nelson and Pat Finucane - as well as Billy Wright, leader of the Protestant Loyalist Volunteer Force who was killed in the Maze Prison in 1997. Finucane's family have rejected the limited remit of the enquiry. An earlier inquiry into allegations of police collusion into his killing met with severe police obstruction³⁴.

“HEALING THROUGH REMEMBERING”

Side by side with official investigations, new opportunities have emerged for presenting subjective experiences of the conflict. The “Healing Through Remembering” group³⁵ has highlighted the significance of personal testimonies from a variety of perspectives believing in the therapeutic value of such “storytelling”. It also hopes that story telling would

[...] make individual and communal stories - both positive and negative - available to all sections of our community, thus opening the possibilities of hearing the human and emotional, as well as the factual and forensic, detail of events³⁶.

The CRC supports processes of public storytelling and recognizes its value for the participants. It recommends an inclusive, victim-centred approach, suggesting that previously unheard groups be identified. Emphasising the need to place personal accounts in a wider context, it warns that in isolation ‘single identity’ projects, “may fail to bridge the gap between victims and those who victimised them and may even deepen the cleft”³⁷.

CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON THE PAST

Progress on dealing with the past can only be made in this context, where a decision has been reached by all political parties that what happened in the past, is indeed, in the past.
Community Relations Council.

In June 2007, when the Belfast Agreement and Northern Assembly were finally operating well, the British government set up a Consultative Group on the Past with a brief to consult the community and make recommendations on ways of supporting Northern Ireland society in “building a shared future that is not overshadowed by the events of the past”³⁸. The group is to report in summer 2008. Chaired by Lord Robin Eames, former leader of the [Protestant] Church of Ireland, and Denis Bradley, a former Catholic priest (both of whom were involved in talks with paramilitaries leading up the Belfast Agreement), it draws on the expertise of two international advisors: Martti Ahtisaari, former Finnish prime minister and UN Special Envoy to Kosovo, and South African attorney Brian Currin, who was involved in creation of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The group received over 200 written submissions and listened to over 100 organisations and individuals. According to Lord Eames, a wide range of these told harrowing stories of human pain and suffering³⁹. In a lengthy submission the CRC commented, “The atmosphere and purpose of any investigation into the past should be one of sadness and tragedy, not one of recrimination and vengeance”⁴⁰. This, however, was easier said than done. The group’s suggestion that it might ask the government to classify the Northern Ireland conflict as a war angered some Unionists, who feared that it would pave the way for an amnesty. Following a bitter discussion, in the Northern Ireland Assembly, a majority voted in favour of a Democratic Unionist Party member’s motion “That this Assembly repudiates any suggestion that the 30 year terrorist campaign in Northern Ireland be re-classified as a ‘war’”. On the other side, a Sinn Féin spokesman expressed reservations about the government-sponsored group. Calling for government disclosures regarding killings he argued, “The key to dealing with this issue is ensuring that there is no hierarchy of victims. This includes acknowledging the reality that the British State are protagonists in this conflict and not innocent onlookers”⁴¹.

As in South Africa the question of timeframes has arisen for the Consultative Group. The CRC called for an “organic timeframe” rather than a “rigid organised process bound by dates and cut off points, which could prevent new opportunities for healing and assistance and produce barriers to reconciliation”⁴². Responding to the announcement of the Consultative Group on the Past, Kate Turner, project co-ordinator of Healing Through Remembering, argued, “Processes of remembering, reflecting, informing and educating must be sustained for at least another generation”⁴³.

HISTORIANS AND THE SEARCH FOR RECONCILIATION

Excavations of the past, both literal and metaphorical, present both challenges and opportunities for historians. A number of projects committed to promoting reconciliation have sought academic input. The Cultural Traditions Group, a number of whom were academics, operated under the auspices of the Institute of Irish Studies at the Queen’s University of Belfast. The Central Community Relations Unit funded research into commemorations by historian Jane Leonard and published her *Memorials to the Casualties of Conflict: Northern Ireland 1969 to 1997*⁴⁴. Leonard went on to become Community Outreach Officer with the Ulster Museum, initially in connection with its *Up in Arms* exhibition marking the bicentenary of the 1798 rebellion. The purpose of this venture, funded by the European Programme for Peace and Reconciliation, was to encourage wider interest in the exhibition among those who would not normally visit a museum. A subsequent outreach project of the Museum’s was a traveling exhibition on *War and Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. The CRC has also suggested a “Commission of Historical Clarification” to “address the roles played by key actors and institutions in the conflict, in the context of universal norms of democracy, human rights and the rule of law.” It hoped that drawing on the expertise of social scientists and historians, as well as those engaged in reconciliation work, would guarantee

impartiality⁴⁵. Academics might not be so sanguine! The “Healing Through Remembering” group aims to establish a Living Memorial Museum, and has worked with the Institute of Irish Studies at the Queen’s University of Belfast to conduct an audit of artifacts relating to the conflict. In April 2008 the group and the Institute of Irish Studies ran a conference on the question, “Should we put History Behind Glass?”

The wealth of personal testimonies from different perspectives and the extensive documentation emanating from inquiries may leave future historians, like the Bloody Sunday Inquiry, overwhelmed by the sheer volume of evidence. Nevertheless, this is an exciting time for historians of Northern Ireland. It will be interesting to see what new insights emerge into a period of much self-censorship when commentators were often wary of offering propaganda material to paramilitaries, of being branded traitors by their own side or being intimidated by the “other side”. In the context of reconciliation projects the blurring of distinctions between academic and public history presents interesting challenges. It remains to be seen how many will concur with the view of Trevor Parkhill, Keeper of History at the Ulster Museum, that close involvement with political and social affairs can take place “without undue risk to the integrity of the historical discipline or to the curator”⁴⁶.

NOTES

- ¹ Press release on behalf of Peter Hain, then Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, about the formation of an independent consultative group to look at the legacy of the past, (22 June 2007). Available at <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/docs/nio/ph220607.htm>.
- ² S Elliott, W.D. Flackes, *Northern Ireland: A Political Directory* Belfast 1999, pp. 681, 684-6
- ³ The extent of discrimination in Northern Ireland has been examined by many scholars and other commentators: see M. Harris, “Religious Divisions, Discrimination and the struggle for Dominance in Northern Ireland” in Guðmundur Hálfðanarson (ed.), *Racial Discrimination and Ethnicity in European History*, Pisa 2003, pp. 205-34. and J. Whyte, *How much discrimination was there under the Unionist regime, 1921-1968?* n T. Gallagher and J. O’Connell (eds) *Contemporary Irish Studies*, Manchester 1983, pp. 1-35.
- ⁴ See for example, the preamble of the 1985 *Anglo-Irish Agreement*, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/aia/aiaadoc.htm>.
- ⁵ M. Farrell, *Northern Ireland: the Orange State* London 1980, pp. 136-7.
- ⁶ Crozier M., (ed.) *Cultural Traditions in Northern Ireland: Inaugural lecture by Roy F. Foster: Varieties of Irishness and Proceedings of the Cultural Traditions Group Conference, 3-4 March, 1989* Belfast 1989, pp. 5-23.
- ⁷ For information on the CRC’s aims, approaches and services see, <http://www.community-relations.org.uk>
- ⁸ M. Fitzduff, *A Typology of Community Relations Work and Contextual Necessities*, Belfast 1991, Section 1.
- ⁹ D. Harkness, *Publications in Giving Voices: The Work of the Cultural Traditions Group 1900-1994*, p. 10.
- ¹⁰ *A Celebration: 1690-1990, The Orange Institution* Published in Belfast, 1990.
- ¹¹ Italics in the original text. ‘Community Relations, Cultural Diversity Grant Scheme’, <http://www.community-relations.org.uk/services/funding/small-grants-criteria>, accessed on 8 March 2008.
- ¹² M. Fitzduff, *Approaches to Community Relations Work*, CRC pamphlet no. 1, Belfast 1991, Section 1. Reproduced at <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/community/fitzduff.htm#antisecc>.
- ¹³ Both published in Belfast, 1998.
- ¹⁴ *What’s wrong with multiculturalism? Liberalism and the Irish Conflict* in D. Miller, *Rethinking Northern Ireland: Culture, Ideology and Colonialism* London, 1998, pp. 258, 259.
- ¹⁵ In the Northern Ireland context the term “Republican” refers to those who, until recently, were willing to use armed force to end British control of Northern Ireland and bring about a united Ireland.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-8, 272-3. See also A. Finlayson, *The Problem of ‘Culture’ in Northern Ireland: A Critique of the Cultural Traditions Group* in “Irish Review”, Winter/Spring 1997, 20, p. 77 and D. Bell, *Modernising History: The real politik of heritage and cultural tradition in Northern Ireland* in Miller, *Rethinking Northern Ireland* cit., p. 2.
- ¹⁷ Finlayson, *The Problem of ‘Culture’*, p. 79
- ¹⁸ Bell, *Modernising History*, p. 244.

- ¹⁹ R. English, 'Cultural Traditions' and Political Ambiguity in "Irish Review", Spring 1994, 15, p. 103.
- ²⁰ M. Hayes, *Whither Cultural Diversity*, Belfast 1991. This short work, published by the CRC, was the text of a speech delivered in the Instituted for Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1990.
- ²¹ D. Butler, *The Study of Culture in Northern Ireland, or, "What's so bad about peace, love and understanding? Part II, "Causeway"*, Summer 1994, 1, 3 pp. 50-55.
- ²² S. Bruce, *Cultural Traditions: A Double-edged sword?* in "Causeway", Autumn 1994, 1, 4, pp. 22-4.
- ²³ J. Hawthorne, *Preface to Crozier Cultural Traditions* cit., p. viii.
- ²⁴ *The Belfast Agreement*, also known as *The Good Friday Agreement*, Article 13 of subsection on rights, safeguards and equality of opportunity. The text of the agreement is available at <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/agreement.htm>.
- ²⁵ Public statement by Mrs Nuala O'Loan, then Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland, on her investigation into the circumstances surrounding the death of Raymond McCord Junior and related matters, (Operation Ballast), Monday 22 January 2007; <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/police/ombudsman/poni220107.htm>.
- ²⁶ See *Violence - Details of 'the Disappeared* in CAIN, <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/disappeared.htm>.
- ²⁷ *Summary of Conclusions in Report of the Tribunal appointed to inquire into the events on Sunday, 30 January 1972, which led to loss of life in connection with the procession in Londonderry on that day by The Rt. Hon. Lord Widgery, O.B.E., T.D.* London, 1972.
- ²⁸ The inquiry's official website is at <http://www.bloody-sunday-inquiry.org>.
- ²⁹ Saville is a British Law Lord. The other members of the Tribunal of Inquiry were William L. Hoyt, former chief justice of New Brunswick, Canada, Edward Somers, a former judge in New Zealand's Appeal Court, and, on his retirement, John L. Toohey a former Justice of the High Court of Australia.
- ³⁰ See T. Herron, J. Lynch, *After Bloody Sunday: representation, ethics, justice*, Cork 2007, pp. 50-59.
- ³¹ Bloody Sunday: Professor Paul Arthur on Jimmy McGovern's *Sunday*; <http://www.channel4.com/history/microsites/H/history/n-s/sunday1.html#q1>.
- ³² House of Commons Debates, 2 February 2008; "Irish Times", *Why Unionist Anger Grows as Saville Inquiry Goes On and On*, 30 January 2002; "Irish Times" 7 August 2003.
- ³³ M. Sutton, *An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland* <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Religion.html> and http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Organisation_Summary.html, accessed on 5 March 2008.
- ³⁴ Stevens Enquiry: Overview and Recommendations, 17 April 2003, available at <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/collusion/stevens3/stevens3summary.htm>.
- ³⁵ "Healing Through Remembering" emerged in 2001 from talks between Victim Support Northern Ireland and the Northern Ireland Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders, who had been in contact with Alex Boraine, Deputy Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation. It places heavy emphasis on "Truth Recovery and Acknowledgment".
- ³⁶ "Healing Through Remembering", *Storytelling - Origins* http://www.healingthroughremembering.org/g_subgroups/overview_story.asp?groupID=4, accessed on 5 March 2008.
- ³⁷ CRC submission to the Consultative Group on the Past, January 2008 pp. 10-11. http://www.community-relations.org.uk/filestore/documents/Response_to_Consultative_Group_on_the_Past_-_25_Jan_08.pdf, accessed on 1 March 2008.
- ³⁸ <http://www.cgpni.org/about-us>. Consultative Group on the Past website, <http://www.cgpni.org/about-us>, accessed 6 March 2008.
- ³⁹ Consultative Group on the Past - latest news. <http://www.cgpni.org/latest-news/19/public-consultation-ends>. Accessed on 10 April 2008.
- ⁴⁰ CRC submission, to the Consultative Group on the Past p. 7.
- ⁴¹ "An Phoblacht", 6 December 2007.
- ⁴² CRC submission to the Consultative Group on the Past.
- ⁴³ *HTR seeks meeting with Legacy Group*, press release of 25 June 2007, available at http://www.healingthroughremembering.org/b_news/pressrelease.asp?pressID=19, accessed 5 March 2008.
- ⁴⁴ Belfast 1997. Available at <http://www.ccruni.gov.uk/research/qub/leonard97.htm>
- ⁴⁵ CRC submission cit., p. 11.

- ⁴⁶ T. Parkhill, *Outreach or Over-reach? A Consideration of the Ulster Museum/Magni History Outreach Initiative 1997-2002*. A paper presented at the INTERCOM Conference Leadership in Museums: Are our Core Values Shifting? Dublin, Ireland, October 16 - 19, 2002. Reproduced at <http://intercom.museum/conferences/2002/parkhill.html>, accessed on 6 March 2008.

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ELECTRONIC SOURCES

Bloody Sunday Inquiry <http://www.bloody-sunday-inquiry.org.uk>.

CAIN Web Service (Conflict Archive on the INternet) Conflict and Politics in Northern Ireland (1968 to the Present) See especially 'Key Events of the Northern Ireland Conflict' [<http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/index.html>], which includes various Anglo-Irish agreements.

Community Relations Council of Northern Ireland <http://www.community-relations.org.uk>.

Consultative Group on the Past <http://www.cgpmi.org>.

Healing Through Remembering <http://www.healingthroughremembering.org>.

