

Half the
lies are
true...

Ireland/Britain :
a microcosm of international
misunderstanding?



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Half the Lies are True

Britain/Ireland ~ A Microcosm of International Misunderstanding?

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Introduction

Over the last few years Trocaire and the Development Education Centre (Birmingham) have made an input into each other's local development education programmes. As a result of this experience we thought it worthwhile to set up a seminar to provide an opportunity for others to meet in a similar way.

This idea was given further impetus by a growing realisation that the issues we were discussing in passing, about Britain and Ireland, were also important to development education. We became aware that many of the patterns and processes of international relationships could be explored by considering the relationship between our two countries.

'Half the lies are True' has been developed to follow up some of the ideas which came out of the seminar which was held in Greystones, Co. Wicklow, in November 1984.

In **section one** scene for the seminar and the rest of the book is set by considering the nature of development education and the role of local case studies. The processes of development and underdevelopment are part of our everyday experience. An understanding of these issues in our local context is a vital part of understanding them in other parts of the world.

The seminar at Greystones was an opportunity to learn jointly bringing together people involved in development education from Britain and Ireland. **Sections two and three** are a direct reflection of parts of this programme.

Northern Ireland was not on the agenda as such but clearly it became a substantial issue to explore in the context of questions we were asking about international relationships. **Section four** has taken these initial discussions and developed some ideas about how the issues involved could be approached by those designing workshops and courses.

We have become increasingly aware of the vital role of a sense of history to discussing the nature of the relationship between Britain and Ireland. Teachers in Ireland and in Britain were asked to review each other's classroom history books. These provide the focus for two articles in **section five**.

We hope that 'Half the lies are True' will make some contribution to further work bringing together other groups in Britain and Ireland. Trocaire and DEC (Birmingham) are in the process of setting up a **Development Education History Project** which will involve groups of teachers in Birmingham and Dublin. A description of this project completes section five.

The resources marked (*) in the text are listed in the last part of the book.

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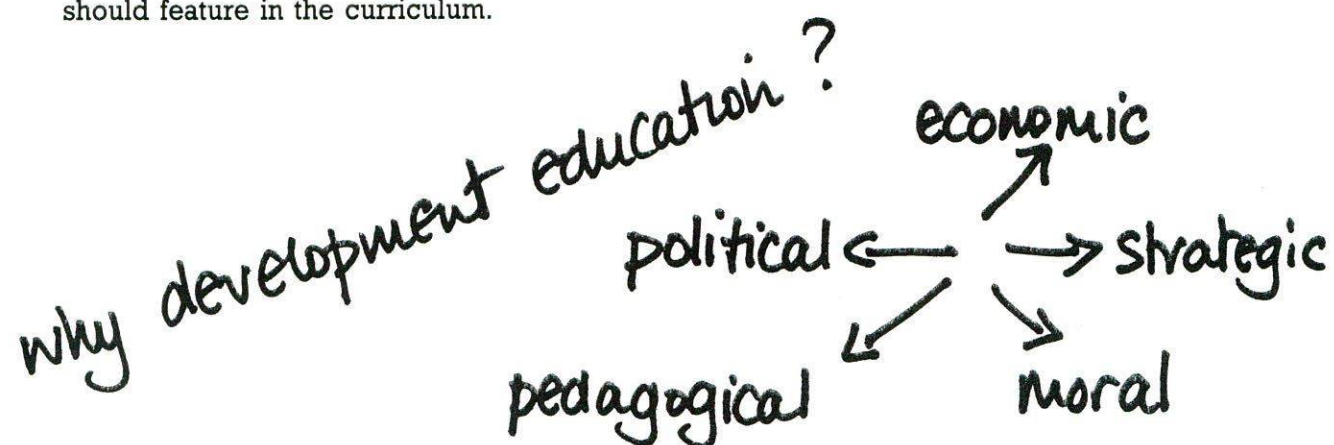
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Development Education - A British/Irish Dimension?

Opposition to apartheid, famine in Ethiopia, assassinations and deaths in El Salvador, disaster in Bhopal... "Live Aid" telecasts, aid appeals, political rallies... are all events which have captured public attention and concern over the past few months and years. They are, to a very significant extent, the face of the wider world which bombards us. They are the images and events which condition many of our reflexes and responses.

The responses which these events and images have produced are many, cash donations being the most obvious. However, there are two other interrelated responses. One, an explicit recognition that there is a need for a more widespread and balanced awareness of wider world issues here in the West. Two, a demand that education about international and development issues be given a priority in order to ensure that responses tackle causes and become more effective in dealing with problems and issues.

Ultimately this begs the question of why development education and what is its relevance to the classroom. We would suggest that there are at least five inter-related reasons why world development issues should feature in the curriculum.



Economic:

Economically the world has become more inter-related and integrated than ever before. The growth of transnational companies, technology, communications... the advent of the "global" plan, the world as a market... all mean that economic decisions and choices affect many parts of the globe at one and the same time. Today's decisions in New York, Lomé, London or Dublin mean tomorrow's results in places and for people many thousands of miles away.

Political:

The emergence of the EEC, the UN, Comecon etc... World Summits and regulations... the demand for democracy and informed participation... all require political literacy... and not just in a local setting... Again decisions taken thousands of miles away.

Strategic:

Growing tension, unease and conflict... the arms race and the threat on nuclear war... the lack of dialogue and justice... all threaten our security.

Moral:

The need to respond to obvious widespread injustice, inequality poverty and even death at the world level.

Pedagogical:

We need to recognise that the majority of the world's population does not live in the "developed world", that they are increasingly influencing world development issues and that this should be manifested in our curricula. Students need to be intellectually and practically armed to deal with the world as it will be structured in years to come.

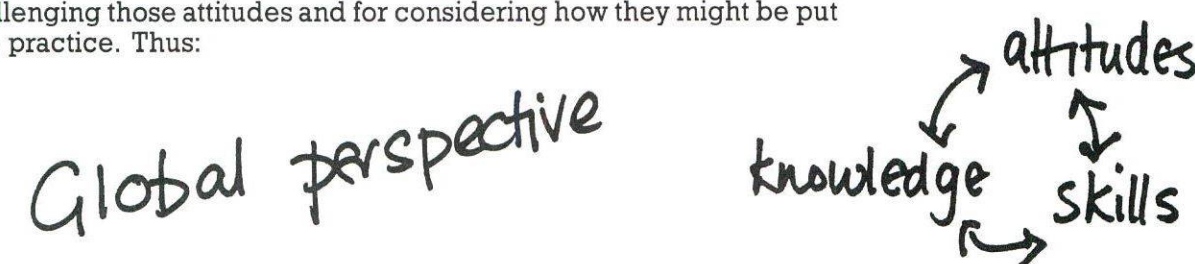
What is development education about?

Traditionally development education has been perceived to be about the "Third World", about poverty, hunger, inequality and our responses to them - charity, aid etc. Many of those involved in aid organisations, both governmental and non-governmental still assume this to be the "Raison d'être" of development education. Embodied in this view of development education is usually a traditional view of development, itself centred on western conceptions of progress. Development involves the transfer of western technology, knowledge, finance and institutional structures. The belief usually is, despite the rhetoric, that we have the answer. This view of development is, of course, an ethnocentric and partial view and usually evokes an educational response which centres on information/knowledge and transmission models of learning. It has been increasingly challenged in recent years.

Some now see **development education as a perspective which seeks to link and analyse "the development issue" at both local and global levels.** In this view, development is a universal phenomenon changing over space and time, a phenomenon characteristic of all countries and peoples and not specific to the "Third World". Indeed they would argue that it is impossible to analyse developments in any one place without reference to the global dimension. Thus development education is about appreciating the global as well as the local debates/decisions and choices surrounding strategies for development. Development education can thus engage development just as readily at local as at global levels. Development education is therefore as much about our society as it is about the "Third World".

The "aid" model of development and of development education usually assumes either that today's world system is basically sound and not in need of replacement or, alternatively, that such questions are "political" and therefore not the concern of educators. Those who view today's development problems as arising from fundamental injustices, imbalances and inequalities reject this argument and instead argue that development is a political issue and that, therefore, development education is as much about political choices as anything else. Hunger, inequality, injustice... the arms race, apartheid etc are ultimately political constructions and therefore need to be challenged politically. **In this view development education is about identifying debating/discussing and analysing political perspectives and choices in relation to world development.** It is not about political indoctrination but about analysing a spectrum of political views and opinions. This is often where development education and campaigning for development part company.

Ultimately development education is about good education in a global framework. It should endorse and practise educational methods which are based on learner centred approaches of enquiry, debate and decision making. It should start, we believe, with an exploration of attitudes and values, develop the skills necessary for debating the role of such attitudes, introduce new content aimed at expanding or challenging those attitudes and for considering how they might be put into practice. Thus:



'Half the Lies are True' is about Ireland and Britain in a wider world framework. It is about debating the divisions between us, our differing perspectives on the world; it is about political discussions and debates about our futures; it is about development, injustice and inequality but it is also about misunderstanding and mutual incomprehension.

In this context local development is seen as a microcosm of global development involving the same range of issues, perspectives, difficulties and opportunities. **'Half the Lies are True' is about discussing the issue of international misunderstanding in our own context.**

Introduction

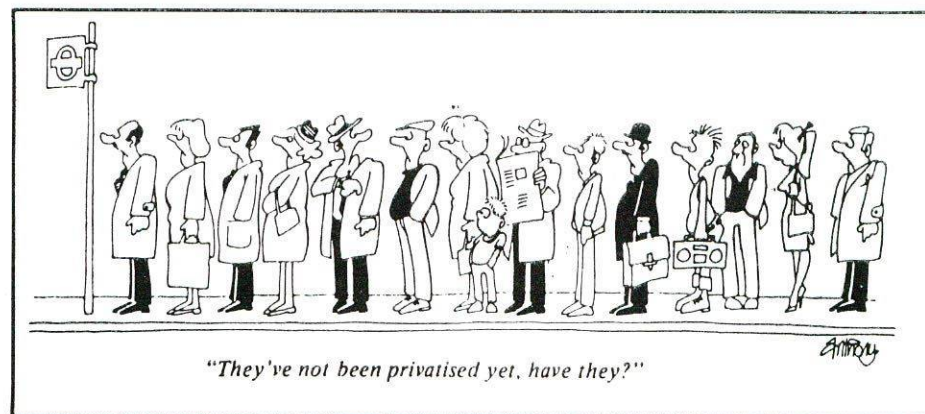
Development Education, as we have said in the introduction, tends to be linked with "Third World" issues in isolation from issues closer to home. Furthermore, we tend to teach about these two types of issues as if they were fundamentally different. In this section we introduce a few examples of development education "going local" to illustrate the argument and to set the scene for the Greystones seminar. This seminar was itself an application of the "going local" approach to development education, in this case exploring the relationship between Britain and Ireland.

The idea of "going local" can provide a useful introduction to development issues. We are able to come to terms with some of the complexities - indeed some of the contradictions - of an issue in our own locality because we are more able to relate to the range of ideas, views and influences which are part of any situation. We can also begin to develop skills in unpacking an issue in order to review some of the basic principles involved.

We are, in both Birmingham and Dublin, familiar for example, with debates about the development of transport policy:

- about the extent different forms of transport are integrated.
- about the priority given to cars.
- about the arguments for and against building new roads.
- about public transport fares.
- about the real costs of transport systems in terms of the environment, health budget, accidents and the emergency services.
- about the ownership of "public transport".

Each of these return to the base line a question of...who should gain from the development of the transport system? To explore these issues is to explore the priorities which are influencing the development of our cities.



The study of a local development issue can help us ask more effective questions about issues in other places. The process can of course also work the other way. The questioning of development priorities in another context may help us to see local issues more clearly. Will the disadvantaged in Birmingham really gain by giving priority to the development of a conference complex...or will it be part of widening the gap between rich and poor? (see page 8)

"Going Local" allows you to start with issues about which there is more familiarity and therefore different views. There is a greater opportunity for students to challenge each other about their analysis...or their attitudes and assumptions, as they bring their own experience into the classroom. Such group skills are important to build up for the study of less familiar issues, that are further away.

As a result of responses to ideas such as these in 'Priorities for Development', 'The World in Birmingham' and '75/25: Ireland in an Unequal World', we have become aware of the danger of seeing the local case study as an easier introduction to development education.

The access to basic food, the availability of health care, water or the right to shelter/housing...to education...to employment are all important issues. When we consider them in the context of our own society they are clearly political issues. Why do we label them as "development issues" in a "Third World" context?

There are many issues in our own locality which reflect the patterns of development/underdevelopment. These patterns are fundamentally similar to those in the so called "Third World". The use of different labels distances these issues from our own experience. Too often we make them into interesting case studies...we do not relate them to the real political issues that they are.

Aid for example has a strong popular image...of charity...of us helping them. We rarely use materials which draw parallels between our experience as aid receivers (see page 11) and our assumptions as aid donors. A debate, for example, about whether students should receive loans for higher education rather than grants is about perceptions of, on the one hand, the grant as a right and on the other as "aid" which should be cut back.

At the time of writing Ethiopia is much in the news, and the focus of many discussions about aid. These reports from Ethiopia and the responses to them over the last year have been a classic example of how an apolitical popular analysis is first suggested and then legitimised. The focus has been on the need for food aid and the problems caused by the weather, to the almost complete exclusion of other more serious questions and issues, (another potential application of the title 'Half the lies...'). Something of how the process of selective reporting works, is revealed in the Irish Rock Magazine, *Hot Press's* coverage of the Live Aid Concert.

Hot Press reported that the British press wanted a statement from U2. Bono gave some quotes to Island Press executive Rob Partridge who took it to the Wembley pressroom, but the hacks saw it, they judged it unsuitable. For the record, this is what worried the tabloids: (U2's original statement):

"U2 are involved in Live Aid because it's more than money, it's music...but it is also a demonstration to the politicians and policy-makers that men, women and children will not walk by other men, women and children as they lie bellies swollen, starving to death for the sake of a cup of grain and water.

For the price of Star Wars or the MX missile offensive-defence budgets, the deserts of Africa could be turned into fertile lands. The technology is with us. The technocrats are not. Are we part of a civilization that protects itself by investing in life...or investing in death?"

Later, an Island spokesman commented dryly: "It wasn't what they wanted. They preferred something glib."

Amid all the glamour, music and accolades surrounding Live Aid, the real issues, expressed eloquently by U2 above tend to disappear. "Popular opinion" does not, as a consequence, see famine in Ethiopia as a political issue.

Going Local

a new conference centre.

The idea of 'going local' is a two way process. The questions we ask about development issues in our own locality can help to build up skills in asking questions about situations in other parts of the world. The complexity, contradictions and different view points which we are able to come to terms with in a familiar context, offer a basis for insights into less familiar situations.

The process is important the other way round too. The questions we ask about a situation in another part of the world when applied to the local context may help us to see through some of the complexities and get to the basic issues.

There is a proposal for a major new conference centre in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia).

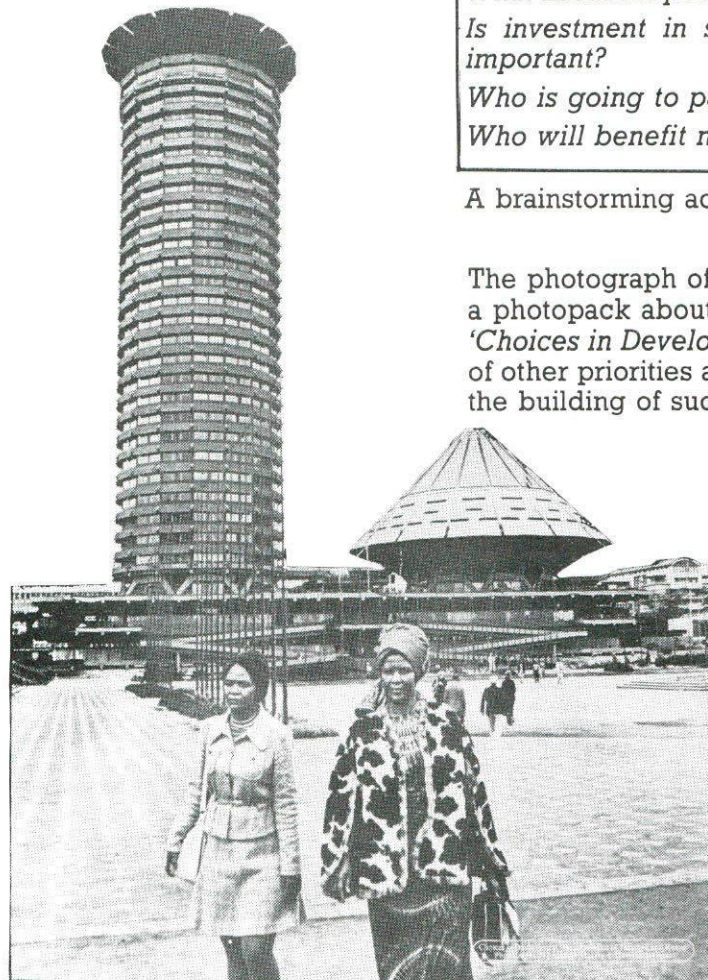
The conference centre will, it is argued, help attract business and tourism to Ethiopia. It would also provide an ideal venue for political conferences such as the O.A.U. (Organisation of African Unity) and enable Ethiopia... "to take its rightful place as one of the leading African states." The conference centre will it is agreed create jobs and demand for a number of services needed by visitors.

What questions come to mind?

Is this the most important priority?
What else could this sort of investment be used for?
Should they not be concentrating on more basic needs?
What about the poor? Do they gain anything from a centre such as this?
Is investment in small scale agricultural development not more important?
Who is going to pay for it? Why?
Who will benefit most from it?

A brainstorming activity may raise questions such as these.

The photograph of the already established centre in Nairobi is from a photopack about development in Tanzania and Kenya. This pack, 'Choices in Development' could be used to take further the question of other priorities and models of development which are assumed in the building of such a centre.



Dublin and Birmingham proposals

There are currently plans to develop new conference centres in both Dublin and Birmingham. In Dublin there is a plan to restore and extend Dublin Castle. The Irish Presidency of the European Council of Ministers in 1990 is given as one of the major reasons for this IR£22 million project. What does this say about how Ireland sees itself in Europe?

In Birmingham proposals are well advanced for a £109 million plan to be completed for Birmingham City's Centenary — 1989. The City is seeking financial support for the project from the E.E.C. and the U.K. Government.

The extract from publicity promoting the idea offers a long list of benefits to Birmingham.

How do the promoters see the future of Birmingham?

Is this the most important priority? Should they not be concentrating on more basic investment in Birmingham people and their needs? Could this level of investment not produce more jobs?

Who is going to pay for it? Why do they think it worthwhile?

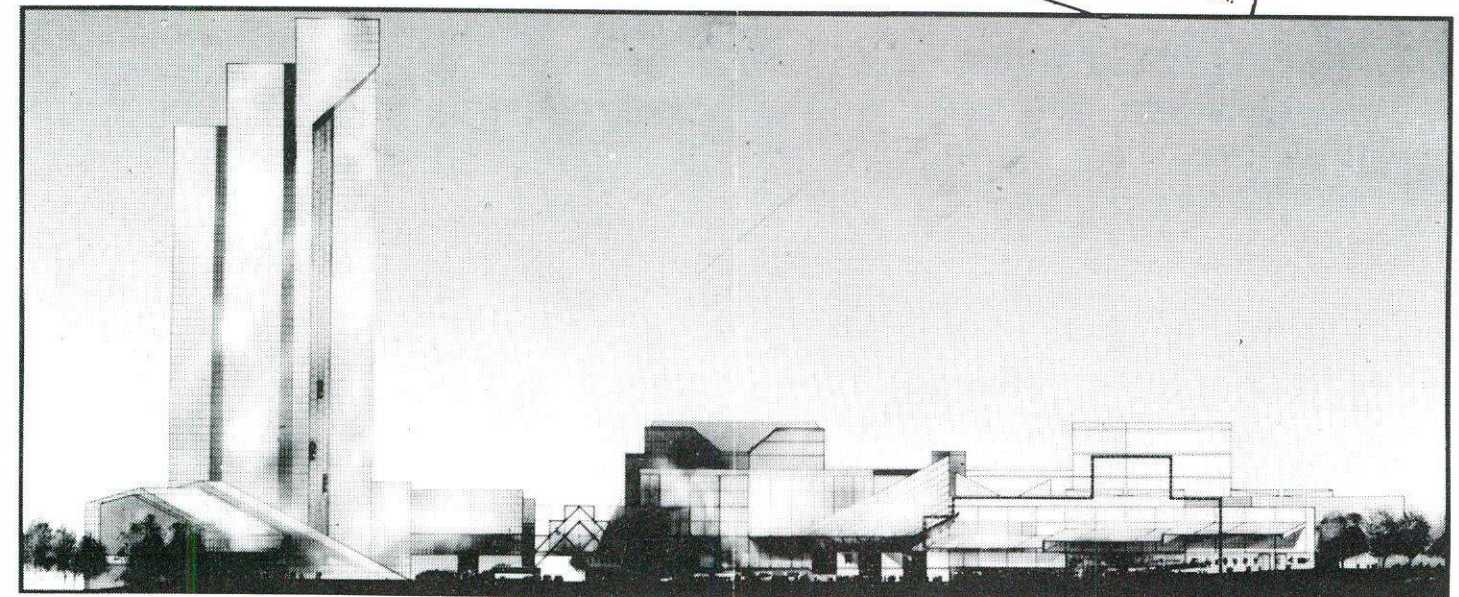
Who will benefit the most?

How do your own answers to these questions influence your thoughts about the conference centre in Addis Ababa?

How do the questions you asked about the Addis Ababa proposal help you to question the Birmingham one?

7. THE BENEFITS TO BIRMINGHAM

- It complements the City's aims on economic regeneration and urban renewal.
- The City of Birmingham's commitment to the European Community by providing a venue for meetings and the exchange of knowledge at a European level. America achieves a common market and an important part of this success is a massive network of Convention Centres. Europe needs to follow.
- The creation of 2733 new jobs and support to 10,000 jobs in the service sector as a consequence of the scheme.
- The creation of £54 million new income per annum to the region.
- Of the total new business created, 55% will be new business to the West Midlands region, 6% will be new to the U.K. and 3% will be additional to Europe.
- The extra generation of 23,500 business visitors to the U.K. and 11,400 extra business visitors to Europe.
- Increasing the size of Birmingham City Centre and intensifying its sub-National importance.
- Act as a catalyst to increase private development activity in the Inner City.
- Providing a strong focus for developing regional tourism.
- Regeneration of the Canals for tourist purposes.
- Stimulating the local craft and souvenir industries such as the Jewellery Quarter.
- Providing a range of facilities for local community use.
- It will complement the National Exhibition Centre.
- It will broaden the City's economic base — Birmingham.



Going Local

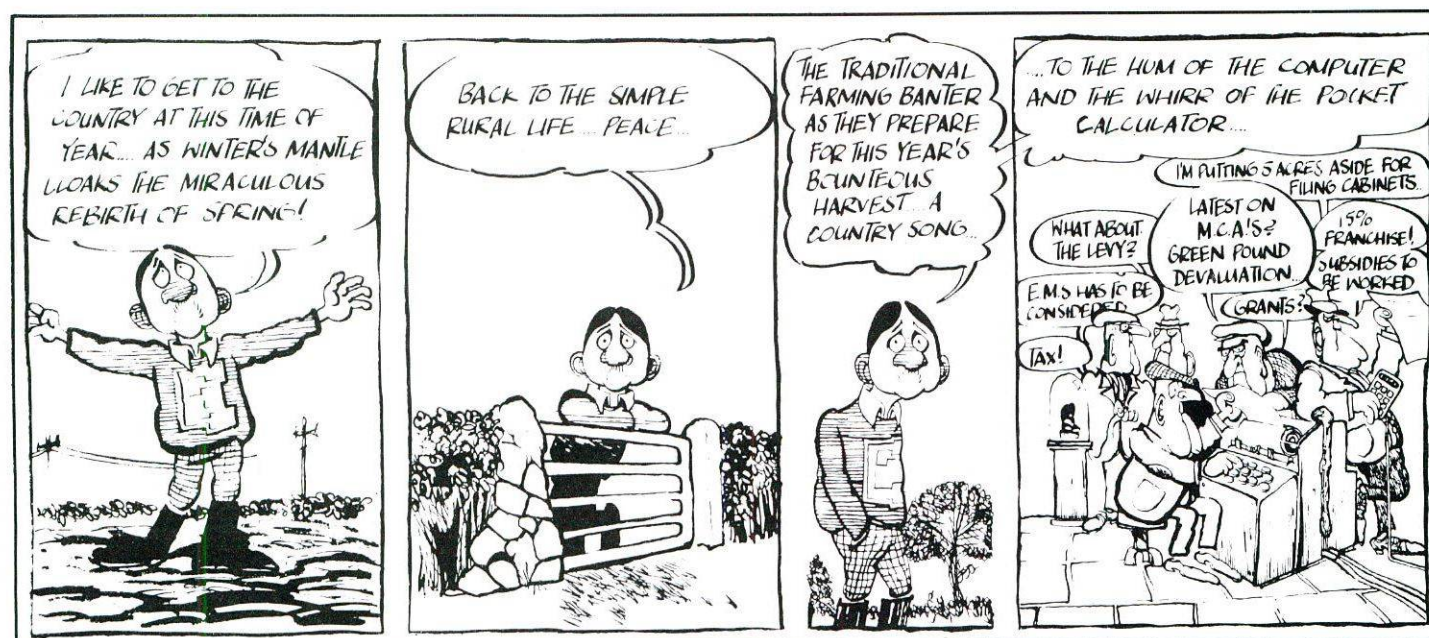
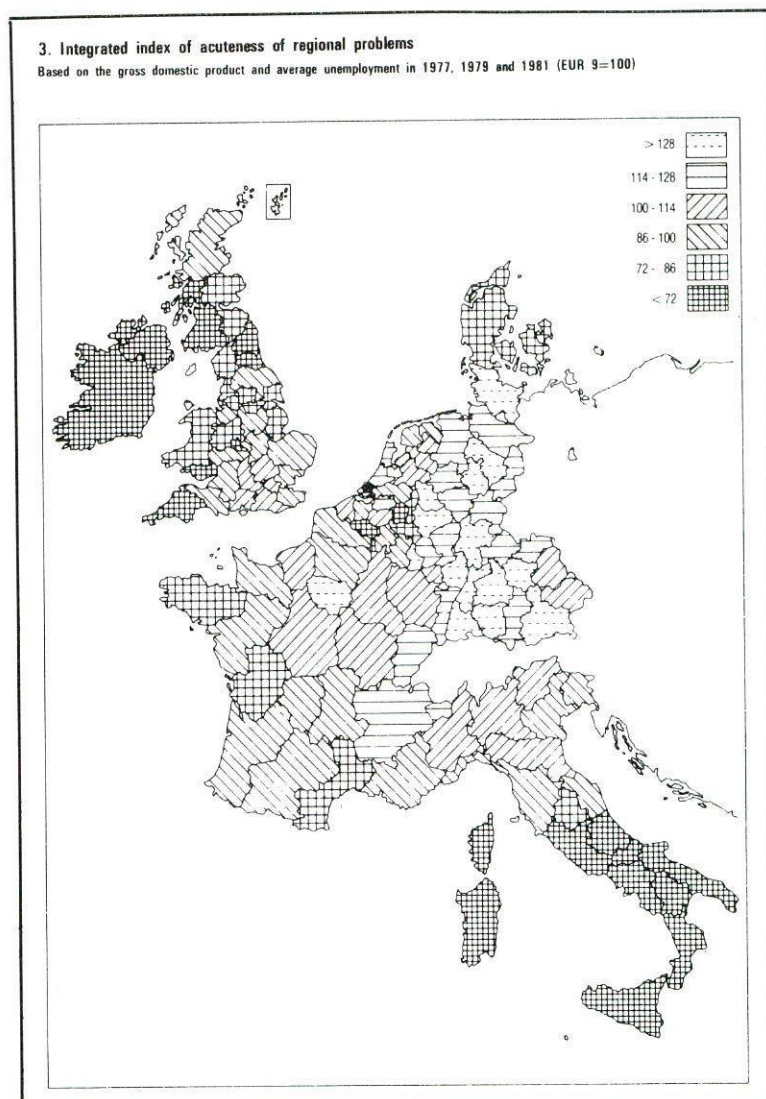
E.E.C. AID

Usually when we use the term "aid" we immediately think of the Third World. Alongside other keywords such as hunger, disaster and even development, the "aid" has become, to a large degree, a synonym for the Third World. The term "aid" itself is also associated with notions of charity, generosity and selflessness. Many people in development education have opposed the constant emphasis on aid because it tends to promote a particular image of the Third World and because it is often used to avoid having to deal with the more politically difficult and sensitive issues of justice as distinct from charity.

One useful and appropriate way to focus on the whole issue of aid, how it is perceived, is to examine EEC aid, not to the Third World, but to the member states of the Community. The arguments used to justify, for example, European regional development aid are similar in tone and content to those of "aid debates" at the global level. The discussion over which regions should get how much, what such aid should be used for and what its results are, are again similar to those in relation to the Third World.



Peace in our time



However, the major difference in these aid debates is, of course, that we in Europe find it very difficult to perceive of ourselves as recipients of aid. Furthermore, our governments and our Euro-politicians certainly demand a "fair share" of European Regional Development Fund aid not as a matter of charity but as one of right. In fact one of today's most vigorous debates within the Community is over who exactly are the net beneficiaries of Community membership.

In the preamble to the Treaty of Rome, which set up the European Community, the member States committed themselves to unifying their economies and to ensuring harmonious economic development by narrowing the gulf between different regions and to promoting the further development of less developed areas. This was to be achieved in 3 ways:

- Co-ordinating the regional policy of member States to ensure the effective and sustained use of resources;
- By taking into account the regional impact of EEC policies;
- By providing direct aid to the regions (via the European Regional Development Fund).

In the first 10 years of the ERDF (1975 to 1984) its finances increased eightfold to a budget in 1984 of 2140 million ECUs (European Currency Unit) or 7.8% of total EEC budget. In this first decade 91% of all funds went to 5 countries - Italy, Britain, France, Greece and Ireland. In terms of spending per head of population Ireland received most, followed by Greece and Italy.

The funds are most often used to create jobs or maintain existing ones, for restructuring industry and for providing roads, ports, industrial estates, power-stations etc.

New regulations for ERDF funds came into force in January 1985 and provide for the division of funds on the basis of the following % ranges.

Belgium	0.90 to 1.20%	Ireland	5.64 to 6.83%
Denmark	0.51 to 0.67%	Italy	31.94 to 42.59%
Germany	3.76 to 4.81%	Luxembourg	0.06 to 0.08%
Greece	12.35 to 15.74%	Netherlands	1.01 to 1.34%
France	11.05 to 14.74%	U.K.	21.42 to 28.56%

So all member States, to a greater or lesser degree, are in receipt of aid via the ERDF. Member States also receive other grants and subsidies ("aid") via the European Farm Fund, and the European Social Fund.



"The figures look better if you squint at them"

The case of the Transnationals

Of the 100 largest economic powers in the world in 1980, 53 were countries and 47 were transnational corporations (TNC's). Today the power and wealth has increased even more. As the Brandt Report noted, these huge companies control between one third and one quarter of all world production and this figure is rapidly increasing. In 1982 the total sales of foreign subsidiary companies amounted to some \$1150 billion, a figure greater than the GNP of all developing countries.

The sheer wealth and power which these huge transnationals can wield and the impact their strategies have on development at world level, have led to demands that strict controls be instituted to prevent the abuse of this power. Some development commentators have advocated that developing countries should not become involved with TNC's because their impact is fundamentally negative while the benefits are negligible. The arguments and concerns have become an integral part of the content of development education.

Because development education has traditionally had an explicit concern with Third World countries there has been a preponderant concern over the impact of TNC's on weaker and more vulnerable developing countries. This is as it should be. However, it has sometimes led to a neglect of, or a lack of awareness of, their equally widespread impact in the developed world. At the Greystones seminar some participants reflected on the fact that they found it easier to identify parallels between the impact of TNC's on Ireland and the Third World but seemed to find it difficult to perceive of Britain or, more specifically the West Midlands, in a similar fashion. It seems that our tendency to define the concept "Third World" in narrow geographical terms leads to difficulties such as this.

Yet the literature of both development studies and political economy is littered with examples of how TNC's view the world (developed and developing) as their stage of operations. They analyse how this international division of labour allows TNC's to choose between different countries, to play them off against each other, to locate different types of activities in different places (e.g. research and development here, part production there, assembly elsewhere etc.), and to minimise the controlling power of any one State. It facilitates the shifting of capital and investment globally thus taking advantage of tax allowances, cheap labour, "Stable" Regimes, resource bases etc.

Thus, increasingly, all countries of the world feel the impact of TNC investment in both its positive and negative aspects. While an area such as Ireland has experienced a short-term inflow of capital since 1960, an area such as the West Midlands has experienced a capital outflow. The West Midlands may then pick up TNC investment in high technology and research (but not in labour intensive industry) while Ireland experiences an increase in component assembly investment. Overall many developed countries are experiencing a flight of capital to certain developing countries thus leading to widespread job losses.

Thus any approach to TNC's needs to take the global as well as the local dimension into account, the attraction of TNC investment to States throughout the world as well as their impact, and the differing roles of developed and developing worlds in this international division of labour.

TNC s and the Developing World

The U.S. and Britain, followed by West Germany and Japan, are the countries whose TNCs own the largest stocks of direct overseas investment. However, between 1971-80 the share of global foreign investment held by U.S. Corporations fell from 48% to 42%. The Dutch share fell from 8% to 7.8% while the British share rose from 13.8% to 14.5%. The Japanese share increased from 2.6% to 7.3% equal to that of West Germany.

The International Labour Organisation has shown that this shift towards certain sectors and countries in the Third World has been accompanied by a decline in job creation in the "home" country and a rapid increase in job creation in the developing world. This involves in particular, the transfer of manual jobs to overseas locations where taxes are less, wages lower, trade union rights fewer and governments more sympathetic to the needs of capital. In turn this has led to a fundamental change in the employment structure of the developed world.

This increased investment in the developing world has not been evenly spread. In the mid 1970's, more than 50% of all investment was in Latin America, 21% in Africa and 19% in Asia. A quarter of all investment is in oil-exporting countries, the majority of the remainder is located in just 15 countries especially Peru, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil or Venezuela. Other increasingly important locations include Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong where Free Trade Zones are expanding rapidly. A national breakdown reveals that TNC's control 70% of manufacturing jobs in Singapore, 35% in Kenya and 20% in both Brazil and Mexico.

The impact of this investment trend is examined in detail by R. Barnett, and R. Muller (1974) 'Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporation'.

TNC s: The Irish Experience

In 1958 the Irish Government published a programme for economic expansion which represented a new departure in Irish development strategy. It represented a turning away from a failed internally oriented one. Ireland's development strategy was henceforth to seek its "engine of growth" in "industrialisation by invitation", i.e. by inviting in transnational corporations.

The programme did not really get going until 1960 and by 1980, over 950 projects had been established employing some 80,000 people or 34% of total manufacturing workforce. The Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement of 1966, EEC membership in 1973, generous tax concessions, political stability, generous plant, training and equipment grants and, in the 60's and early 70's, a "good" industrial relations record, all made the Republic a particularly attractive location for investment in a European context. However, the recession, rising costs, increased union activity, a lessening of tax advantages, the opening up of cheap labour markets in Greece, Spain and Portugal have helped to lessen Ireland's attractiveness.

85% of all investment in foreign firms is in companies originating in the U.S., Britain, West Germany and the Netherlands. U.S. investment has increased from 28% of total in 1973 to 42% in 1981 while British investment declined from 39% to 26% in the same period. Investment has been located in a wide variety of industries such as mechanical and electrical engineering, food, drink, tobacco, textiles and clothing. Since 1978 investment has been concentrated in both mechanical and electrical engineering, consisting of 60% of all Industrial Development Authority grants.

The pros and cons of such investment in both the Republic and Northern Ireland are briefly discussed in Regan, C. (1984) 'The World at their Feet' in '75:25 Ireland in an Unequal World.'

Bye-Bye West Midlands: Hello World

In recent years the economy of the West Midlands has experienced a period of severe industrial decline which mirrors that of the British economy as a whole. Manufacturing employment in the West Midlands has traditionally displayed a higher than average concentration in a small number of large companies. In 1976, 10 companies accounted for 43% of manufacturing jobs in Birmingham alone; in 1978, 30 manufacturing establishments, each employing over 1000 workers, accounted for no less than 32% of total manufacturing employment. Thus local manufacturing jobs remain dependent upon, and vulnerable to, the growth strategy of a small number of large companies.

In recent years, these "traditionally West Midlands" companies, have been transformed into TNCs through the acquisition of overseas subsidiaries. In the same period the top 10 of these companies had an average of 39 subsidiaries operating in 17 foreign countries (including Ireland). All 10 have announced massive redundancies in the West Midlands to the point where many of them can no longer be considered as major employers in the area.

From: Gaffikin, F. and A. Nickson (1984) 'Jobs Crisis and the Multi-Nationals: The Case of the West Midlands'.

Development Education and the Curriculum in Britain and Ireland. The Greystones Seminar.

This seminar and the Project outlined on page 64 are based on taking the ideas and arguments for development education "going local" a stage further.

The seminar in Greystones involved a small invited group, the core of whom were consulted about plans earlier in the year at meetings in Dublin and in Birmingham.

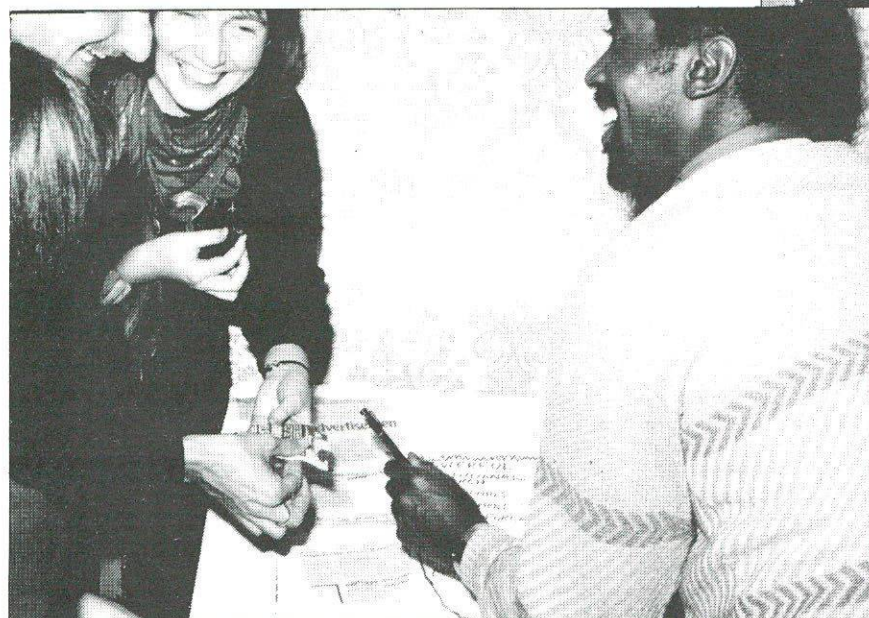
The experience of Trocaire and DEC Birmingham in co-operating over some small pieces of work, suggested that a lot could be gained from time out to see our work in the context of Ireland/Britain in the modern world. It would, not least of all, be valuable to meet people attempting to tackle similar development education issues in the other country. This may even lead to other co-operation in the long term.

It was also hoped that a forum of this type would provide evidence for the potential of more work on the historical dimension of development education.

Friday evening
Group activities to enable us:

- to begin to know each other
- to begin to work together
- to prepare for Saturday

These will also begin to explore our different education systems, perceptions and analysis. Participants will all be asked to bring several copies of various newspapers with them to help with this process.



Dave's Diary

"I don't want to share!!" (Diary: 10 a.m. Saturday)

"Again I'm asked to think about what I want to consider seriously. I don't - I want to be entertained. I want to find a structure which encourages the unexpected, the personal experiences and contacts.

I don't want to share my own agenda because I haven't got one. Do you only have an agenda to explore if you believe you know the answers and wish to persuade others? I'm interested in the questions I haven't thought of, the idea that I haven't got! Not the ones I have already.

On the Friday evening I wrote a flowery introduction to what these notes were going to be. The introduction was stimulated by a visit to St. Patrick's Cathedral. This was my first contact with a La Touche outside the realms of the conference proper (The Seminar took place in La Touche Hotel, Greystones). Three La Touches share a brass plaque in St. Patrick's: a father (an officer in the Bengal Lancers or similar regiment) and his two sons. One died at Hooe, the other at Gallipoli.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori?

But whose country?

Even more striking in St. Patrick's was a vast relief in the north transept commemorating those who died storming the Soh Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon in the "Burmese Wars", accompanied by a large but less impressive (no exotic pagoda portrayed) memorial for the "China Wars". Imperial conquest and the pursuit of the opium trade (and death) beneath rows of regimental flags and above poppy-wreaths from Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador and others.

"We will remember them; but not how or why they died. Or who." The common soldiery is by and large forgotten. Only officers of note or wealth retain such individuality as a brass plaque may provide.

Joe Lee began to give me some of what I wanted, encapsulated in my "biggest worry" of the first day. "That, despite the nice people here, I might leave thinking I had gained more personally by exploring Dublin/Ireland alone, talking to people in bars and cafes and stations and streets, and learning from them and from the feel of the country." For this was my first visit to Ireland.

He provided breadth and detail and vision and style. Or, perhaps, he provided an analysis apparently coincidental in many ways with the spirit of my own ideology. Apparently, for it is more difficult to spot the structure when almost all events enwrapped within it are foreign and unknown.

For my ignorance of Ireland, history, politics, all, is massive. And while I was there, I felt it, painfully. Just to see a newspaper and not to know the hidden messages that you must read before you read. Not to know people, issues, places. . . I wanted to know then. But do I now?

Back to Joe Lee. His themes. "Fed on fantasy, illusions"; "Living a lie". "No identity to sacrifice for, no collectivity to respond to." And his solution: "national unity might mobilise whatever idealism there is."

This, to me, was one of the themes of the conference. People were for ever talking about the importance of national identity. With little dispute. I was told (on objecting) that you don't need nationalism or community if you're a member of a powerful nation or group. As a non-Scot, non-Irish, non-black I didn't need an identity. Perhaps Margaret Thatcher can supply it for me!

But who constructs these identities? Those who claim to speak for nation or community or (sometimes) class too, frequently proclaim their own constructions. Those who differ are traitors.

I ought to say something about the overt (such as it was) agenda of the conference. But others will say it better. In retrospect, it worked very well. There were so many stimulating ideas that I could not do them justice. Many were half-formed or worse but these frequently seemed more promising than offerings from those with well-stocked gladstone bags of patent remedies.

And retrospect made me appreciate too well why the organisers could not appear to arrogate to themselves the role of convening a FORUM with a quasi-substantive output of well-formed formulae and bold rhetorical declarations.

To protect the guilty, I cannot recall the most lasting memories. Friends new-found - if perhaps only briefly. Old friendships renewed; some at length. Friendship lubricated by alcohol, fortified by food, aired by sea breezes and exhilarated by travel, and spaced by the quite remarkable flexibility of the La Touche catering staff. And above all, fostered by conference (dis-)organisation which fostered warmth and conversation more than self-aggrandisement and recitation.

All in all, a weekend oasis in the desert warfare of institutional factionalism, away from the tyrannical commands of Generals Deadline, Can't and Won't.

My ideas - still opaque, lacking the immediate spur of direct 'professional' application. But a revived interest. E.g. re-read "The Great Hunger", but sadly found it most fascinating as a massive example of human sacrifice to what some of 'us' in Britain now call Privatisation and the Free Market. British (English?) insularity still rules, and will doubtless grow stronger as the memories fade. There is little to reinforce consciousness of Ireland in my daily life except the stories of the mass media.

Dave Dunn

First thoughts

We all arrived with very wide ranging expectations which on the whole were also very vague. *"I am sure there is loads of potential but I am not sure what to focus on"*. One person noted even on Friday evening that the problem was going to be that *"things begin to get going when it's time to leave"*.

A number of people expressed worries - especially the British - about being unable to contribute or not knowing much/anything about Ireland. A few worried that Northern Ireland was going to take centre stage and get in the way of open communications/the building of relationships etc. Some of the Irish participants expressed particular concern about not knowing much about development education.

The diaries confirm the observation that the Friday evening groups varied in how they made use of the tasks. Some felt it warmed up very quickly in spite of their own feelings about the need for a good rest. Others felt that the newspapers, though interesting, did not provide the focus for meeting each other or challenging each other's views of the two countries.

The sheer volume of good material from the newspapers clearly did present a problem. It may also have been too easy to divert the responsibility for stereotype images on to the newspapers and avoid challenging our own assumptions and attitudes. This may have been the place to use "awareness" type activities which more directly **challenged** our own images; the need for this was suggested in some Sunday morning diaries.

On the Saturday morning there were two presentations. The first from Joe Lee (*Professor of Modern History, University College Cork and now President at Cork*), the second by Robin Richardson (*Education Adviser, Berkshire LEA now Senior Adviser for Brent LEA*). Their presentations are reproduced in sections 2 & 3 of this book.

The presentations received special welcome in most people's diaries, eg:

"So much of Robin Richardson's memo was so relevant that it was painful".

"Joe Lee answered so many questions - and raised many more".

What is particularly interesting is that in most cases the diaries found value, even excitement, in one or other of the 'speakers' - and were often critical of the other 'speaker'. It is also interesting to note at this stage that many people commented on the reactions of other participants, eg.

"People went on the defensive about themselves". Referred to some reactions to the personal challenges offered by Robin.

"I was surprised that people did not take up his challenges about the Irish identity". This referred to Joe's proposition about the "luck" of the Irish nation in the modern world.

There was clearly from some, a feeling of distrust of the organisers. Perhaps we had been too optimistic about our approach which one participant summed up as - *"of getting a bunch of people interested in development education from Britain and from Ireland together and see what happens"*.

There was, and still is, outside the unreal atmosphere of a weekend seminar, considerable resistance to seeing local - let alone European-development issues in the context of 'third world'. It was therefore, certainly not our initial assumption that the "London, Belfast, Dublin Triangle" would be readily seen in terms of development issues. We were also concerned that any interest in this perspective should grow slowly and in a thorough way rather than superficially in the excitement of a weekend.

We considered it important that trust should build up and that people should meet people - and explore conflicts in that context - rather than avoid them... or to have the conflict block communication. This is a tightrope. Several participants suggested that conflicts were avoided (or did not come up). One person wrote about her *"anger over the British lack of interest"* - but then added in brackets *"(not people here)"*. Was that not too fair on the British participants?

Maggie Allan	Regional Curriculum Development Officer for Strathclyde Regional Council, Scotland. (Modern Studies).
Martin Bowen	Education Worker, Northern Ireland Council for Educational Development. Multicultural Project Derry.
Fionnuala Brennan	Education Worker, Trocaire.
Marje Bridle	Project Worker (DEC Birmingham). in particular 'Seeing into Words' (English Project).
Martin Briggs	Advisory teacher at Drama Centre, Birmingham LEA. Interested in Theatre in Education.
Gilroy Brown	Support teacher working as member of Birmingham LEA's Multicultural Development Unit (MDU) based at Lee Bank J/I School.
Tom Carlin	Education Worker, Trocaire
Peadar Cremin	Lecturer in education (particularly primary education). Mary Immaculate College of Education, Limerick.
Pete Davis	Co-ordinator of Oxfam Education Work in Schools and of the Development Education Grants Committee.
Sr. Sylvia Diamond	Project Worker. Irish Commission for Justice and Peace/Irish Council of Churches Development Education Project (Dublin).
Jim Dunlop	Snr. Lecturer, Jordanhill College of Education. Director of Jordanhill Project in International Understanding. Co-ordinator of the International and Multicultural Ed. Programme of the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (Scotland).
Dave Dunn	Bradford and Ilkley Community College. Lecturer in Curriculum Development and Research.
Brendan Fox	Teacher of Geography. Pobal Scoil Neasain, Baldoyle. Involved in pilot project in both development education and peace education.
Pat Gaffney	Education Worker, CAFOD. (Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, London).
Nora Godwin	Co-ordinator at Curriculum Development Unit, Trinity College, Dublin. Responsible for co-ordinating the setting up of National Humanities Curriculum Project.
Clive Harber	Lecturer in political education, Faculty of Education, Birmingham University. Currently evaluating DEC (B'ham)'s West Midlands-West Africa Inservice Course.
Mary Jackman	SESP teacher (Social and Environmental Studies Project). Sexton St. Secondary School, Limerick.
Elaine Kelly Conroy	Teacher, Geography and History. St. David's Secondary School, Greystones, Co. Wicklow. Been involved in EEC Environmental Studies Project.

Saturday Afternoon The Agenda

The fresh air after lunch was valued by many in their reflections - "an opportunity for airing thoughts too". At the beginning of the session a number of tensions began to emerge. Some people reflect that there should have been more time in different small groups sharing experiences, others suggest that more priority should have been given to the plenary to work through some of the issues which were coming up.

A central issue which came up in one form or another in many different diaries was the agenda.

"The problem is that the organisers did not have a specific goal".

"Directors had a clear idea of what they wanted".

"We need a clearer focus".

"We need a more open (crossed out to honest) agenda".

"There is a hidden agenda... is it the report?"

One person referred to putting the Britain/Ireland relationship on the development education map as being a "hidden agenda". We cannot at this point resist reflecting that if it was, it was not hiding very well!

Some of the frustration was clearly centred on the vague expectations on Friday which by Saturday had evolved into the sense of urgency about the potential of an agenda.

"There was too much on the agenda. (Ireland/Britain Curriculum. What is development education? Northern Ireland, Development, 'The Third World', Different education systems, our own learning, our own experiences etc. etc.)".

Sunday

Sunday morning a majority of the diaries mention:

"Feeling happier..." "got closer to the task..." "talked about more practical things".

"I am taking lots of ideas away... I need to sort them out".

"It made me think more than I had expected".

"It is a good idea... I agree with it... but I can't see any chance of interesting my colleagues... It is not seen as our role".

By Sunday there was an apparent consensus about putting the "triangle" on the development education map but then one of the problems about these sort of weekends is that they can make things like that easier than they are!

The reflections in the last diary entry raised again many questions. It is clear that many found it useful to reflect on themselves as oppressor - and to struggle with the idea - (see section 3).

Did some of the British participants begin to lump "the Irish" together and think of them in terms of oppressed? Is this useful or is it a central part of the problem of international misunderstanding?

"Ireland is being underdeveloped by multinational companies like Third World countries. Can the British not internalise the idea that they are being underdeveloped too?"

Joe Lee had pointed out that there is a problem that the Irish tend to assume the label - "oppressed". He seemed to be suggesting that such an attitude tended to be habit - and even institutionalised. Was Joe Lee right in suggesting that the Irish from the south are not that interested in 'The North' either?

Several people reflected on the extent to which the British asked more questions of the Irish. The Irish did more explaining. This was partly as a result of the venue, in Ireland, but also reflected the assumptions of the organisers about the awareness of Ireland in Britain.

Jackie Kennedy	Teacher of English, the Hillcrest School and Community College, Dudley. Member of DEC (B'ham) English Project - 'Seeing into Words'.
Bob Kirby	Co-ordinator of Manchester Development Education Project.
Joe Lee	Professor of Modern History, University College, Cork.
Pauline Lyseight-Jones	Member of the Team for Racial Equality in Education which was set up by Berkshire LEA to evaluate and develop their work in this area.
Catherine McFarlane	Primary Education Project Worker (DEL Birmingham).
Duncan McLaren	Education Worker with SCIAF (Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund)
Tony Meade	Head of Press Information and Education Dept., Trocaire, Dublin.
Dympna Meaney	Comhlamh (Returned Volunteers Association) Teachers' Group.
Sr. Pat Murray	Principal, Loreto Secondary School.
Cathy Nash	Project Worker at Manchester DEP. Involved in Social Studies Curriculum Project. Starting a Media Project. Currently working for IBT (International Broadcasting Trust) on the use of their TV programmes in schools.
Elizabeth Parkin	Christian Aid Schools Worker, Dublin.
Colm Regan	Education Worker, Trocaire
Robin Richardson	Education Adviser, Berkshire LEA. Formerly Director of the World Studies Project.
Trish Sandbach	Development Education Centre, Leeds. Education Worker with Oxfam.
Alison Sealey	Support teacher working as member of Birmingham LEA's Multicultural Development Unit (MDU).
Felly Simmonds	Resources Worker - Development Education Centre, Birmingham.
Scott Sinclair	Co-ordinator - Development Education Centre, Birmingham.
Mary Sutton	Research Officer, Trocaire.
Frances Thompson	Advisory Teacher involved in World Studies, North Devon Secondary Schools.
Vincent Tucker	Lecturer in Dept. of Co-operative Studies, University College, Cork. (Representative of Cork Wider World Group.)
Sr. Maura Ward	Justice Education Worker - ex. Social and Environmental Studies Project, Dublin.
Bob Waugh	History Teacher, Banbury School, Oxfordshire. Previously worked with 'Third World First' and CAFOD.
Julie Wooldridge	Support teacher for R.E. (Birmingham LEA). Working, at the moment, in six Birmingham secondary schools.

Through Irish Eyes



In this section there are two articles written from Irish points of view but seeing Ireland in quite different ways.

The first is written by Joe Lee (Professor of Modern History, University College Cork), and is based on his presentation at the Greystones Seminar. In 'Aspects of Irish Identity' he explores what, in his view, it is to be Irish in the world today. He starts with the notion that, in recent times Ireland has been one of the luckiest countries in the world. The presentation led to much discussion, debate and argument at Greystones and afterwards.

The second is written by Vincent Tucker (Centre of Co-op Studies U.C. Cork). It is a response which offers an alternative point of view. He considers the extent to which Ireland today is part of a common ex-colonial experience which is closer to that of the "third world" than other European experiences.

The two articles are offered to stimulate something of the type debates which became evident at Greystones. They also provide a valuable introduction to the problems of coming to terms with the nature of national identity and how it relates to world patterns.

Aspects of Irish Identity

Ireland had some claim to being considered a distressful country, perhaps on occasion even 'the most distressful country' in Europe between the mid-sixteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century. However, since the hideous tragedy of the Great Famine of 1845-50, in which at least a million people are calculated to have died, and from which another million fled abroad, Ireland has been one of the luckiest countries in the world. It has suffered no major war, no massive involuntary uprootings of population, no mass concentration camps, no totalitarian tyrannies.

In the struggle for self-determination before 1922, and in the more complex situation in Northern Ireland since then, Irish nationalism has inevitably invested a good deal of emotional and even intellectual effort in nurturing a self-image that presents the Irish as a peculiarly persecuted people. Given the gap between image and reality, this long obliged the Irish to cultivate an impressive capacity for self-deception. The Irish have laboured hard at fostering a sense of grievance. Indeed, a sense of grievance now almost constitutes the central component of Irish identity. As other distinguishing marks fade, this festering sense of grievance comes ever closer to forming the residual core of indigenous identity.

The living of a simple historical lie would be of little interest to connoisseurs of national character. It would be too crude a technique of deceit to detain the observer for long. The Irish sense of grievance survived even unpropitious circumstances because it contains just sufficient historical truth to make it plausible. Hypochondria carries more conviction when the patient also suffers some genuine ill-health. There is just enough truth buried in the Irish folk imagination to make the task of excavating the real truth particularly challenging. It is because, to coin a Hibernicism, half the lies are true, that the Irish capacity for illusion poses a problem worthy of the historian.

The colonial relationship that long prevailed between England and Ireland, and which still continues to some extent in Ulster and more generally in the wider intellectual sphere, strongly influences images by inducing superiority complexes on the one hand and inferiority complexes on the other. These complexes may be rooted in fictions, but they are not mythical. They are very real on both sides, and they are fundamental ingredients in emotional relationships. An inferiority complex fosters a sense of grievance, and heightens sensitivity to real or imagined slights. It incites feelings of irritability and resentment. A superiority complex in turn provokes a sense of disdain, if not of contempt, for the 'natives'. The vocabulary of even benign English discourse on Ireland can still convey an attitude of impatience mingled with condescension towards the indigenous inhabitants for whom, so to speak, we have done so much over the centuries, but who still insist on behaving in a deviationist manner. I am not here referring to the familiar effusions of the more emotive elements in the English media, but to the more mature organs of opinion. Thus the London Times felt no incongruity in complimenting the Cosgrave government that held office from 1922 to 1932 on the grounds that 'Their greatest service to Ireland lies in the proof they gave to an at first incredulous world that Irishmen could govern their own country and govern it well'. Such an observation would scarcely be contemplated with reference to any other country in Western Europe or North America, or indeed in the 'white' Commonwealth, despite the fact that several Western European countries were in a shambles in 1932, and that Britain herself had just resorted to a 'national' government in an apparent confession that the traditional parties were proving incapable of governing their own country well. In the contorted thought process of the scribbler, the comment was doubtless meant as high praise for Mr. Cosgrave, and even for the Irish. But one can see how little obeisance it made to either contemporary or historical fact.

Ireland has
been one of the
luckiest countries
in the world.

Ireland's
colonial legacy
was a
unique
one.

The colonial experience therefore fostered a special relationship, expressed in mutual incomprehension, between coloniser and colonised. The fact that both spoke the same language accentuated rather than reduced the scope for misunderstanding. For English experience of a colonial relationship of the Irish type was extremely limited. It was not, of course, that the English were short of imperial experience. But there is nothing quite like the Anglo-Irish relationship in the rest of their imperial repertoire. Ireland was the only 'peasant' possession close to home. The rest of white Commonwealth, even when partly inhabited by Irish immigrants, did not achieve the 'Paddy' image. Much of this is actually true for Ireland historically, and even contemporaneously. The dirt of present-day Ireland, for instance, points to the powerful legacy of the intimate relationship between Paddy and the pig. But much of the image attributed to 'Paddy' actually refers to qualities that are not in fact peculiarly 'Paddy'. They are peculiarly peasant, in the non-derogatory sense of the word, in that they are common to most long settled rural societies. They were common to much of rural England when England was still predominantly rural.

The dirt, it is true, is peculiarly, if not exclusively, Paddy. Rural Europe is not a dirty Europe. One need only think of the cleanliness as well as the charm of thousands of villages from Biscay to the Iron Curtain. But the Hibernian sense of time, for instance, which so infuriates many of those involved with the Irish, is not peculiarly Irish. It is inevitably different in a rural economy with predominantly seasonal rhythms than in an industrial economy with its linear concepts of time. These differences are rational enough when placed in an economic context, but they tend to aggravate images of unreliability, where unpunctuality tends to become associated with the 'charming' but 'feckless' natives. Given that much of non-agricultural Ireland is still in its first generation out of agriculture, and that the service sector, with its potential for more relaxed rhythms than can be tolerated by belt industrial culture, is so widespread there is bound to be a significant time lag in the full psychic transition from seasonal to linear in Irish circumstances. Irish emigrants, like most rural migrants, whether emigrants or internal migrants, needed a generation or two to adjust to the different concepts of chronos prevalent in urban and industrial society. The transition doubtless appears grindingly slow to the impatient, but is more a function of circumstances than of 'native' character.

Ireland's colonial legacy was a unique one. She was much more advanced, economically and politically, absolutely and relatively, than virtually any other new state in the nineteenth or twentieth century, with the possible exception of Czechoslovakia. Several Latin American countries achieved some sort of sovereignty in the nineteenth century. Several countries in eastern Europe acquired independence, or had independence thrust upon them, after the First World War, as the Hohenzollern, Romanov and Habsburg dynasties collapsed. Many more Third World countries were to achieve independence after the Second World War. None would display the level of political stability shown by Ireland, or indeed the level of political maturity, if political maturity be defined in terms of capacity to sustain parliamentary democracy. Ireland managed to operate a multi-party system, and to avoid military coups and other exhibitions of incapacity for self government, at least as measured in the conventional vocabulary of western political thought. The Irish achievement can be attributed partly to luck, partly to circumstances, and partly to character.

The Irish Free State in 1922 was no normal 'post colonial' state. For one thing, it was no new nation, only a new state. No sense of nationality had been laboriously created. In addition, Ireland was in many respects a quite modernised society. It was virtually 100 percent literate, and educationally far more developed than most other new states. Directly related to its level of literacy, it was a society that had already acquired a good deal of administrative experience. The bulk of the civil service was native. This enabled the new state to take over an existing civil service in 1922 with some minimal changes in senior personnel. And it wasn't only the civil service that had administrative experience. The official bureaucracy was in no way an oasis of achievement in a desert of incompetence. The Irish already ran one of the most efficient ecclesiastical organisations anywhere in the world. The Catholic Church had acquired an administrative structure in Ireland since the middle of the nineteenth century that made it a highly effective bureaucratic organisation. It was on the basis of that administrative record at home, for instance, that the Irish laid the foundations of the mass Catholic Church in the USA in the second half of the nineteenth century, one of the most remarkable institutional achievements of the period. Priests born in Ireland, recruited from rural society, educated in Irish seminaries, and then despatched to the United States, were largely instrumental in building the American Catholic Church as an administrative system. Whether in the civil service, in the Church, in sporting organisations like the Gaelic Athletic Association, an impressive administrative achievement since its foundation in 1884, or indeed in political parties, the Irish proved singularly successful as organisers. If anything, Daniel O'Connell's organisation of his movement for Catholic Emancipation in the 1820s and for Repeal in the 1840s could claim to have pioneered the mass political organisations of the modern world.

The administrative achievements of the Irish at home and abroad belied the condescending assumption of the imperial mind that the Irish were unfit for self-government because they were temperamentally incapable of administration. Why the imperial mind felt obliged to indulge in such a degree of illusion in the face of the evidence cannot detain us here. The imperial instinct obviously desperately needs its own illusions.

Equally illusory was the imperial illusion that the Irish lacked a capacity for politics, presumed to be the prerogative of 'mature' and 'adult' peoples. Again, the imperial perspective was a parochial one. The Irish had, after all, taken to American politics like ducks to water. The water may have been murky enough at times, and Tammany's reputation did not commend it to armchair liberals, but the fact remains that the common Irish - and most emigrants came from the lower orders of Irish society - quickly proved their ability to perform effectively as political pragmatists in the most dynamically expanding society of the nineteenth century world, far removed from the Celtic mists in which it pleased the imperial instinct to imagine them perpetually wandering.

The Free State was of course fortunate, at least in the short term, in that it was not plagued by some of the more intractable problems afflicting many new states. Thanks to partition, it had no racial problem. The racial problem in Ireland was now incubated safely behind the border. The Protestant minority in the South after partition would dwindle away. But this was due far more to losses through inter-marriage with Catholics than through overt public discrimination. Several of the new eastern European states discriminated against their Jewish population. Whether Ireland would have sunk to the same level of anti-semitism in similar circumstances, we cannot say. It was perhaps fortunate for her good name that history saved her from the temptation.

The Irish were
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administration
??

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Partition
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sore.

Despite the advantages inherited by the new state in 1922, the Irish still managed to mount a civil war. Contrary to fond Irish illusion, civil wars are not normal in post-independent ethnically homogeneous societies. There have of course been many civil wars in post-independent situations. But they have usually revolved around issues that did not intrude on the civil war scenario in Ireland. That civil war was fought mainly over the terms of independence, and particularly over the oath of allegiance to the King of England, and not over internal social problems. Other civil wars of the period - the Finnish or the Hungarian - were fought over what might be called substantive social issues concerning the correct ordering of society, not over the terms of independence as such. 'Civil' wars in Africa normally reflect tribal rivalries. The conflagration on the Indian sub-continent can be classified with the wars of religion. A civil war between nationalists and unionists would have been a fairly normal case as civil wars go. A civil war of the Irish type between varieties of nationalists, though not unique, was unusual. It suggested that despite the fortunate inheritance there was potential for political disarray in the society had the war not been brought to a rapid conclusion. Nor was it by any means a foregone conclusion. In the event, the government forces won quickly and decisively. But the military situation at the outset was much more finely balanced than the speed of the victory might suggest. It was only the monumental incompetence shown by some anti-Treaty leaders that enabled the government to so quickly establish its authority over most of the state.

Once the civil war was decided, what did the successive governments of the Free State and the Republic do with independence? How did they respond to the main challenges of the successive decades? Partition remained a festering but fitful psychic sore. For practical purposes it played virtually no role in Irish politics until the minds of politicians and people were reluctantly forced to address it by internal events in Northern Ireland after 1969. Platform rhetoric did of course pay due obeisance to partition as occasion demanded, but Irish domestic politics proceeded as if it didn't exist.

The official mind regularly pronounced the revival of the Irish language a central national aim. The public began to recognise quite shortly after independence that the effort was essentially futile, at least along the lines promoted by government. That did not prevent the investment of some financial and huge emotional resources in the campaign subsequently. Despite the sincerity of many of the individuals involved, the whole language revival effort amounted to living a public lie. This imposed a burden on the popular psyche. The Irish have proved at least as adept as most other peoples at living with contradictions, at reconciling the irreconcilable by the timely turn of the head as the naked emperor traipsed by. But they have done so only by investing heavily in fantasy. The realisation, however subconscious, however inarticulate, that a central tenet of national doctrine was essentially a fake could only have extracted a heavy psychic price from a sensitive people.

The role of emigration in the economy, the society and the polity intensified the psychic pressures by compelling further recourse to the illusionist escape route. Population patterns were the most distinctive socio-economic feature of the Irish experience since the mid-nineteenth century. Ireland was the only European country to actually lose population for more than a century after 1845. While marriage patterns themselves became unusual, it was emigration that caused the decline. The rhetoric of Irish nationalism, whether Home Rule or Sinn Féin, was that once the country achieved independence it would of course solve emigration. Emigration was the result of English misrule. Therefore once English misrule had terminated, then all these problems that resulted self-evidently from English malignancy would be solved at a stroke by the application of Irish good will, not to speak of Irish rationality.

The reality was different. Emigration continued for a further forty years. In fact, the emigration rate soared during the 1950s to the highest rates since the 1880s. It dawned on even reluctant Irish minds that this 'curse' could not be solely the product of English misrule, but must be attributed to something else. But what? It was in fact the social structure of rural Ireland that created a surplus population in the countryside, and Irish inability to industrialise that condemned that surplus population to emigration. But attributing emigration to the needs of the existing social structure would be subversive of property interests. It was too dangerous an interpretive route to follow. Alert apologists for the prevailing property and power system had sensed the danger, and sought for their explanation in the individual irresponsibility of the emigrants. Emigration ceased to be a problem, and became a mystery. How could any but the deluded - and "flighty females" were notoriously prone to delusion - possibly wish to abandon a society of such patently superior moral virtue for the 'tawdry splendours' of New York or London? The answer must be that they were misguided by the cheap allure of bright city lights, through misleading messages conveyed in letters home, or later in that satanic snare, the cinema.

The official mind managed to evade the intellectual challenge posed by emigration until the late 1950s. The outflow then became so large that some politicians and civil servants succeeded, at least for a time, in rousing the commitment, and mobilising the intellectual resources, to tackle the problem. First, the diagnosis had to change. There could be no problem, after all, if the explanation continued to be 'individual irresponsibility'. For roughly a decade, a political elite led by the Taoiseach from 1959 to 1966, Sean Lemass, and a bureaucratic elite, led by the Secretary of the Department of Finance from 1956 to 1969, T. K. Whitaker, succeeded in confronting reality. They bluntly argued that emigration was due to the legitimate economic aspirations of the emigrants, not to their defects of character. By no means all politicians or civil servants at the time shared either their sense of urgency or their sense of commitment. When their leadership faded from the scene, the whole quality of decision-making declined again, despite the continued presence of a number of dedicated civil servants. As the '70s drew to a close, the Irish flight from reality acquired new momentum. Emigration rose once more in the '80s, thwarted only by the continued heavy unemployment in Britain, which left many aspiring emigrants stranded in Ireland.

When one drew aside the verbal veil, one could detect a consensus in the Irish society after independence about the action required on the main items on the national agenda. Nothing could be done about partition. Nothing would be done about the language. Nothing ought to be done about emigration.

Two further aspects of post-independence have affected Irish perceptions. The first is economic failure. The promise of independence had ritualistically included prosperity. But prosperity was slow in coming. In truth, the Irish enjoyed a by no means poor existence, in terms of per capita income, at the time of independence. They certainly lagged well behind Britain, with about 60 percent of British per capita income. But then most of the world lagged even further behind. Most northern European economies were also generally lagging about 40 percent behind the British per capita income at this time. It was only by British criteria, not by general European criteria, much less by universal criteria, that Ireland was backward in per capita income terms. But it is also true that per capita income was a somewhat indulgent criterion by which to measure the quality of Irish economic performance. For it was rising through a decline in the number of heads as well as through a rise in national income. It was a unique Irish solution to a universal problem. Irish growth rates were modest. But because of the deftness with which she exported her 'surplus' population, the growth in the rate of per capita income was much more normal by European standards.

... "flighty females" were notoriously prone to delusion....
??

Ireland has not urbanised.
It has Dublinised.

As the '70s drew to a close, the Irish flight from reality gained new momentum.

Between 1922 and 1939, the gap with Britain widened. Furthermore, a gap began to open up between Ireland and a number of northern European states. That gap would widen sharply after the Second World War, and a new gap would open between Ireland and other European states which had continued to lag between the wars. As economic growth became increasingly the criterion of comparative national virility between states, Irish performance began to appear increasingly puerile as Irish growth rates lagged dramatically behind European averages between 1945 and 1960. It was at this period that Irish per capita incomes fell sharply behind. And although Irish growth rates increased abruptly after about 1960, this only sufficed to bring them abreast of European averages. Because of the extent to which Ireland had fallen behind, similar growth rates still meant a continual widening of the gap in absolute terms. In 1922 Ireland belonged in the general cluster of Northern European economies that were bunched together some distance behind Britain. In 1984 Ireland ranked clearly fourteenth out of fourteen, about 30 percent behind Britain, which herself had fallen sadly in terms of economic pre-eminence, having grown even more slowly than Ireland in the preceding fifty years. This now left Ireland with only half, or less than half, the per capita income of the rest of the northern European average. Ironically, the Irish fixation with Britain served to conceal from many the relative decline in the Irish performance compared with the rest of Europe. Once Ireland more or less held her comparative distance from Britain, she was presumed to be performing reasonably satisfactorily. The fact that some absolute growth occurred also tended to conceal the fact of relative decline from minds too provincial to grasp wider realities. From the point of view of political stability, that may have been just as well. Provincialism can be a great help for stability on occasion. From the point of view of real achievement, however, Irish ambitions became blunted until realisation of the more rapid rates of change beyond the Channel began to penetrate Irish consciousness by the late '50s.

The second distinctive feature of Irish economic development was the growth of Dublin. The Greater Dublin area has grown faster than that of any other metropolitan area in northern Europe since independence. It now accounts for over 35 percent of Irish population, roughly double the proportion sixty years ago. Very few other metropolitan areas in northern Europe contain more than 20 percent of the national population, and several contain a good deal less. Much of the Irish nationalist imagination fostered an image of a vibrant rural culture, allegedly morally superior to a decadent urban one. The dominant rhetoric of the first generation after independence paid dutiful homage to images of bucolic bliss. All the time the population was shifting slowly but relentlessly. Insofar as it stayed in the country, the move was not just towards the town, but mainly towards Dublin. Ireland has not urbanised. It has Dublinised. There could have conceivably been advantages in the clustering of the vast majority of decision-makers in one centre. That sense of solidarity, that capacity for consensus which scholars have identified as vital to the generally impressive performance of the small European economies since the Second World War, might be assumed to emerge naturally from so overwhelming a clustering of decision-makers in Dublin. It didn't. Ireland succeeded in devising institutional structures which combined maximum centralisation with maximum fragmentation. The result was the spread of apathy among the populace at large about decision-making procedures from which they were excluded. A sense of dependency on a bureaucratic regime, tempered only by political favouritism, was thus fostered. At the same time, centralisation failed to reap the putative advantages of elite cohesiveness.

Ireland — a 'Third World' microcosm?

Dublin is not a big city by international standards. Greater Dublin's population has still to reach a million and a half. But Dublin has managed to become plagued with a level of drugs and loneliness associated with much bigger cities. It was the failure to anticipate the challenge of urbanisation, partly because of the mental blockage caused by the prevailing rhetoric of ruralism, that condemned it to being a cancer rather than a cynosure of urbanisation. No capital city in Europe has developed so rapidly so recently. It ought therefore to have been in a position to learn the lessons of previous urban development. It failed to do so.

The Irish experience since 1922 therefore consists of a series of divergences, more or less sharp, between image and reality, between promise and performance, across a whole range of activities - in politics, in culture, in population, in the environment, in the economy. The constituent elements of nationality, which had roused so much hope on the eve of independence, were withering away one by one. Where could the battered psyche seek solace?

There was little to turn to except Catholicism. And Catholicism did not fail the prodigal psyche. One reason for the triumph of Catholicism for forty years after independence was that it was the main area in which there was something that could be considered distinctively Irish, where there was some correlation between image and reality. There was a vibrant Catholic Church. It delivered. There was a magnificent missionary effort. There was a genuine devotion. It may have been to some extent a drilled devotion, even at times an opportunistic devotion. But it was there. It seemed to stand almost independent of the shadowy half-truth existence in which the rest of life was lived.

The Catholic Church was the one major institution that was not subverting the self-image. It was the only institution that proved capable of providing the sense of collective bonding that all peoples need. The Church has often been criticised for its triumphalist posture, for taking the high ground so confidently, not to say arrogantly, for using or even abusing its influence. One curt answer to that would be that the Church only did its duty. If other rhetoricians had lived up to their protestations as effectively as Churchmen did to theirs, then the country might have been much more vibrant. Some might argue that it was precisely the pervasiveness of Church influence that prevented the others from achieving their aspirations. But I find difficult to take that reasoning seriously except in a very limited number of cases.

Since the '60s, however, the Catholic Church has surrendered the high ground, but nothing in particular has replaced it. There is virtually no collective bonding in Irish society. The language revival appears to have failed. The economy is a shambles. Dublin is a mess. Emigration is still low, but only by default. The absence of a sense of collective identity, the glaring lack of consensus, is reflected in the crudity of the sectoral struggle. There is no collective ideal which can transcend sectoral selfishness, and to which idealism can respond. There can still be enormous individual generosity, as reflected in responses to the Ethiopian famine appeals, to Live Aid, or to humanitarian causes that tug at the nation's heart strings. But people will not do as collectivities what they will do as individuals, because there is no collective ideal to which to respond. Whether such a collective ideal, broadly conforming to reality, can now be found, and whether the Irish can finally face the real world without resorting unduly to deception, either of themselves or of others, will largely determine the quality of their future performance.

This piece draws freely on sections of the forthcoming book, 'Government, politics and society in modern Ireland', by Joe Lee, where a full documentation will be supplied.

...the mental blockage caused by the prevailing rhetoric of ruralism...

There was little to turn to except Catholicism.

Much of what is regarded as unique in the experience of Ireland is common to other colonial and ex-colonial Countries.

There is a marked reluctance among the Irish populace, and in particular among academics and politicians, to view Ireland as a "Third World" country, or to compare our problems with those of other developing countries. We are quick to point out that Ireland is the 26th richest country in the world. We prefer to see ourselves as "Good Europeans" or as the "Young Europeans". The better off are particularly reluctant to make the comparison.

The writing of Irish history has largely been an ethnocentric pursuit. The emphasis has been on the uniqueness of the Irish experience. However, while Ireland is unique when considered in the European context, it is but a particular example of common worldwide processes when compared with the experiences of countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, with which Ireland shares a history of colonialism and underdevelopment. For example, Ireland's emigration problem has been treated as a unique phenomenon. However, when regarded in a broader comparative perspective it is typical of the rural-urban exodus which has led to an underpopulated countryside and overpopulated cities in many 'developing countries'.

The contribution of Irish economists has been dismal. They have been happy to borrow their economic theories from Britain and the U.S. and apply these to Ireland despite the fact that they were conceived in circumstances totally different from ours - i.e. that of highly industrialised imperial powers. Even the much hailed economic revolution of 1958 when Ireland's economy was "opened up" was little more than the adaption of Keynesian economics in Ireland. Yet Ireland (with the exception of the North) was virtually un-industrialised when it gained independence in 1922. It was economically dependent on Britain with whom it conducted more than 95% of its trade. Such problems, the need for the industrialisation and the problems of dependency, were faced by Latin American economists in the 1950's and 1960's and which devised critiques of monetarism and of the policies of the IMF. It is astonishing to see Irish economists grappling with similar problems twenty years later, totally unaware of the work of their Latin American colleagues.

Like other ex-colonials we like to be regarded as modern and to distance ourselves from images of poverty associated with our past. Furthermore the ongoing struggle in northern Ireland makes Irish politicians wary of expressing too much solidarity with liberation movements elsewhere. The "Third World" is too close for comfort.

Much of what is unique about Ireland in a European context is commonplace when Ireland is compared with Third World countries.

Comparative analysis of the common problems and patterns which we share with Third World countries would provide new insights into both Ireland's historic development and contemporary problems.

Such an analysis of Ireland's experiences in the period following independence would help provide a greater understanding of Third World struggles.

The greater part of the world today is still undergoing problems of industrialisation, coping with a heritage of colonialism and underdevelopment, and attempting to form independent democratic institutions. In all of these tasks, struggles analogous to those of Ireland are being fought. An analysis of Ireland's heritage from a Third World perspective, therefore, would seem to hold valuable insights, not only for other Third World countries facing similar tasks, but also for contemporary Ireland.

Ireland: a Third World microcosm - Common Heritage.

Ireland was the harbinger of the demise of European colonialism and a precursor and prototype of much of what later transpired in the Third World. The now familiar pattern of rural and urban guerilla warfare, massive demonstrations, boycotts, hunger strikes, political funerals, and appeals for international assistance were central aspects of Ireland's independence struggle.

In the period following independence also, Ireland was a microcosm of the civil wars, class conflicts, ideological battles, political murders, threats to outside intervention (by the British in the period following the treaty and by both the British and Americans during World War II), which have characterised the post-independence struggles of most modern ex-colonial nations. Ireland's independence movement in the period leading up to 1922 resembled that of later anti-colonial movements, in that it was composed of a temporary coalition of social groups and classes.

As in numerous other ex-colonial settings, the different interests of the various classes led to a brief but bitter civil war in the period following independence. While it can be said that Ireland has not suffered from the spate of coups d'etat which have characterised many other newly independent countries, there were occasions when the threat was real enough.

In the economic sphere, also, Ireland's development strategies are worthy of consideration as they can throw some light on contemporary development debates in the "Third World". Ireland gained her independence at a time when there were few models of post-colonial development strategies to emulate. Ireland could be said to have pioneered an elaborate experiment in self-sufficiency which combined the formation of State-controlled bodies in key-sectors with private enterprise. It was an ambitious attempt to reorient the entire economy. Similar experiments were attempted in Latin America and later in Africa, but systematic comparisons of the successes and failure of these and of the earlier Irish experiment have never been made.

Ireland pioneered the Free Trade Zone, which has since become a central feature of national development strategies in Asia and South America. It evolved a model of export-led industrialisation and has been one of the most successful countries in attracting foreign capital - generally in the form of Transnational Corporations. At a time when such industrialisation policies, based on generous tax incentives, repatriation of profits, cheap labour, generous grants, and the domestication of trade unions, are being proposed to the newly-industrialising countries, comparisons with Ireland's policies, which have now been in action for some three decades, would prove both interesting and useful. Comparisons with other "successful" models such as the "four dragons", Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea, could be especially revealing.

Ireland adopted an independent stance in matters of foreign affairs... this position created a precedent, the significance of which was recognised by those countries which later gained independence.

India was influenced by, and followed in the footsteps of, Ireland, going on to become a leader in the non-aligned movement. This position of positive neutrality was later to become the mainstay of the foreign policy of the emerging nations of Asia and Africa. While such "neutrality" was something of a necessity for newly independent countries attempting to distance themselves from their former colonisers, it also had a positive dimension.

One of the most significant incidences of Ireland's political independence came in 1957 when we voted in favour of a discussion on the question of the representation of China in the U.N. This was done in the teeth of considerable pressure from the U.S. and earned Ireland the reputation of being a "bloody maverick". The most recent manifestations of Ireland's independence in international affairs has been its position in the Falklands/Malvinas dispute when it condemned British aggression.

In view of Ireland's stance in world affairs since her independence, it can be argued that Ireland was a forerunner of what became known as "Third Worldism" in the 1960's. The term "Third World" was applied by Franz Fanon to the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa, who were attempting to devise a third path to development independent of the two major power blocs. Ireland can genuinely be said to have attempted such a path despite the efforts of various historians and politicians to discredit it.

Irish writers and revolutionaries were among the first to criticise the types of domination that would later be castigated by "Third World" anti-colonials.

Irish revolutionary leaders, such as Pearce, Griffith and Connolly, developed these now familiar themes of cultural re-vitalisation, self-reliance and exploitation.

Connolly developed an analysis of economic exploitation which prefigured modern dependency theory.

Connolly's analysis went beyond nationalism and the belief that all the problems of the colony would be solved by replacing the colonial regime with a native regime.

Connolly, like later Third World socialists, was at pains to point out that socialism, both practical and theoretical, was not an alien import but had much that was native to Ireland.

Connolly pioneered the idea that socialism was not anti-Christian but on the contrary had much in common with the original Christian ideal. In this his writings are similar to those of Contemporary Liberation Theologians.

The theme of self-reliance, a common theme in Third World countries, was developed by Arthur Griffith, an influential middle class politician. His programme involved cultural regeneration, political reorganisation and economic self-reliance.

In the economic sphere also, Griffith was opposed to England's industrial penetration of Ireland and urged support for indigenous industries. He proposed a "Buy Irish" programme, even if the goods cost more, and demanded that Irish industries should be sheltered by tariffs. He proposed a comprehensive programme of economic self-help in which the establishment of a national identity would be supported in both the industrial and agricultural sectors. He argued that to remain solely agricultural was to remain dependent on others.

An analysis of Ireland's heritage from a Third World perspective, therefore, would seem to hold valuable insights not only for third world countries facing similar tasks but also for contemporary Ireland.

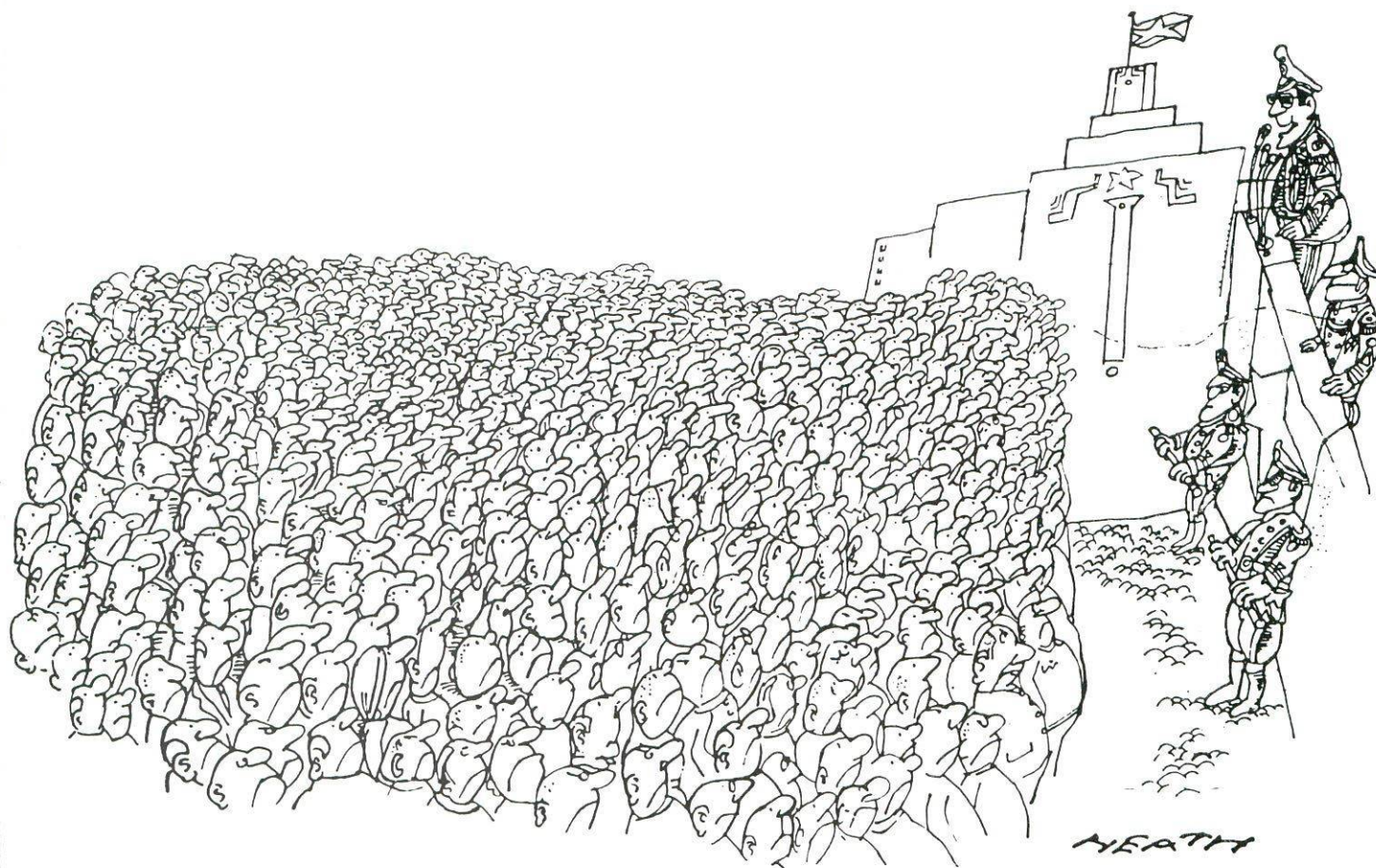


The Nature of Misunderstanding

The major part of this section shares the presentation given at Greystones by Robin Richardson (Multicultural Advisor, Berkshire LEA). His presentation included a detailed review of an extract from a school text book which is attempting to say something about powerful and powerless people. He also introduced some work in small groups which involved us all in thinking a little about our own theories of 'the nature of understanding and misunderstanding'. He completed his presentation by reading a memo. This stimulated much discussion about our own personal roles.

There were many reactions to this presentation both at Greystones and afterwards. We have included one in particular by Clive Harber (Faculty of Education, Birmingham) because it raises a number of 'critical reservations'.

Attitudes and their role in learning are central to many discussions about development education. The final part of this section considers the importance of groups becoming aware of their own attitudes and images of Britain or Ireland. This provides a good starting point to more substantial work. If we, as teachers or group facilitators, do not also explore our own assumptions then there is a danger that they dominate the way we shape learning materials. The section finishes with one small example of this.



"Well, that's enough about world domination, now I'd like to talk to you about double glazing. . ."

Understanding and Misunderstanding - some thoughts towards a theory

This brief paper has three parts. First, some thoughts on the nature of misunderstanding, particularly the structures within which misunderstanding happens. Second, some thoughts on the reduction of misunderstanding or, more accurately, the dismantling of misunderstanding (page 38). Third, some thoughts on the implications of the previous parts for people like myself (page 40).

Part One: Structures of misunderstanding

Any discussion of misunderstanding in international affairs, or indeed in any affairs, has to start with recalling what must be the single most influential document which has been published during the last 138 years or so. I recall the first two sentences of that document:

"The history of all hitherto existing society has been the history of class struggles. Free man and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, have stood in constant opposition to one another and have been engaged in an uninterrupted, now-hidden, now-open, fight: a fight whose consequence has been either the revolutionary re-construction of society at large or the common ruin of the contending parties."

Those two sentences and that document are a product of what the Daily Mail recently called the "diseased minds of a disreputable pair". Marx actually wrote it, but Engels also put his name to it. All theorizing about society and history since 1848 has consisted of footnotes on that document: wrestling with, reflections on, revisits to, revisions of, refinements of, rejections of, refutations of, that document.

All relationships, not just of course international but more to the point intra-national, are relationships between oppressor and oppressed, or powerful and powerless. That is the starting point for these notes.

All international misunderstandings are either between oppressor and oppressed, or are between oppressor and oppressor. In other words inter-state relationships cannot be disentangled from intra-state relationships.

It's not enough just to say, however, that most major conflicts are between powerful and powerless. We have to go further. I would like to recall briefly here some of the complexities in which one is engaged if one attempts any sort of structural analysis. Let us look at a piece of curriculum material, an extract from a school textbook in fact, which is attempting to explain something about powerful and powerless people.

It is part of our task, as teachers and educators, to engage in 'courteous translation'. We have to take major concepts like power and conflict and courteously translate these for the sake of learners. Here is one particular attempt. It consists of a metaphor about organisations and institutions. Everyone in education either does work in a bureaucratic organisation or has to relate to a bureaucratic organisation. All of us therefore need to understand something about power and powerlessness in bureaucracies. So that is another reason for using this particular piece of material. When I refer to bureaucratic organisations, I mean in particular schools, of course.

I should like to retranslate this material back into some abstract concepts. (See page 36.)

Born in a prison

Prison camps

Imagine a prison camp – say, a prisoner-of-war camp as seen in many television and cinema films; or a concentration camp, as described in books about Nazi Germany; or a prison for political prisoners as described in newspaper reports about the Soviet Union.

In all prison camps there are two main groups of people – the officers and the prisoners. These two groups are unequal. They are unequal in many different ways, but here are five particular points:

1 Power

The officers can force the prisoners to do things, but the prisoners cannot force the officers. The officers can use force because they possess all the things which people need to survive – food, water, heating, clothing, medical attention, and also things like recreation opportunities, lighting, comfort and freedom of movement. Officers can force prisoners to do things by withholding these 'privileges'. But further, of course, officers have weapons, instruments of torture, solitary confinement and so on, which they use, or threaten to use, to force the prisoners to do things.

2 Decisions

Imagine the daily routine of the prison camp – mealtimes, bedtime, working hours, who is in which cell, who does which job when and where, what is eaten, how the prison is heated and lit, how waste is disposed of. All these things have to be decided. The decisions affect everyone. But they are taken by the officers, not by the prisoners. The prisoners are usually not even consulted.

3 Communication

There are four main ways in which officers and prisoners are unequal so far as communication is concerned.

- All the apparatus of communication is owned by the officers – megaphones, bells, pencils and paper, noticeboards, etc. Also the language which is used in the prison is likely to be that of the officers rather than of the prisoners.
- Communication is mainly in one direction – from the officers to the prisoners.
- It is usually difficult or impossible for prisoners to communicate with each other.
- When prisoners and officers meet face-to-face there is inequality in the way they speak to each other. Prisoners have to stand to attention, say 'sir', are not allowed to smile, be friendly, think aloud, make suggestions, express how they are feeling.

4 Freedom and self-expression

Officers can move around within the camp, they can go out of the camp, and they can invite friends to visit them. They can choose and wear their own clothes off duty, perhaps also choose their own food and furnishings, their friends and sexual relationships, newspapers and books, hobbies and various personal possessions. And they can choose when they want to be alone. In all these ways they are expressing themselves, and being individuals. But prisoners have none of these freedoms, and cannot behave as individuals.

5 Work

The prisoners do work which is dirty, boring, back-breaking, dangerous, and completely unsatisfying. Also, although their work may be valuable (like maintenance of the buildings, gardening, making things, disposing of waste), they probably get little or no money for it. In comparison, the work of the officers is clean and interesting, and much better paid.

Those, then, are five ways in which prisoners and officers are unequal. There are two further things about the system in prison camps. These are: 'the ladder' and 'routine'.

Text from "Fighting for
Freedom" Nelson 1978

The ladder

All the officers in the prison camp are on a ladder. On the top rung there is the governor or commandant. Close to the top, just below the governor, there are various high-ranking officials concerned with general policy and management. Then there are the senior warders. Then the junior warders. Right at the bottom of the ladder there may be some 'trusted' prisoners who have been promoted to being temporary junior warders. The higher up a person is on the ladder the more power and freedom they have, and the cleaner and pleasanter their work. All the officers are happy with the ladder system, because:

- Even if they are in trouble with their superiors they always have somebody beneath them who is worse off than they are, and whom they can push around;
- They always have a chance of promotion to a better job higher up the ladder;
- They don't feel responsible for their actions – for they only ever 'carry out orders from above';
- They usually don't see the results of their decisions – in particular, there's always someone else, lower down the ladder, to do unpleasant thing like harassing or torturing the prisoners.

Routine

Everyone, officers and prisoners alike, is ruled by routine. The day is divided up into tight little bits of time in the same way that the building is divided up into tight little cells and blocks. There's a 'right' way of doing everything – the way laid down in the rule-book. The main result of routine is that everyone takes the system for granted. No-one stops to question the system, or think about it. Prisoners often adapt so completely to the routine that if and when they are released they don't know what to do with themselves. Occasionally children are born in prison camps, and they grow up there, and it never occurs to them for one moment that there is any other way of living.

Where are the world's prisons?

This description of how prisons work – is it only a description of prisons? Or are there other places in the world with much the same system?

Look at pages 8 and 9, for example – what do people have in mind when they say that modern South Africa is like 'one big prison'? Or when they say this of any country? For

example, of certain communist countries? Or of certain regimes in Latin America, Africa and Asia? What does all this have to do with human rights? (See, for example, the list on page 30.)

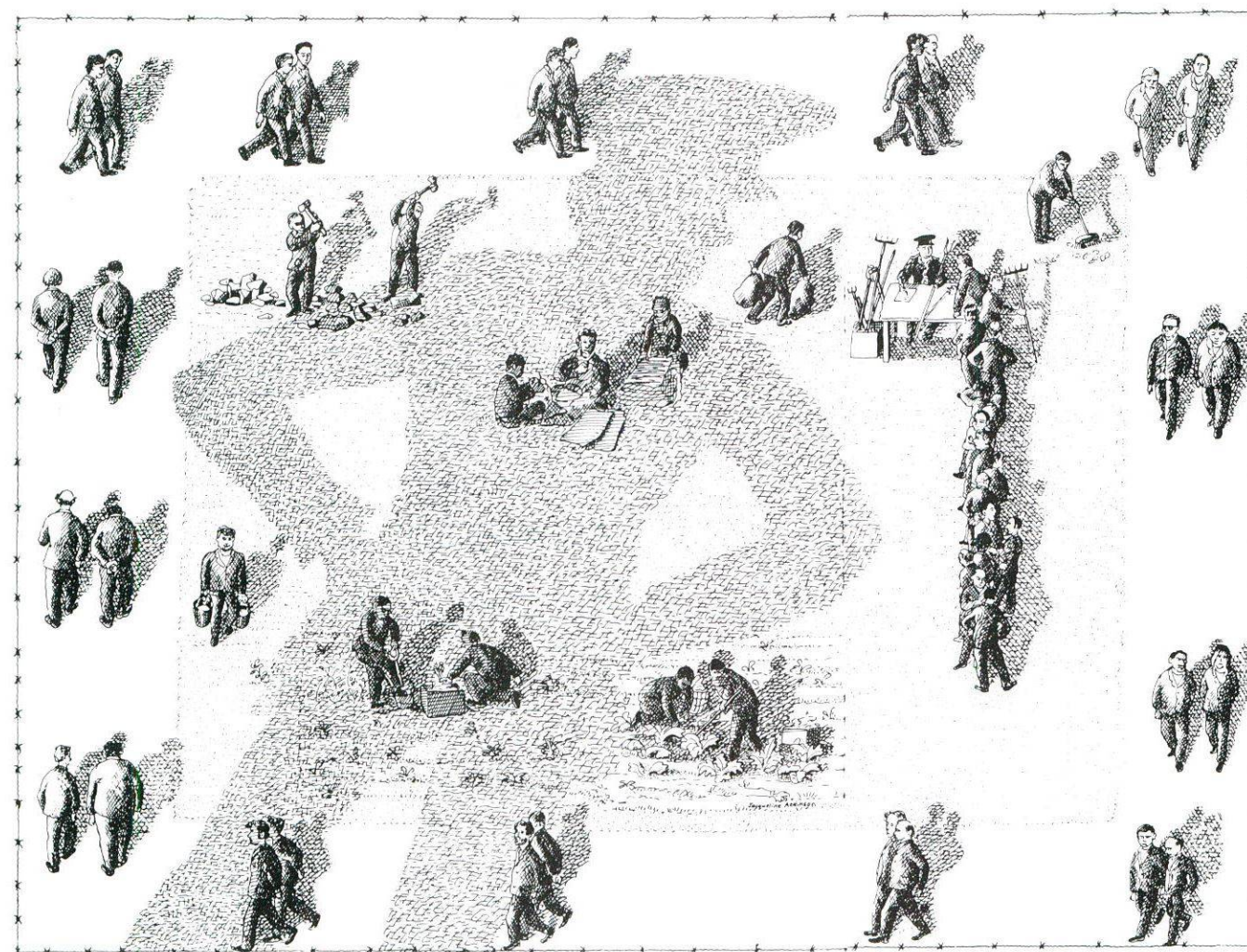
Look also at pages 12–13, 14–15, 42–43. In what ways are certain households, certain schools, certain factories, like prisons? In what ways is a happy family, or a happy school, definitely *not* like a prison?

Courteous Translation of 'Born in a Prison'.

There is interaction of five different kinds of unjustifiable inequality in an oppressive structure:

- (1) *Ownership and/or control of the means of production, and therefore of goods which people need and the sanctions which people fear. Local and national governments, for example, control housing, employment, education, the police, the military and the courts. In a school, teachers control or even own the goods sought by pupils and their families: examination passes, high marks, approval; and they control the negative sanctions which pupils and their families seek to avoid.*
- (2) *Participation in the decision and non-decision making process. Decision-making is formal by people in formalised roles and by committees or assemblies with formal terms of reference. Also it is informal or non-formal - i.e. it takes place through a climate of opinion or a culture which is constructed and maintained by personal interaction in countless venues, clubs, the 19th hole, staffrooms, everyday chat and gossip. Either way, formal or non-formal, decisions are not only about what should and shouldn't be done but also, of course, about the underlying rules and laws according to which things should be done.*
- (3) *Definitions, agenda setting, the flow and control of information - the oppressor owns or controls radio stations, T.V. channels, newspapers and printing presses, and also, at very local levels, overhead projectors, videos, reprographic facilities, chalk and I might add, felt tip pens. The language of communication and instruction is typically the oppressor's i.e. a language or register or dialect of language to which oppressors have greater access than others as a consequence of their socialisation and a result of their daily interactions and conversations with each other. This is known as the "national language" or the "standard language" or "proper language" or, in some places, as the "Queen's" or the "BBC's". The pace of communication and the content i.e. the agenda - these two are controlled by the oppressor. The flow of information in an oppressive system is characteristically from centre to periphery with oppressors in much closer, formal and informal, contact with each other than are the oppressed.*

Because they control the media and contexts of communication, oppressors also have greater power to interpret the rules and the laws. So often in effect there is no reality of "the rule of law" even though there is the appearance. To put it another way, there is "rule of interpretation", not "rule of law".



- (4) *Freedom and self-fulfillment - freedom from external constraints is a necessary (though incidentally not sufficient) condition for whatever human beings picture and pursue as a "good life".*
- (5) *Participation - the good life and self-fulfilment depend not only on freedom from external constraint but also from creative labour - the moulding of the given, the transformation of nature into culture. It is not only the unskilled or deskilled nowadays who do not participate in production but also the unemployed, the underemployed, and the never-employed.*

There are, therefore, five interacting ways in which the powerful and powerless are unjustifiably unequal.

In addition, when analysing oppressive structures you need to consider concepts such as bureaucracy, divide and rule, the creation of bridgeheads, and hegemony. These are referred to in the Prison metaphor under "ladder" and "routine".

Now why look at material such as this? There are five reasons:

- (1) *To remind ourselves of the need for analysis of power and power relationships.*
- (2) *To realise that we need to engage in close and, sometimes, nitpicking analysis of structures at all levels - interstate, intrastate or the organisation of a seminar or conference, and everything in between.*
- (3) *We are all in the business of "courteous translation" - this is but one example.*
- (4) *It emphasizes the importance of organisations and institutions where most of us live most of the time.*
- (5) *It is a reminder that schools are very often experienced by pupils as oppressive.*

Part Two: Analysing and Dismantling Misunderstanding

The two tables on this page outline a series of separate attitudes to power. Or, more precisely, to the distribution of power. They have in mind four main kinds of distribution of power - with regard to:

- race - gender - class and - state.

Between them, the tables propose three main sets of distinctions:

- (1) between those who are 'power-ful' and those who are 'power-less';
- (2) between four main kinds of attitude to the prevailing distribution of power - these are termed 'conforming', 'reforming', 'deforming' and 'transforming';
- (3) between four different components in any one attitude - these are termed 'describing', 'diagnosing', 'acting' and 'wanting'.

The tables assume that in most social systems the power-ful receive more benefits, gains, advantages and satisfactions than the power-less. Correspondingly the power-less receive more losses, disadvantages and diseconomies than the power-ful. The terms 'oppressor' and 'oppressed' are frequently therefore preferable to the terms 'power-ful' and 'power-less'.

The tables are derived — though rather loosely — from the writings of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, and from those of some of his followers in Third World countries. In particular the general framework is derived from some work in Ecuador in the 1970s, as described in *The Meaning of Conscientization: the goal of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy* by William A. Smith, University of Massachusetts Press, 1976.

The tables are offered as a kind of highly preliminary and highly sketchy sketch-map for teaching and learning about power and justice. Also they are a map about, as it were, unlearning — they show various attitudes which teachers will wish to discourage, and to teach against.

POWER AND JUSTICE - TABLE ONE, ATTITUDES AMONGST THE POWER-LESS

		FOUR TYPES OF RESPONSE TOWARDS THE POLITICAL STATUS QUO			
		(1) CONFORMING	(2) REFORMING	(3) DEFORMING	(4) TRANSFORMING
FOUR COMPONENTS OF POLITICAL OUTLOOK	(1) DESCRIBING What is the problem?	EITHER - 'There is no problem': OR - 'Survival, how to get through one day at a time' ...	'We're not clever enough, not good enough ... and there are certain individual oppressors...'	'The oppressor is the problem'...	'Unequal benefits and losses - that is, injustice...'
	(2) DIAGNOSING What is the cause of the problem?	'There is no cause, things just happen, it's luck, chance, the stars, the gods...'	'The attitudes and abilities of certain individuals, both oppressors and oppressed.'	'Oppressors never give up power of their own free will...'	'The whole network of structures and attitudes which we inherit from the past'
	(3) ACTING What should be done?	'Nothing can be done, just hope for a miracle or saviour, a change in our luck...'	'Improve ourselves, take pride in ourselves; remove certain individual oppressors...'	'Disengage from, resist, struggle against, eventually destroy, the oppressor...'	'Both structural and personal change - towards ever greater equality of work, power, wealth, esteem...'
	(4) WANTING What is the aim?	'Paradise - an end to all our troubles and anxieties, an end to conflict...'	'Make the system work well - harmony, tolerance, equality of opportunity...'	'It is not profitable to speculate about utopia - first destroy the oppressive present...'	'Never-ending, self-critical development towards "a new woman, a new man, a new society"...

		FOUR TYPES OF RESPONSE TOWARDS THE POLITICAL STATUS QUO			
		(1) CONFORMING	(2) REFORMING	(3) DEFORMING	(4) TRANSFORMING
FOUR COMPONENTS OF POLITICAL OUTLOOK	(1) DESCRIBING What is the problem?	EITHER - 'There is no problem (all's well with the world)': OR - 'Survival is the problem - trouble-makers, enemies of the state'...	'If people are poor, that is mainly their own fault...but, certain individuals in power need to change as well...'	'The oppressor is the problem'	'Unequal benefits and losses - that is, injustice...'
	(2) DIAGNOSING What is the cause of the problem?	'Problems are caused by evil - evil people, evil powers, plotting revolution, plotting world domination...'	'The attitudes and abilities of certain individuals...'	'Oppressors were created by history...'	'The whole network of structures and attitudes which we inherit from the past...'
	(3) ACTING What should be done?	'Evil should at least be resisted and contained... preferably should be stamped out...'	'Give people more skills and will to achieve...promote greater responsibility amongst leaders...'	'Sabotage the system from inside ... or disengage from it altogether...'	'Both structural and personal change - towards ever greater equality of work, power, wealth, esteem...'
	(4) WANTING What is the aim?	'Security, order - and absence of threat, anxiety, conflict...'	'Make the present system work well - harmony, tolerance, equality of opportunity...'	'It is not profitable to speculate about utopia - first destroy the oppressive present...'	'Never-ending, self-critical development towards "a new woman, a new man, a new society"...

Paulo Freire developed his theories and teaching methods specifically for the oppressed, the power-less. He worked in nonformal adult education, not schools. Table Two here, however, suggests that his general conceptual scheme may be appropriate for the oppressor as well as for the oppressed. It may also be appropriate for schools as well as for nonformal situations? Does it follow further that Freire's specific methods are appropriate in schools, and with oppressors?

Freire's methods included much use of small group discussion and interaction; dialogue between teacher and learner rather than instruction and lecturing; the use of symbolic or ambiguous photographs, drawings, short stories and dramatic sketches for learners to unravel and analyse; and very close links, continually, between theory and practical action to change, or to try to change, the prevailing distribution of power.

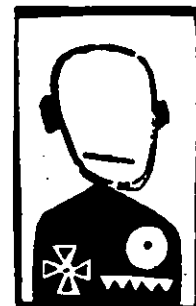
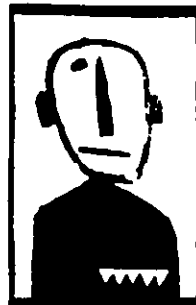
What use may the tables be for actual teaching, in actual classrooms? There seem to be two main advantages:

- (1) The tables show between them the variety of attitudes and perspectives which arguably ought to be reflected in, and presented by, whatever materials and resources we devise or adopt when teaching about equality and justice;
- (2) The tables show between them the range of attitudes and perspectives we can expect to encounter amongst pupils and students, and map out the attitudes and perspectives which we wish to discourage or to promote.

Are the four main perspectives to be understood as 'developmental stages'? That is, does everyone fairly clearly and fixedly adopt one specific perspective on all occasions and in all situations until they 'move on' to a 'more advanced' stage? The answer to this question is surely No. There are two points here:

- (1) Few if any people are 'power-ful' or 'power-less' in every single situation of their lives.
- (2) Many people experience a tension within themselves between the four main attitudes. This is particularly true of the 'power-ful', who can probably never completely rid themselves of the 'conforming' attitude.

I would like to finish with a memo - a private memo
- a memo to oppressors.



Notes on terminology

A relationship, interaction or social system is **oppressive** if it involves gains, benefits and advantages for some at the cost of losses, frustrations and harm for others. **Oppressors** are individuals, groups and classes who have more than their fair share of gains. The **oppressed** are those who have more than their fair share of losses. The archetypal oppressor lives in the northern hemisphere; is middle-class; is white; is male; has a senior position in a hierarchical institution.

Whether you are an oppressor or not depends on your location in an oppressive structure, not on your intention or wish. The question is what are you doing to transform the structure, not whether you wish to be an oppressor.

1 Seek confrontation and opposition

Over and over again you get things wrong. You are deformed and blinkered by your location and experience. You cannot trust yourself, not your eyesight, not your judgement. Seek out people who have a very different location and experience - that is, the oppressed - and heed their critiques, criticism and challenges.

2 Flattery and chance

Day in day out people flatter you. For you control goods and goodies which they desire. The consequence of this flattery is that you suppose with pride that you are in your present position through your own merit and achievement. But no, you are where you are through chance, not choice. You live in a society in which people with certain chance attributes (gender, race, class, nation) get rewarded and flattered.

3 Don't divide and rule

There is a diversity of interests, concerns and priorities amongst the oppressed, and many are prevented - for example by the mass media and by the educational system - from knowing the dimensions and contours of their oppression. You must not take, let alone seek, advantage from this diversity and lack of awareness.

4 Selfishness and self-interest

All human beings pursue and defend their self-interest, yes of course, and all in this do things which are morally wrong. But only oppressors have the power to define which wrong actions are crimes. Also oppressors have the power to define the signs, symbols and conventions of courtesy and considerateness. In consequence of this dual power, oppressors typically think they are morally superior to the oppressed. They are not. Never forget this.

5 Positive action

Regardless of any formal equal opportunities policies which may be around, you should be engaging continually in positive discrimination. Do everything you can to distribute power, influence, resources and goods to or towards the oppressed. You will often have to do this covertly rather than openly: so be it.

6 Acknowledgements

Everyone peppers their discourse and conversation with bibliographical footnotes - references to people from whom they have learnt, and/or people who are big names. Make sure that you yourself, in your footnotes and references, give credit only to the oppressed. This means - amongst other things - that you should indeed reckon to have your mind nurtured only or mainly by the oppressed.

7 The climate of oppressor opinion

Transformation of the system will come, if it comes at all, from the oppressed. You yourself have only a small part to play. But one thing you can do, and should do, is criticise, cajole, badger, pester, speak out, in the forums, informal as well as formal, of the oppressor. But watch out, don't let them dress you in the cap and bells of a court jester, or the stiff righteous collar of a prig.

8 Double-agents

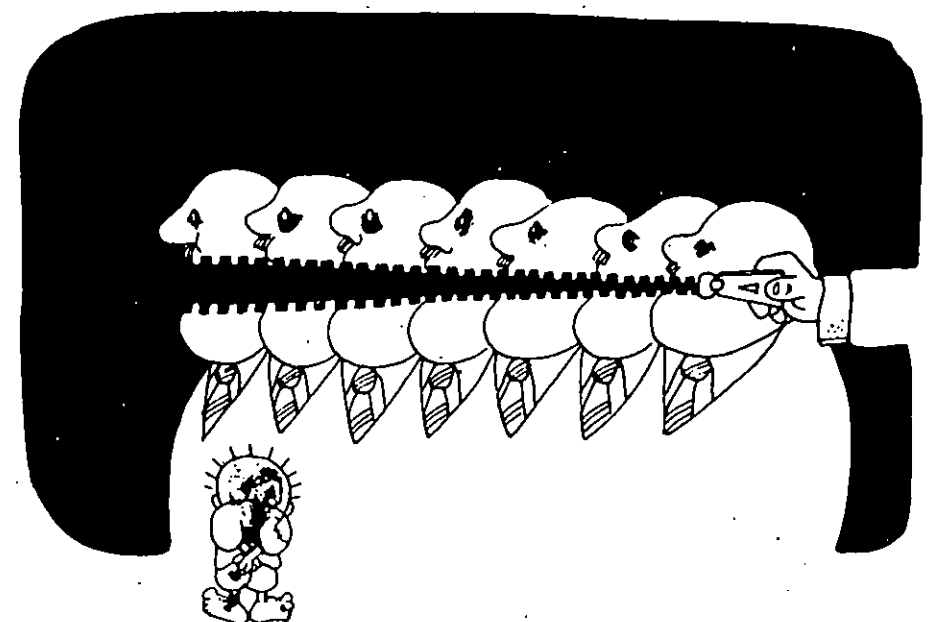
As long as you stay where you are it is possible that you will work, whether you wish to or intend to or not, against the interests of the oppressed. For example, and in particular, you are part of the velvet glove round the oppressor's iron fist; you may be containing resistance, buying time for the oppressor, that's all. One consequence of this is that you have no right or reason to expect gratitude, sympathy or trust from the oppressed.

9 Lifestyle

Look at your possessions, your personal time, your personal space and mobility: you are very comfortable, and very corrupt. You cannot completely change your lifestyle as long as you stay in your location. But you can keep it modest and frugal; you can share it; you can treat it lightly; and you can - and you must - risk it.

10 Words and platforms

The essential educational task is to equip the oppressed with words - the ABC, the first two Rs, Shakespeare and all that. Part of the essential political task is to provide them with platforms - a hearing in the places and spaces where a rule is to listen. (Words + platforms = communicative competence). Often you yourself should be silent, or at least your memoranda should be unmemorable. But sometimes you may speak, you may use both words and platforms. Choose them, choose them with care.



Critical Reservations

While there is much in Robin Richardson's contribution to the seminar with which I find it difficult to disagree, there are also some significant problems that need to be recognised and resolved.

A first problem is that his analysis is of course essentially political, concentrating on power, conflict and justice. For those involved in education, then the problem is one of political education more than 'development' education. (Indeed, if the priorities of this analysis are correct then it is hard to see what is meant by development education). Now to a large extent this analysis may be valid, but it brings with it the task of persuading those in education at all levels that political education is important, and of providing a sufficient number of teachers aware of the methods, resources and problems of political education to make the task achievable. There is still a very long way to go on this one.

A second problem arises out of what political education is trying to do, and how. In this regard the matrix design for political outlook and response may be misleading. It is perfectly possible to hold positions scattered around the matrix rather than in consistent columns, and to recognise that there may be some truth in positions with which one doesn't on the whole agree, as well as to see that the boxes are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

The most important problem, however, is the notion of 'oppressor' and 'oppressed'. It might be the case that the origins of repressive systems in the "Third World" can be traced to a white, male, middle class colonial role but there is no shortage of evidence of oppressors and dictators living in the southern hemisphere. While these are usually male they are not universally white and often, for example in the case of military regimes, from poor socio-economic backgrounds. As regards the 'oppressed', it is suggested that it is necessary to "... heed their critiques, criticisms and challenges" and that the oppressed are prevented from "... knowing the dimensions and contours of their oppression". However, what happens when those whom one might regard as oppressed (female, black, working class) refuse to see themselves as such and indeed are strong supporters of a system which others see as oppressive? One only has to look at surveys of voting behaviour and political attitudes to find considerable evidence of this.

Political education may simply result in more aware and articulate conservatives who are even more adamant that they do not find the alternatives on offer attractive and do not seek change. Unless a Rousseauesque (and oppressive) policy of forcing people to be free from their 'false consciousness' is to be recommended, and examples from around the world where this has happened are not particularly encouraging, then one is left with a position close to that actually argued by Robin Richardson in 'Learning for Change in World Society' (1). In this he contrasted 'open-mindedness' with 'closed-mindedness', with the former being preferable to the latter. Its emphasis on tolerance, rights, mutual respect, and rational discussion based on evidence, may not ensure rapid and radical transformation but in recognising that there is more than one way forward it does hold out some hope of progress without the risk of enforced conformity to someone else's 'right' answer. On a more practical note it does not leave political education open to the sort of alarmist, uninformed and undemocratic accusations made by the political Right such as Scruton et al in 'Education and Indoctrination' (2) who actually use the ideas expressed by Robin in the preceding pages in their polemic against political education.

Images, Attitudes and Misunderstanding

Our images and attitudes to Ireland and the Irish, or to Britain and the British are of fundamental importance to how we process any other information we receive about them. Our images and attitudes play a key role in our analysis.

Many of these images stem from a lack of information or an imbalance in the information we receive. In Britain, for example, the lack of media coverage of Irish affairs other than violence in the North often means that this image is a dominant one for the whole of Ireland.

Any course about the relationship between Britain and Ireland would have to give priority in the early stages to an opportunity for people to explore their own images and attitudes. It is important to use learning activities which enable groups to challenge each other about their assumptions rather than to push a particular set of attitudes as "more correct".

Any group that is going to use some of the activities, suggested in the section 'Dialogue - Towards Understanding' (page 47), need an opportunity to explore these basic assumptions. There is a temptation to think that this is only important for those with particularly limited or simplistic attitudes; however, we all bring assumptions to a course. It is important to share them and to allow them to be challenged however well sorted out we think they are. There is a need to build up a group atmosphere within which people can open their minds to listen to different points of view, and be able to both ask very naive questions about the issues as well as challenge each other about assumptions.

There are many development education activities in the handbook referred to in the Resources Section, which could be adapted to explore images of Britain or Ireland. The following is a brief outline of a few:

1. Ask participants to work in pairs. Imagine that you are about to show a film about Ireland or about Britain. What do they expect to see in the film? Ask them to take notes of their discussion. These ideas can then be shared with the whole group or by bringing 2 or 3 pairs together.
2. With some groups a simple brainstorm is useful. Participants call out what first comes to mind when they think about Ireland or about Britain. It may be better to depersonalise this a little by asking them to brainstorm what in their experience is the popular image of Britain or Ireland.
3. It is easy to get hold of a set of newspapers from Britain or Ireland. Ask small groups to examine the papers. Simple questions like - what surprises them most? - what do they find most interesting? - can lead to a useful discussion.

HOW IT'S DONE

HERE WE GO - AN IRISHMAN



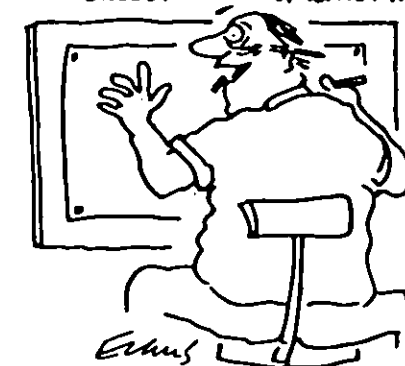
THERE YOU ARE - A TYPICAL THICK PADDY!



OH - YOU'RE IRISH (GULP) -
HA HA - NO OFFENCE INTENDED!



PERHAPS THIS TIME A PAKISTANI
OR A GREEDY TRADE UNIONIST...



1. 'Learning for Change in World Society' by R. Richardson. World Studies Project 1979 (Available D.E.C.).
2. 'Education and Indoctrination' by R. Scruton et al. Sherwood Press (88 Tyldesley Road, London E7 0LY).

As part of the work on becoming aware of our own attitudes it may also be useful to consider what stereotypes people have of us as English, Irish... or whatever.

There are plenty of examples of quotes to help discussion about English images of the Irish. One of the participants highlighted two examples:

It was reported that the England rugby coach commented, on being told that the Irish team was to play a more open type of game, that "You cannot give a nation a brain-transplant overnight".

Following the Brighton bombing, Sir John Junor, editor of the Sunday Express wrote "Wouldn't you rather be a pig than be Irish?"

In 'Nothing but the Same Old Story' Liz Curtis charts how she sees this as part of the patterns of racism which are used to maintain a divided society in Britain.

It is however, important that we do not overlook Irish attitudes to the English. The following are some quotes about Irish perceptions of the English. How do you react to them?

"The English are the best liars I have ever encountered. Far, far better than the Irish, who have a name for it. Where an Irishman will put on a blustering manner, or a carefully crafted mild one, it is nearly always all too evident that he is not telling the truth. But the British lie with a practised art and effortless ease."

"Like many another son of an Irish merchant family, I was brought up to regard the English as a very superior people. Not better than the Irish of course, because most of them were steeped in heretical ignorance, and England was still mission territory, like darkest Africa."

"The English have always been opportunists, improvising as the occasion allowed, stumbling into an Empire by very careful chance; and walking carefully away from it, when their traditional skills of political double-dealing, and the fine art of division began to fail."

"The English are an intensely private people; secretive, devious, and wary of showing sentiment; they have also within the last century gradually become almost completely irreligious."

"The English will do anything for money."

Discussion about these images could develop in many directions. It may be useful to focus this by asking small groups to draw a grid such as the one shown here. They could then share their thoughts on where these ideas come from. What influences our ideas of 'the Irish' or 'the English'? How useful are these terms?

	British view	Irish view
IRELAND	feckless, lazy and devious	hospitable, friendly and charming
BRITAIN	decent, legal and honourable	stuffy, arrogant and snobbish

A Case Study... of misunderstanding?

Chapter Twelve	Britain in the Modern World	210
1	Introduction: The British Empire	212
2	The Suez Crisis. 1956	214
3	Britain and the E.E.C.	
4	Britain and Northern Ireland: Bad Memories	216
5	Britain and Northern Ireland: Modern Problems. 1981	218

This is part of the Contents list of 'The Oxford Children's History Vol. 2' published by O.U.P. (1983).

What assumptions does it seem to make about Britain in the Modern World? Why have the subtitles "bad memories" and "modern problems" been used?

It is not possible to judge a book on its contents list, but it does help to raise some questions which can be checked out. A discussion activity for teachers, based on a selection of appropriate Contents lists, can provide a very valuable focus for exploring assumptions in our basic analysis of subjects we are preparing work on.

The Northern Ireland Library Association's Youth Section expressed considerable concern about 'The Oxford Children's History' coverage of Northern Ireland. They pointed out that "...It presents a distorted picture of the situation here, and it's not that the views presented are sectarian. In fact the chapter achieves the quite unique distinction of managing to be offensive to both sides".

The main feature is an interview with a British Army Officer, who attempts to explain the situation in Northern Ireland. Extracts are reproduced here for you to decide for yourself.

In the 'Belfast Telegraph' (2.6.84) the Library Association Group is quoted as being delighted with the O.U.P.'s intention to rewrite the section in light of the concerns expressed.

We phoned O.U.P. a year later at the time we were considering a mention of this book in 'Half the lies are True'. They recommended the book... with over 3000 in stock! They explained that the books are based on fictional interviews with historical characters... "they do not take a particular view, but attempt to be representative... the idea is that the class should discuss and react..."

When specifically asked about the representations from the N.I. Library Association, we were told "they made a fuss but misunderstood the fictionalised nature of the interview".

What do you think? How will this interview help young people understand what is happening in Northern Ireland?

'What do you think is wrong in Northern Ireland?' 'One thing is that the people know too much history. You ask an English child what was happening in 1689 and he hasn't a clue. An Irish child, though, will tell you all about the siege of Londonderry and the Boyne. They just can't forget what they have suffered in the past. But the main trouble is religion.'

'How is that?' 'Some of the Catholics will go to any lengths to get what they want, especially the I.R.A. In prison they will even starve themselves to death on hunger strikes, hoping to force the government to give way to their demands. As for the Protestants, they aren't like our Church of England people. They are descendants of Scottish settlers, so they are strong Presbyterians and have extreme views. They just hate Catholics in a way that we find it difficult to understand. They are frightened, too. They are scared that Northern Ireland might become part of Eire which would put them at the mercy of the Catholic Irish. That fear led them to be unfair to the Catholics in their own province.'

'What did they do?' 'For one thing, they always managed to fiddle elections so that they won more seats than they should. A third of the people are Catholics, but they never won more than a quarter of the seats in Stormont - that's their Parliament. In Londonderry there are more Catholics than Protestants, but the Protestants always had a majority on the town council. The law was such that the poor couldn't vote, and most Catholics are poor.'

'As the Protestants were in charge, they took care of their own people. Catholics found it very hard to find council houses or even jobs. Today there are twice as many Catholics unemployed as Protestants.'

Then there was "Bloody Sunday" in January 1972 when our men shot down thirteen Catholics in Londonderry. They asked for it. They were taking part in an illegal march and began to pelt us with stones and shoot at us, but the Catholics didn't see it that way. All this gave the I.R.A. their chance. They said to the Catholics "We will protect you if you will help us." Today, nearly every Catholic in Northern Ireland is on the side of the I.R.A. and that makes it impossible for us to defeat them.

Dialogue – Towards Understanding



The Greystones Seminar brought together people involved in development education from Britain and Ireland. The agenda was, as already discussed, very broad. In addition to sharing experiences, a major focus was provided by the notion that the relationship between Britain and Ireland is a microcosm of other international relationships.

Northern Ireland was not on the agenda as such but clearly it became a substantial issue to explore in the context of the questions we were asking about international relationships.

At the time of setting up the seminar *'The New Ireland Forum Report'* was launched. In this section we have therefore used this report as a focus for exploring the relationship between Britain and Ireland. We have also been able to bring this up to date with the recent signing of the Anglo-Irish Accord. These are in a sense case studies... it is for you to ask whether or not they are for examples of international misunderstanding. What is clear, however, is that there is a need in both Britain and Ireland for a more open debate about the issues involved. There is a need for learning activities, which can be adapted to informal adult groups or for use in schools, to explore these issues. This section has been designed to share some ideas about how a start could be made on this approach.

The work which was done by Peadar Cremin (College of Education, Limerick) in the follow up to Greystones provided a starting point for many of the ideas in this section, in particular the pages about *'The Language of Dialogue'*. The section finishes with a short article by Andy Tyacke (Pilton School, Devon) who was part of a teachers group visit to Northern Ireland.

The Nature of the Dialogue

The media has a major influence on how we understand other places. It is a vital source of information and at the same time the perspectives which are emphasised play a considerable role in distorting our understanding.

The media attention over the last year on the crisis in Ethiopia, for example, has raised a popular awareness of the situation but has done this by tending to over-emphasise the role of aid as the solution, and the drought as the problem. It tends to ignore the part which international (East/West) politics, trade patterns, debt problems, cash crops and war played in creating the situation. It also tends to ignore the part Ethiopians themselves are playing in the solutions. The page opposite shows three headlines from British newspapers, and articles from an Ethiopian newspaper.

This popular awareness has not increased the understanding of the situation. Oxfam has published a useful broadsheet... 'The News Behind the News' (*) if you would like to follow this up further. The 'New Internationalist' (*) has also produced a number of useful articles.

Between Britain and Ireland the dominant flow of information is westward. A wide range of information about all aspects of Britain exists in Ireland. Many people go to considerable lengths to have aerials which can receive British television stations. British morning newspapers account for about 22% of the Irish market.

In Britain Channel 4 does a weekly review of the news in Ireland (Sunday 1.30) but most coverage, other than the occasional documentary, focuses largely on violent events in Northern Ireland. This dominant image builds up popular perceptions in Britain of the whole of Ireland. The coverage of Northern Ireland in itself provides ample material for groups to work on an analysis of the media. 'Ireland - the propaganda war' (*) provides valuable background reading to anyone wanting to follow this up.

Newspapers are a particularly useful source of stimulus material. Activities to analyse which issues are given the most coverage or a comparative study of how different newspapers cover the same issue all make a good starting point for considering the nature of dialogue. A set of Irish and British newspapers for a particular day provide a cost effective set of discussion materials. Do the Irish newspapers tend to emphasize different aspects of the World News from the British newspapers? Is particular news covered in the same way?

At the Greystones Seminar the work with newspapers provided a focus for a wide variety of discussion. One group made a poster quoting examples of newspaper attitudes. Part of it is reproduced below.

KAMPUCHEA - "Some obscure third world country" (Daily Mail)

NICARAGUA - "£64,000 from British Taxpayers. Are the Sandinistas using it to eradicate poverty and disease? Not likely. It is used to purchase Soviet Weapons". (Daily Express)

TANZANIA - Nyerere: a "Squandering Leader..." (Daily Express)

ANTI-RACISM - "Throughout the left, witch hunters have drawn up their lists of racists" (Daily Mail)

MARX & ENGELS - "The diseased minds of this unlovable pair" (Daily Mail)



WPE is The Organizer, Vanguard Of the New Political Order

The Ethiopian Herald

We Shall Establish People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia!

Forward For The Construction Of Socialism

Amibara Irrigation Project Completed

by Melaku G/Yohannes

The Amibara Irrigation Project, with a total capacity of developing 10,000 hectares has been completed, it was disclosed here by Comrade Hailu-Habte, Acting Executive Director of the project.

Comrade Hailu-Habte stated that out of the total hectare coverage of the project, 80 per cent has been allotted to state farms, 17 and 3 per cent to rehabilitation site and agricultural research work respectively.

The executive director further stated that the project which was made possible through government fund, assistance and loan from abroad will bolster the nation's effort towards developing modern irrigation systems in the country at large. Elaborating on the all-round aspects of the irrigation work, Comrade Hailu said that 100 tunnels, 135 km roads and numerous canals

(Contd. on page 4 col. 6)

BOOSTING FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS

A seminar recently held at the Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce to review the nation's foreign trade situation during 1984-85 was told that performance fell short of expectations. According to Comrade Wolle Chekol, member of the CC of the WPE and Minister of Foreign Trade, this was due to the fact that the export of agricultural commodities had dropped in addition to the fluctuation of world prices. A number of factors brought about the situation. The recurring drought has considerably affected agricultural production, while the low price offers at the world market for these products caused the drop in foreign exchange earnings.

Foreign trade plays a significant role in the development of a country's economy, since the foreign exchange earnings secured from the export of commodities will be used for the purchase of equipment, machinery and other inputs needed for development purposes. As Ethiopia is predominantly an agricultural country, foreign exchange earnings will immensely contribute towards transforming this key sector of the economy. Industry could also benefit from expansion of foreign trade.

Team Reviews Devt. Activities in Jijiga

JIJIGA (ENA) — A team led by Comrade Mersie Ejigu member of the Central Committee of the WPE and Minister in the National Committee for Central Planning, Monday reviewed different development activities in Jijiga province, Hararge region.

The team comprising department heads and experts, visited the 10-million cubic metre water dam project in Alibayu locality of Jijiga province that could develop 10,000 hectares of farmland, the Jijiga cattle

sources development project, the sheep rearing station, an adult training centre and other development organizations.

The team was briefed on the overall development activities of the province by Comrade Kasagne Feloke, First Secretary of the WPE Committee of Jijiga province.

Present during the tour was Comrade Dr. Biru Abebe, head of the Eastern Zonal Planning office with the rank of Commissioner.

Donations Made in Aid Of Drought Victims

(by Ethiopian News Agency) Residents of Awassa and its environs have collected clothing, household utensils and farm tools valued at upwards of 769,000 birr in aid of drought affected compatriots.

The consignment was delivered over the weekend to Comrade Girma Habte-Gebriel, member of the CC of WPE and First Secretary of the Sidamo region WPE Committee.

A dialogue between Countries?

What is the nature of dialogue between countries? How do countries talk to each other? Whose voice represents a country? What other forms does the dialogue take?

It is useful to do some introductory work on what we mean by a dialogue between countries. Cartoons provide a particularly useful stimulus to enable such discussion. They can on the one hand capture something of the complexity of any relationship while on the other they provide an opportunity for groups to share their existing knowledge and analysis about those relationships. This can also enable groups to become aware of each others assumptions. The three cartoons on this page all have something to say about the relationships between countries.

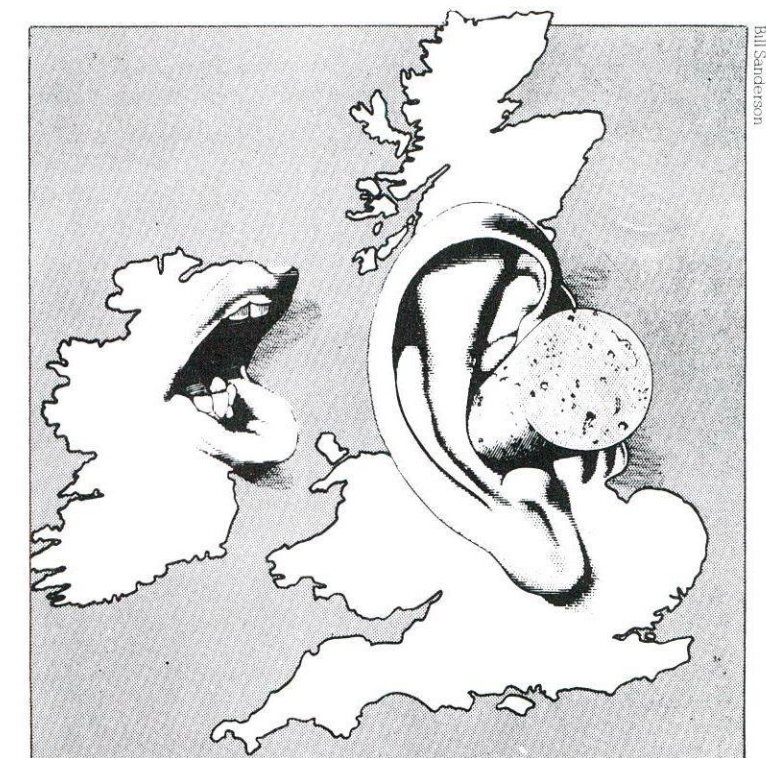
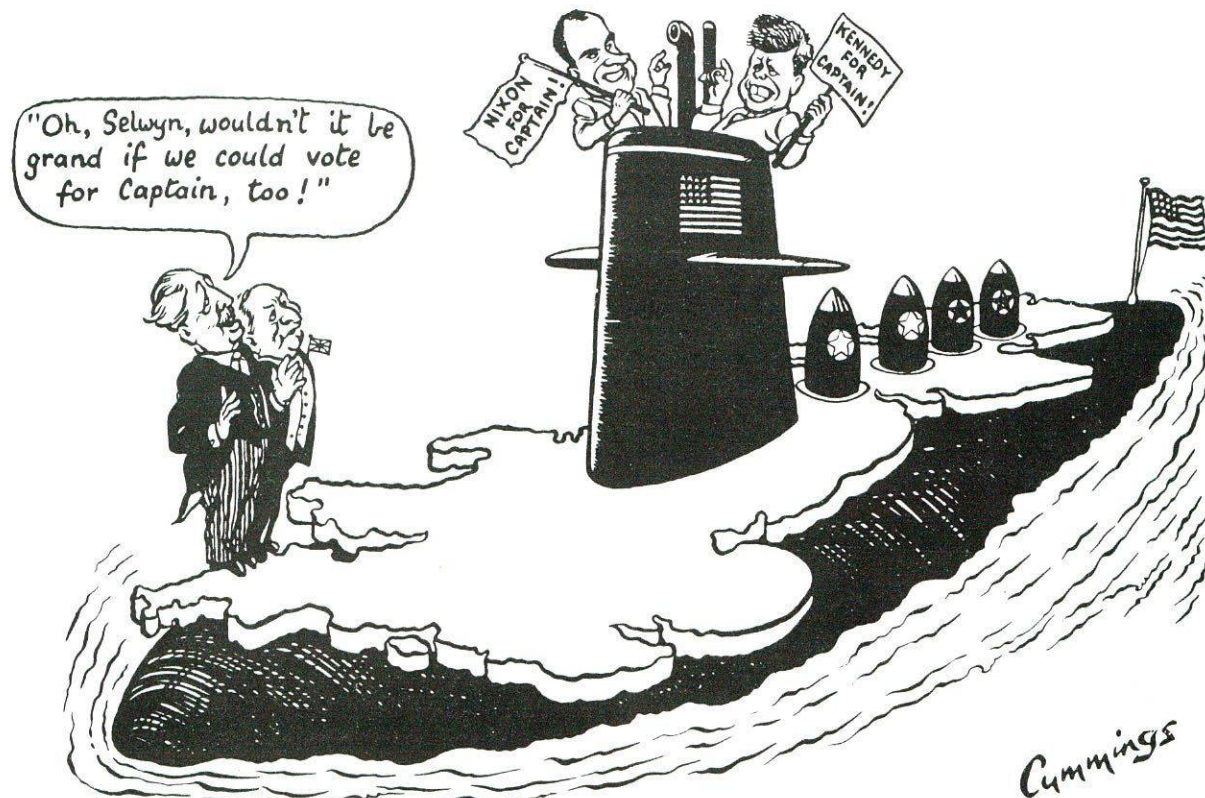
Cartoon A. What does this suggest about the relationship between Britain and the U.S. of A? This was drawn by Cummings for the Daily Express - (which is not noted for its radical views) - a quarter of a century ago. How has this relationship evolved? Has it changed? What dialogue is involved? How was it conducted?

Did MacMillan see the situation as it is shown? What image does "Britain" have of the U.S. of A? Is it seen as... an occupying force,... an ally,... an ex-colony,... a friend, a supporter of Britain?

Cartoon B. What does this suggest about the relationship between U.S. of A. and U.S.S.R? What does it suggest about the relationship between the interests of the two super-powers and those of the "Third World". What image do you have of the U.S. of A. and U.S.S.R? Do you tend to think of similarities between them or differences? How do they talk to each other? Why is the "Third World" not represented by a particular political figure? Does it suggest anything to you about the relationship between different "Third World" countries?

Cartoon C. What does this cartoon suggest about the relationship between Britain and Ireland? Does it suggest that the North speaks for the whole of England? Does it? In what different ways does it speak? How do the two countries talk to each other? ... or don't they, as the cartoon suggests? Why does Britain have a plug in its ear? In what ways is this true?

In each case it may also be useful to discuss whether groups would modify the cartoon to make it say more about how they see the particular relationships.



The Language of Dialogue

For a dialogue to take place it is important that we make sure that we are using the same language - that the terms we use are understood by each other. Indeed a review of how different terms are used to express viewpoints is in itself the basis for useful discussion.

The terms we use to describe particular situations often reflect our views or at least our assumptions. It may be useful to follow up some of the terms which come out of awareness activities such as those described in Section 3. Words such as the following could be used to explore the notion - "One person's freedom fighter is another person's terrorist":

<i>Terrorist</i>	<i>Freedom Fighter</i>
<i>Security Forces</i>	<i>Army of Occupation</i>
<i>Prison</i>	<i>Concentration Camp</i>
<i>Criminal</i>	<i>Prisoner of War</i>

In exploring these terms consider who would be most likely to use them, why they might favour such a term, and to whom it is most likely to cause offence.

Can you think of any reason why reference to "mainland Britain" in the context of discussion about Anglo/Irish affairs might grate on the ears of some Irish listeners while being music to others?

Geographical Language

At the Greystones Seminar numerous discussions centred on the geographical terms used by different people talking about Britain, Ireland and Northern Ireland. These terms could also provide a stimulus for group work.

It is important to describe things accurately. When one goes into a store and purchases a bicycle one expects to get the wheels as well. Equally if one had asked for a tyre, one would be surprised to be presented with a wheel. In terms of relations between countries language is especially important as many of the names and titles used have precise meanings.

For example what do we mean by:

Great Britain - United Kingdom - The British Isles - Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Can you draw on an outline map the extent of each of these areas? What are the difficulties?

The following questions could be used in conjunction with the page opposite as a stimulus to discussion about the significance of geographical language in Ireland.

1. Were the terms "Irish Republic" or "Southern Ireland" ever the official title of the twenty six county state? Why do you think Irish people might be annoyed by referring to their country by either of these terms?
2. Can you suggest any reasons why the title "Irish Free State" was more acceptable as the title of the new state than the title "Southern Ireland", as was put forward in the 1920 Act?
3. Why do you think the title "Ireland" was introduced in 1937? What problem do you think the use of this title would have posed for the British Government?
4. Take published accounts of politicians or others speaking on aspects of the relations between Ireland and Britain. Is the language which is being used accurate? Does this give any insight into their views?
5. Why might an Irish nationalist use the term 'Six Counties' rather than the term 'Northern Ireland', and vice versa in the case of a Northern Unionist? What significance might they see in these terms?
6. Why do Irish stamps and passports have Eire on them?

The importance of a name

You may have some difficulty in sorting out your geographical language to describe Ireland. This is not surprising as different names reflect different perspectives and because terminology has changed a number of times.

At the beginning of this century there would have been no problem as the entire country was at that time known simply as 'Ireland'.

The leaders of the 1916 Rebellion in Ireland proclaimed a new republic which they called the "Irish Republic". The republic was not recognised by the British and when the British Parliament introduced its "Government of Ireland Act" in 1920 it divided the country into "Southern Ireland" and "Northern Ireland".

The title "Northern Ireland" has continued in use since that time, but in a Treaty signed in London on 6 December 1921, the title of the new southern state was set down as the "Irish Free State".

This continued to be the correct title of the state until 1937 when a new constitution was adopted, in which the title "Irish Free State" was dropped in favour of the name "Ireland" or, as given in the Irish language, "Eire". Some confusion at times arises from the fact that the state has been a republic since 1948 and as such may be referred to as the "Republic of Ireland" (Note: not "Irish Republic").

The title "Ireland" was made the official name of the state in 1937 to underline the claim made in the Irish constitution to sovereignty over the entire island. The British Government for its part never used this English-language name. Instead in official documents it referred to 'Eire' which when translated from the Irish language literally means 'Ireland'.

The British Parliament, in 1949, passed the "Ireland Act" which set down the "Republic of Ireland" as the name by which the country was to be referred to in British Acts of Parliament. However, as was pointed out the title "Ireland" has remained the title of the state in its constitution ever since 1937 and it is by this name that the country is now recognised internationally. For example, it is by the name "Ireland" that the state is known in the E.E.C.

The term "Northern Ireland" has continued in use since 1920. At times Northern Ireland is referred to as "Ulster" but this is inaccurate as Ulster is one of the four provinces of Ireland. There are nine counties in the province of Ulster but only six of these are in the territory now known as Northern Ireland.

One participant at the Greystones Seminar pointed out that an alert teacher should not have any great difficulty in examining class texts for example of anti-Irish bias.

The Kingfisher Pocket Atlas (by Jill and David Wright), published in 1983 by Kingfisher Books, London) was offered as one example. Later he wrote about this book that it...

... "not only locates the Republic of Ireland in the British Isles, but identifies the Celtic language spoken in Ireland as 'Erse' (a term virtually unknown in Ireland) and then goes on to make the totally erroneous statement regarding the Republic that 'Three and a half million people live there today, only half the number that lived there in the 1930s. Famines, unemployment and other problems have forced many Irish people to emigrate to other countries'".

As David Wright is noted for recent articles in the "Times Ed" etc about bias in classroom books we decided to share the questions raised - (in the diagram below) - with him. 'An author replies' was his response. It, alongside the questions, is offered here as a stimulus to your own thoughts. This idea could be adapted for classroom use. Given the limited space... what would you write about Ireland?

Can you suggest why many Irish people would object to this term? In answering you might consider the implications of the word "British" for cultural identity and for sovereignty.

Kingfisher Pocket Atlas (London: Kingfisher Books) ISBN 0 86272 053 2.

What impressions of Ireland are conveyed on these pages? Do you think these impressions would be likely to bother people in Ireland?

What group(s) might favour the images of Ireland conveyed on these pages?

Do you think that these pages present an example of (a) unbiased objectivity (b) deliberate misinformation (c) inadequate research?

Note 3 different names by which the independent Irish state is known in the text and in the map on these pages.

Two different terms are used above for the distinctive language spoken in Ireland. One of the terms used is virtually unheard of in Ireland. Can you find out which one?

Use your research skills to discover the amount of inaccurate information in this paragraph.

Kingfisher Pocket Atlas — An Author replies

Thank you very much for the opportunity to reply to the questions you raise in the 'Kingfisher Pocket Atlas'. The idea of raising questions is an excellent one, and all the questions are very fair, except perhaps the 3 alternatives offered in the final question.

I'm very sorry if the image of Ireland seems negative - both because I know Ireland well, and because one of the key ideas in the whole Atlas is to offer a more positive view of countries which often get negative treatment in the media. Judging by the good reviews that the Atlas has received, this has been successful in most cases.

I would suggest that none of the three alternatives you offer in the last question are correct: the Atlas is neither an example of (a) 'unbiased objectivity', nor of (b) 'deliberate misinformation', nor of (c) 'inadequate research'. It's much more complicated than that! To explain further, I will look at each question raised.

1. The Title: "The British Isles"

"The British Isles" is the publisher's title, not ours. A modern, design-conscious publisher, who commissions authors to write a text to fit into their design, gives much less freedom to authors than a traditional publisher. It might be possible to ask for a new title for this page - but can you suggest a better title? It must not be any longer, unless the text is cut by 3 lines.

2. The Text a) How Much Space?

There are only 20 short lines of text on page 38. A fair share for the Republic of Ireland would be 1 1/4 lines, as a proportion of the population of the British Isles (or of "Offshore Europe" or whatever title is acceptable). We used 9 lines for Ireland, plus a mention in two other lines - i.e. half the total text. So we have been very generous with the limited space.

b) Inaccurate Information

Yes, the term "Erse" would probably be better omitted. Also, there is a bad printer's error, which should have been spotted. (1930s should, of course, read 1830s) I am well aware that "Independent in 1922" is an oversimplification - 1937 and 1949 are also important years for constitutional change. But most 9 to 14 year olds find constitutions boring and incomprehensible. So, even if space was available, it would not include this information. We rigorously excluded information that children find boring. However, we deliberately included three different names for the Republic of Ireland, because children may meet them, and want to know what they mean. Hopefully you are pleased we did not write "Southern Ireland": we are well aware that the northernmost part of Ireland is in the Republic!

c) The Facts Chosen

Maybe we have been too negative. But there is a good reason for emphasising population decline, famine, and unemployment: Ireland is the only country in the world where population has halved in the past 140 years. We felt that this fact was central to an understanding of Ireland, and it might encourage children to ask "WHY?", and perhaps to consider Britain's guilt in this respect. The more positive messages come overleaf. We are well aware that a focus on problems may sometimes produce a negative response - but a bland omission of problems is even more unsatisfactory.

d) Missing Text

There are three more paragraphs about Ireland on the following double-page spread of the Atlas. Is it fair to present part of the information as if it was all the information? These three paragraphs are much more positive than page 38.

e) What we wrote — and how it was changed

You may like to see what we originally wrote, and how the publisher changed it (one change is perhaps for the better?). The typing is ours; the handwriting is by the Kingfisher editor.

The major error ("1930s" instead of "1830s") has not appeared by this stage: a second editing presumably took place, which we do not recall seeing. The weak last sentence in the Atlas is probably a very late addition.

3. The Cover of the Atlas

You may be interested - or infuriated? - or amused? - to discover that the cover was to have had a Union Jack on it. We pleaded for the UN flag instead, with its message of world peace and unity. The publishers would not agree - until we suggested that the Union Jack might harm sales in countries like Ireland!

4. A Final Point

It's easier to criticise than to create... We aimed to create a book that children would want to open again and again. We only had a few months to write it - in addition to another job, plus our two young children to look after. Most Atlases are so boring that children won't open them. If we have achieved a cheerful and welcoming book which is reasonably accurate, we prefer this to the boring, off-putting "unbiased objectivity" that seems to be presented as an ideal in the final question posed.

We would be very pleased to see a better text, and we will try to get it included in future editions, both for the UK and the USA editions. It must be simple, brief, and interesting. It's not as easy as it seems!

David Wright

The Republic of Ireland became independent in 1922. ~~only~~ three and a half million people live there, yet early last century there were twice as many. Famines, unemployment and other problems have forced encouraged many Irish people to emigrate to other countries.

THE NEW IRELAND FORUM

A STARTING POINT?

THREE OPTIONS FOR DEBATE

JOINT AUTHORITY

"UNDER JOINT AUTHORITY, THE LONDON AND DUBLIN GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE EQUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL ASPECTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF NORTHERN IRELAND."

FEDERAL/CONFEDERAL STATE

"A TWO STATE FEDERAL/CONFEDERAL IRELAND BASED ON THE EXISTING IDENTITIES, NORTH AND SOUTH, WOULD REFLECT THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REALITIES OF THE PAST 60 YEARS AND WOULD ENTRENCH A MEASURE OF AUTONOMY FOR BOTH PARTS OF IRELAND WITHIN AN ALL-IRISH FRAMEWORK."

UNITARY STATE

"A UNITARY STATE WOULD EMBRACE THE ISLAND OF IRELAND AS A SINGLE UNIT UNDER ONE GOVERNMENT AND ONE PARLIAMENT ELECTED BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND."

IRELAND
IN THE 1980'S AND 1990'S
WHICH WAY?

ARE THESE OPTIONS REAL?
ARE THERE OTHERS?
WHAT WOULD THE COSTS BE?
WHAT OTHER PRICES WOULD THERE BE?
HOW ARE THESE OPTIONS VIEWED?

The New Ireland Forum

One of the most interesting and important happenings in Anglo-Irish relations in 1984 was the holding of the New Ireland Forum, the publication of its report and the various responses and debates which followed. In many ways events around the Forum were indeed a "dialogue in misunderstanding" but they do form a useful starting point for discussing and debating the issues.

Subsequent discussions and arguments around the Forum Report tended to concentrate on its options for the future of Northern Ireland (see opposite page) and the responses of London and Dublin. This concentration on the options, although inevitable and understandable, has tended to ensure avoidance of the actual contents of the Report in total, the oral and written submissions made and the background studies prepared. It may be that these elements of the Forum will have longer life than the discussions of the options themselves.

While the Forum discussions themselves did tend to focus attention on Anglo Irish relations in general and Northern Ireland in particular **within the Republic**. The subsequent publication of its Report did not generate a real dialogue between them and people in Britain or in Northern Ireland or between Northern Ireland and people in the Republic. While this may, to a considerable degree be the result of the form in which the Report was published and presented (it is not readily accessible to the public and looks quite formidable and formal), the manner in which it was treated is symptomatic of international misunderstanding.

Thus, we argue the Forum is a useful starting point through which to begin discussing this microcosm of international misunderstanding. It was also part of the backdrop against which many of the participants at the Greystones Seminar first approached the "Irish Question". In the following pages we try to present, in summary form, the character and content of this event and suggest some ways in which it may be productively used to generate dialogue and debate which will need to be a part of any future **strategies**.

The New Ireland Forum sat between May 1983 and May 1984 and was open to all democratic parties which reject violence and which had members elected or appointed to either House of the Oireachtas or the Northern Ireland Assembly. Four political parties took part in the Forum, Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, The Labour Party and The Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). These four parties together represent over 90% of the nationalist population and almost 75% of the entire population of Ireland. The Forum suffered from the very beginning from the absence of the official and Democratic Unionist Parties and Sinn Fein. Thus the Forum mirrored in reverse the Northern Ireland Assembly from which the SDLP and Sinn Fein are absent.

A total of 317 submissions were made from all parts of Ireland and Britain, from the U.S., Belgium, France and Canada representing all shades of opinion. Discussions were also held in Northern Ireland and in Britain. Six detailed studies were also published alongside the Forum Report itself.

Whose Problem?

Excerpts from The New Ireland Forum

“The establishment of Northern Ireland as a separate political unit was contrary to the desire of the great majority of Irish people for the political unity and sovereignty of Ireland as expressed in the last all Ireland election of 1918”...

“That election also confirmed that the Protestants of North-East Ulster, fearful for the survival of their heritage, opposed separation of Ireland and Britain”...

“Two groups found that their interests were not accommodated - the Northern nationalists and the Southern Unionists”...

“The failure of the arrangements was clearly acknowledged by the British government in 1972 when they replaced the government and parliament of Northern Ireland... with direct rule”...

“Although partition was established by the British Parliament in the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, that Act also made provision for the two parts of Ireland coming together again...”

“Instead of a positive interaction of the Unionist and nationalist traditions, the emphasis in both parts of Ireland was on the predominant value system of each area, leading to a drifting apart in laws and practices...”

“The most tragic measure of the Northern Ireland crisis is the endemic violence of the situation...”

“...the situation has persistently given rise to tensions and misunderstandings in the British-Irish relationship...”

“...division gave rise to considerable economic costs; North and South...”

“...the identity of the nationalist section of the community in the North has been effectively disregarded...”

“...unionist insecurity in regard to their minority position in the island as a whole had a profound effect on the manner in which the political structures were organised in the North...”

“Concern with establishing the viability and sovereignty of the Republic... resulted,..., in insufficient concern for the interests of the people of Northern Ireland...”

“Since 1969, Northern Ireland has endured a sustained political crisis...”

“...Despite the British government’s stated intentions of obtaining political consensus in Northern Ireland, the only policy that is implemented in practice is one of crisis management...”

(The Forum) ...“was established against a background of deep division, insecurity and violence that threaten society, primarily in Northern Ireland but also in the Republic and to a certain extent in Britain...”

“...The immediate outlook for the North is extremely dangerous unless an acceptable political solution is achieved...”

“There are at present no political institutions to which a majority of people of the nationalist and unionist traditions can give their common allegiance or even acquiesce in...”

“...a major reassessment by Britain which at present exercises direct responsibility for Northern Ireland is required...”

“Both London and Dublin have a responsibility to respond to the continuing suffering of the people of Northern Ireland...”

Forum Responses

In London

The British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, described the recommendations of the Forum Report as "really rather simplistic" but, at the same time, declaring herself ready to look at any new ideas. She later rejected all three options outlined in the Report in what is referred to as her "Out, Out, Out" speech. She also rejected other parts of the Report, especially its historical section as "totally unacceptable" but welcomed other aspects such as the Report's condemnation of violence.

British Labour Party Leader, Mr. Neil Kinnock, opted for the unitary state argument as the party's policy was "a United Ireland by agreement and consent". He argued that alienation presented "... the prospect of further damage being done to the cause of an acceptable solution." He rejected the use of violence to achieve a solution.

Irish peace plan is doomed to failure

Paisley can't say no to unity—Kinnock

Thatcher rules out Forum options

Horrific outlook unless Britain acts soon

Conflict of identities 'has fostered feelings of fear'

Prior condemns Kinnock 'wishful thinking' on Ulster

Mrs Thatcher: "I have made it quite clear — and so did Mr Prior when he was Secretary of State for Northern Ireland — that a unified Ireland was one solution. That is out. A second solution was confederation of the two States. That is out. A third solution was joint authority. That is out"



Forum Responses

In Dublin

The Forum Report was presented by the Taoiseach Dr. Garret Fitzgerald as "An Irish nationalist analysis. We are, everyone of us, Irish nationalists and proud of our heritage." Dr. Fitzgerald described a unitary state as the preferred option of the Forum participants while Charles Haughey, leader of the opposition party, Fianna Fail, saw it as the only option. He effectively rejected the other two options (joint authority, federal/confederal state) in what many commentators have come to refer to as his "Out, out" speech. The leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Dick Spring (Tanaiste or Deputy Leader of the coalition government) viewed the Report as injecting "elements of hope" in the gloomy situation and did not view the unitary state option as the only one.

Subsequent focus of discussions included detailed assessment of the financial costs of a unitary state and whether people in the Republic would/could afford to pay it; the right of Unionists in Northern Ireland to a say in their own future and the apparent disagreements between the Republic's constitutional nationalist parties over how much emphasis should be placed on the unitary state option.

Pressure for new British initiative to follow Forum

Warning on cost of unity to economy

An analysis by 'proud nationalists' —Taoiseach

Dublin pessimistic of any progress with Thatcher

Unitary State not sole option, says Spring

Forum attacked as 'cynical charade'



Forum Responses

In Northern Ireland

The Forum Report provoked considerable response in Northern Ireland. The British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. James Prior, considered none of the Forum's options likely to win acceptance in Northern Ireland - there was no reason to expect consent from Unionists to any of the changes outlined in the Report. He said the British Government was ready to consider, with all those who renounced violence, ways in which Unionists and Nationalists could live together "giving full expression to their identities and aspirations".

The Unionist, Alliance and Sinn Fein parties gave an essentially hostile and intensively critical response to the Report. The Official Unionist Party attacked the emphasis on the unitary state, rejected the call for a constitutional conference and reiterated that Unionist consent for change would not be forthcoming. Democratic Unionist Party

Leader, the Rev. Ian Paisley said "There's nothing in this report that Unionists need to consider". The Ulster Defence Association said that it could find "no evidence of any real attempt to compromise between the Unionist and Irish National ideologies".

The Leader of the Social Democratic Labour Party, Mr. John Hume (himself a signatory of the Forum Report) argued, "I believe it is no exaggeration to say that the terms of the debate on the future of this island have been completely transformed. Things cannot be the same again." Sinn Fein described the Forum process as a capitulation to British interests and the report as "toothless and wishy-washy. Nowhere does it relate to the present British violence and realities of life in the North."

REACTION AND REJECTION

Unionists will not accept proposals, says Paisley

A unique enterprise — Hume

Paisley urges SDLP to debate North future with Assembly parties

Forum report

BUILD-UP TO CAPITULATION

'Important positive elements' seen by Prior

The New Ireland Forum . . . other starting points?

In this section we have presented some of the issues and responses arising from the Forum process. The Forum Report itself presented only three options (see page 60) and inevitably there are many other options, some of which are graphically illustrated on the next page. The Forum represented our starting point in this particular discussion and again inevitably there are many other starting points. Below we present four such alternative "Starting Points" which provide much food for thought about the issue. They also provide a much broader context into which the Forum must be placed.

Liam de Paor, Irish Times, (Thursday, June 20th, 1985).

We have been trying to escape from our history. That can't be done. The intractable, gritty reality is there. The reality includes a Constitution which clearly states a claim to the six counties of Northern Ireland.

The Government can't change the Constitution. Only the electorate (of the Republic) can. The reality includes a population of nearly a million men, women and children who do not want to belong to our state, on any terms. The reality includes a population of more than half a million people in Northern Ireland who are opposed to the state under whose jurisdiction they find themselves. The reality includes a British Government which does not hesitate to implement both its internal and its external policies and decisions by armed force.

The realities are there. They derive from the history which formed the Irish and British communities. But there is something absurd, as well as dismaying and depressing, about our political problems. Nationalism and unionism are heritages of communal emotion from a different world. They still have meaning today, but it can't be the same meaning as that of, say, 1885, when the first Home Rule election was fought. No nation state now has the autonomy which seemed both desirable and practicable then. No imperial vision today matches the imperial vision of the last century. No one has the faith in progress or the confidence in the advance of liberty which were then commonplace. But we have, all of us, a great deal more in common than our great-grandparents had. We all belong, not just to the European Community, but to the "global village."

The State, in other words, is different in kind, in structure, in autonomy, in economy and in emotional significance, from what it was a hundred years ago when these issues were, as now, matters of impassioned debate. It is an organisation, a corporation, a system, which touches our daily lives more intimately but which is yet, perhaps, a good deal less involved with our "identity." We are less localised, more mobile, much more in touch and in sympathy with elements of the larger world outside. The State is only one of a number of interpenetrating systems to which we belong. But reunification of Ireland doesn't require, in my view, a "unitary state". It requires a recognition of common interest and a restoration of mutual trust among the population of our island.

Mary Holland, Irish Times, (July 31st, 1985).

the talks themselves have created a degree of interest and momentum that makes it impossible for politicians to dismiss them as unimportant. They have put Ireland back on the British political agenda and, rightly or wrongly created an expectation that something of significance is going to happen in the autumn, even if that something turns out to be a breakdown in Anglo-Irish relations. An example of this new and much more serious political interest was to be found in the recent Liberal/SDP policy document on Northern Ireland. While this caused dismay in Dublin because it back-tracked from the Liberal Party's traditional commitment to Irish unity, it did look at the problems of the North in considerable and quite sophisticated detail. Its key sentence was: "We are convinced that things cannot go on as they are in Northern Ireland; the status quo is not an option." This is a view increasingly reiterated in the British media.

It is really quite dramatic — and insufficiently recognised here — how the balance of public opinion, national and international, has shifted in Dublin's favour as the talks have progressed. This in turn has led to a shift in the balance of power between the two Governments.

Government spokesmen are still at great pains to emphasise that the odds on any success coming from the talks are very finely balanced. Even this estimate may prove too optimistic. There remain crucially important differences between the British and Irish positions, particularly on security which is what affects the lives of most people living in the North. These differences will be highlighted in the weeks ahead when a whole range of anniversaries, Orange and Green, will provide the potential for confrontations that could blow the whole Anglo-Irish process into Kingdom Come. The mood of the Unionists is desperately volatile, so that even those Orange leaders who counselled restraint over the July marches are now alarmed that they may have erred on the side of moderation. Even so, as the Taoiseach remains in Dublin to monitor the ongoing process of the Anglo-Irish talks he must derive some satisfaction from the fact that like any good general he not only nurtures modest hopes for success but has also prepared the ground for retreat.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Irish Times*, (Tuesday, July 9th, 1985).

Nevertheless, despite that monumental public apathy, our political leaders are managing to get themselves more and more involved in the politics of Northern Ireland. This is a result of the political dynamics of the Forum report. These appear to work as follows:

(a) British fail to provide — and in fact cannot provide — any of the options ("recommendations", "agenda") proposed by the Forum. "Unitary united Ireland", "federal Ireland", "joint administration" — none of them is on.

(b) Opposition blames Government for failing to deliver on Forum report.

(c) Government feels need to show progress on Forum report, hits on the tactic of trying to suggest that a sort of *de facto*, or creeping joint administration already exists, even if the British choose to deny it.

(d) Ian Paisley and his friends find that this version of the situation suits their book very well, and so corroborate its existence, under the colours of "Ulster betrayed".

(e) This puts pressure on the Official Unionists, closely comparable to the pressure of Mr Haughey on the FitzGerald Government. The pressure is towards closing the ranks: All of us against all of them.

(f) Under conflicting Catholic and Protestant pressures, the British dither, inciting both sides to step up the pressures.

Thus the dynamics of the expectations generated by the Forum, and of the resistance generated by those expectations, speed up the vicious cycle in Northern Ireland. For 15 years now, I have feared that we may be slowly drifting towards civil war in this island. It seems to me now, returning after nearly a year's absence, that the rate of the drift has significantly increased since last summer.

Disaster is far from inevitable, but we shall be better equipped to avoid it if we take serious account of the danger. The prevailing blithe assumption that London and Dublin together can "solve the problem", if London does what Dublin tells it to do, will get us into appalling trouble, if London ever starts to do just that.

Dervla Murphy, *Changing the Problem:*

Post Forum Reflections, Lilliput Press. (1985).

Now the British government is supporting, ostensibly in the name of democracy, an obsessively undemocratic local majority which insists on excluding one-third of the population from participation in government. And the Irish government is claiming through its Constitution (though not in the Forum Report) the right to rule over a territory where its authority is unacceptable to the majority of the population — for reasons some of which are valid and others petty. The removal of both those absurdities would confront the Northern Irish with a whole new set of positive challenges. As things are, their challenges are negative: on the Unionist side, how to avoid a Dublin take-over; on the Nationalist side, how to avoid being forever discriminated against. Normal politics are, as they have always been, impossible. Fear, distrust and uncertainty prevail. Sectarian bitterness, unemployment and despair increase.

Millions of words and think-hours, and hundreds of committees, conferences, seminars and study-group sessions, have been devoted to searching for a solution to the NI problem. But always the assumption underlying this search has been that London and/or Dublin must remain on stage.

Yet the Northern Irish scene in 1984 is sufficient proof of the futility of seeking a solution within the confines of the Anglo-Irish relationship.

The problem, as it now exists, is plainly insoluble. Can it then do any harm to think in terms of changing it instead of solving it? Is it not worth while at least discussing in detail the possible benefits of leaving the Northern Irish to sort themselves out? In an Independent NI they would of course have to face fresh problems — and some sinister mutations of old problems. . . .

. . . . But in an Independent NI they would not be as they are now. As climates change, so do the organisms dependent on them.

**IRELAND
IN THE 1980'S AND 1990'S
THE OPTIONS REVISITED**

JOINT AUTHORITY
AS IN NEW
IRELAND FORUM.

UNITARY STATE
AS IN NEW
IRELAND FORUM.

?

?

?

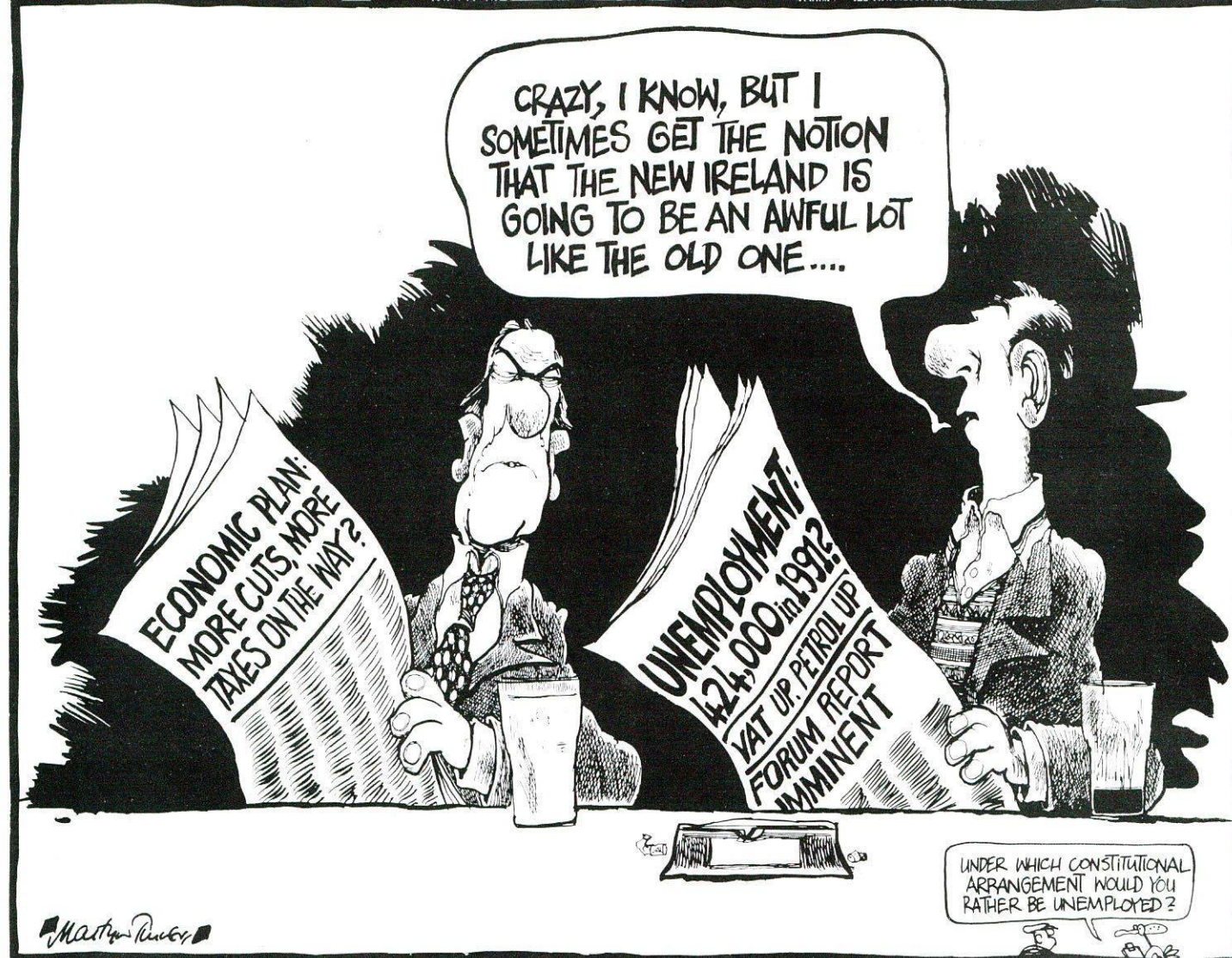
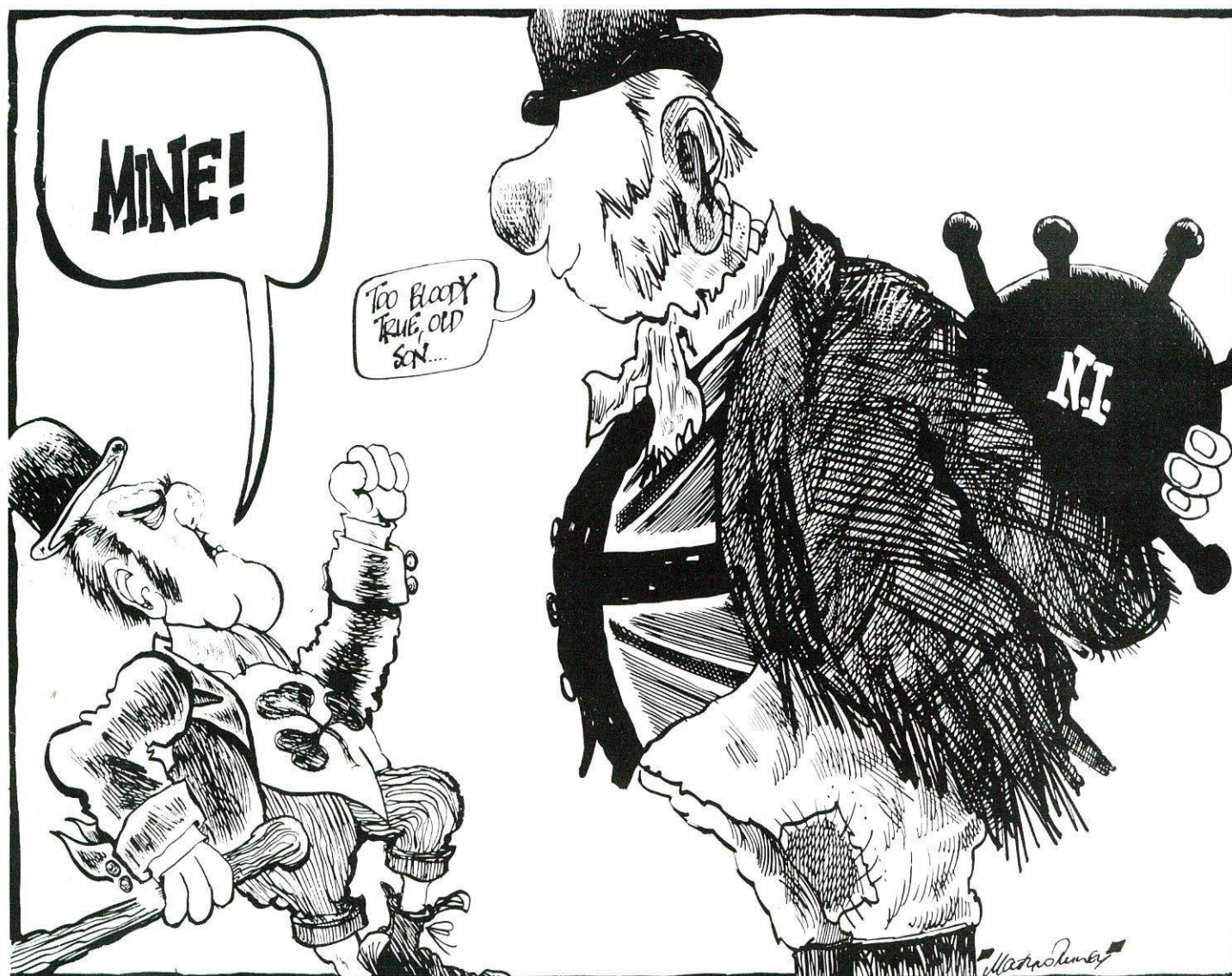
UNITED IRISH
32 COUNTY
SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC.

CONSOLIDATE
CURRENT DIRECT
RULE FROM LONDON.

INDEPENDENT NORTHERN
IRELAND WHERE RIGHTS
OF ALL ARE GUARANTEED
PERHAPS BY UN/EEC.

FEDERAL/CONFEDERAL
STATE AS ENVISAGED
IN THE NEW
IRELAND FORUM.

RE-INTEGRATION OF
IRELAND, NORTH AND
SOUTH INTO THE U.K.



Your own Forum

There is a need, at all levels - (within political parties, at adult education classes, within trade unions and in schools) - **for a more open discussion about Northern Ireland... and about its relationship with the Irish and British states.** It is important that opportunities are provided which reflect some of the qualities of the meetings which led up to the Forum Report - rather than the report itself.

It is important to explore all sorts of ideas and to ask very basic questions. It is important to ask questions which can be followed up with answers...or by finding out different viewpoints. **It is however too easy to become "informed" by simply adopting a stance...** In the context of your own forum it is also important to make use of questions which challenge any stance. You can then use this process to clarify the basic principles involved and to see if they stand up to such questioning.

Most of all it is important to provide opportunities for groups to become aware of their basic attitudes and assumptions. These attitudes - (especially if we are not aware of them as such) - have a fundamental influence on how we interpret any other information about an issue. It is a case of making constructive use of these attitudes within a learning process. This means allowing people to become aware of their own attitudes and providing opportunities to challenge them rather than working on pushing your own. This kind of process is a central part of a development education approach.

Much of the material in **'Half the Lies are True'**, in particular this section, could be adapted to make stimulus material for such group work.

The activities suggested for looking at British and Irish newspapers could make a good start. They provide a lot of material and a wide enough range that most groups (of any age) would get something from them. They are therefore useful at the beginning of a course when you wish to establish a feel for the group's experience, knowledge and attitudes.

Cartoons such as the ones on the page opposite (with those on pages 51, 60 and 73) are useful in a similar way for sharing basic assumptions. They are also flexible enough to use as a stimulus for group forming activities.

'Whose Problem?' (page 58) could be copied and cut up into individual quotes. These could be used for a form of ranking activity. Groups of two are asked to arrange them in terms of the ones they feel are most... and least important. They then share this discussion with another pair.

The visuals about different options, the three responses to the forum and the newspaper cuttings could all be adapted to provide some background about the Forum Report. The Report itself is very readable and inexpensive.

'The problem is...' activity on page 68 could be used at a later stage. If time is limited, a list such as this could be used as a stimulus. Groups could be asked to focus their discussion on the limitations of each statement. It would be better if groups of four are asked to brainstorm a list of their own endings to the sentence "Northern Ireland - the problem is ..." These could then be shared to make a list as a whole group and to discuss their limitations.

The material **'Who says so?'** can also be adapted for use in a number of different ways (see page 69).

A number of publications which have been produced by DEC and Trocaire for their development education work have ideas and activities which could be adapted to planning such group work. (*)

Northern Ireland

“The problem is.....”

- the British don't care enough.
- the Irish (in the South) don't care enough.
- the British don't know much about it.
- the Irish (in the South) have very little contact with the North.
- everybody just “turns off” when the North comes on TV.
- concentration on covering violence and death anaesthetizes everyone.
- there is a lack of any serious political willingness to tackle the question.
- that Britain has too many economic and political vested interests in the current status quo.
- Ireland has too many historical and political vested interests in the current status quo.
- that while Britain would be better off without Northern Ireland, the South is not prepared to pay the price of a United Ireland.
- there is a belief that there is an answer; there is little willingness to admit that we are confused.
- that people think that Catholic means Republican and Protestant means Unionist.
- if we had a United Ireland the Unionists would dominate.
- if we had a United Ireland the IRA would refuse to recognise the compromises necessary.
- that there are 1 million Protestants that don't want anything to do with a United Ireland.
- that the rights of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland are not respected.
- that the Irish know too much history and the British know too little.
- that we only define violence in terms of paramilitaries.
- that we do not recognise institutionalised violence.
- that our disgust of violence prevents us from hearing views that are part of the real situation.
- that we refuse to recognise that democracy involves taking account of all views.
- that Northern Ireland has become such an institutionalised part of politics in these islands that progress is impossible.

Northern Ireland - who says so?

The series of short “quotes” on page 70/71 have been put together as a stimulus to discussion about the wide range of views involved in contemporary Northern Ireland. They do not cover all the views, nor are they actual quotes, they have been compiled to encourage a wide ranging discussion about the factors influencing the situation.

The most appropriate activity to use these “quotes” will depend on the type of group and the amount of work they have already done. It is however important that they have already done some work on Northern Ireland. It is not suitable as an introduction. We have outlined three types of possible activities to help your own planning.

1. Ask each pair to choose **one** statement that they are most in sympathy with and **one** with which they have the least sympathy. The pair should work together to agree on the choice of the two statements, if this is possible. They should then be asked to identify one strength and one weakness for each of the statements they have chosen.

By doing this activity the pairs will become familiar with the collection of quotes and attempt to clarify their views to each other. It also encourages them to question in detail the choices they have made.

This work in pairs is a valuable build up to a full and lively discussion with the whole group.

2. Give each pair both the “quotes” and the list of people who have said them (see below). It would be useful if the list was cut up so that the activity involves placing the people against the quote.

This matching activity also involves becoming familiar with the range of quotes. The debriefing of the work in pairs could focus on particular difficulties which occurred. The group as a whole could also see if they can agree on a matching. This process allows participants to piece together a range of ideas and share their different understandings of the situation.

The “answers” may not be needed for some groups but others, particularly those that have less awareness of the issues may need them after the initial attempt of matching. In this case the group discussion would focus more on why these people might see the situation in the way suggested.

The “answers” are:

1-G, 2-E, 3-J, 4-H, 5-L, 6-B, 7-K, 8-C, 9-F, 10-A, 11-I, 12-D.

3. Working in groups of 3 or 4 provide participants with the “quotes”, some poster paper and felt pens.

Ask them to use the statements as part of a poster to show the main tensions, as they see them. Using felt pens they can highlight these tensions and also add extra ideas to complete the poster. These can then be presented to the whole group. The differences and similarities of the ideas shown in the posters provide the stimulus for a lively discussion.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. An Irish (Southern) Nationalist who supports a united Ireland but opposes violence. | G. Nationalist in Northern Ireland who believes the British should not be there - and will have to be forced out. |
| B. A British Sociologist who sees religion as a label used to divide people. | H. A European or American Politician. |
| C. A Northern Ireland Protestant who favours dialogue, compromise and change. | I. A British person who sees no way forward. |
| D. An Irish person (from South) who sees that the North has right to separate existence. | J. A member of a Dail Party. |
| E. A member of a British Parliamentary Party. | K. A Northern Ireland Protestant who sees him/herself as British and has to defend it. |
| F. A Northern Ireland Nationalist who opposes violence. | L. A person involved in business who sees the conflict blocking progress. |

who says so?

"For 800 years now, the Irish have been fighting against British aggression. They took over our country by force and they continue to hold part of it by force. They harnessed our economy, our land and our people for their own ends. They introduced alien settlers and an alien system. If the Brits pulled out we could begin to settle our own problems ourselves. If they won't leave by themselves then we will have to force them out." (1)

"The intransigence of the British government and the obvious failure of the Northern State make it necessary for us to seek a political solution. If reasonable people and their governments do not actively pursue a peaceful solution, then the 'men of violence' will win the day. The British will have to recognise that we have a right to be involved in working out Northern Ireland's future." (3)

"Britain has consistently made the situation in Ireland difficult and it is up to us to show we now take the problem seriously. We support the idea of a United Ireland but this can only be achieved through peaceful means involving dialogue and compromise among all involved groups and traditions." (10)

"History is stultifying the place and blocking progress. We need to tackle the real problems of unemployment, regional development, urban renewal etc. Let's stop living in the past. Together we can make Ireland, North and South, an attractive place to invest in, thus creating jobs, boosting the economy etc. The island needs a sharp dose of pragmatism to end bigotry, superstition and an over-indulgence in historical issues." (5)

"We have been here now for over 300 years. We have built the place into what it is and we do not intend to be pushed out. We have every right to be here and if others want to shoot and bomb us out then we have no alternative but to reply in kind." (7)

"We inherited this problem - it is not of our making. We do our best to keep the peace but the other sides are totally unreasonable. We have even sacrificed our soldiers in the cause of peace. However, no small group has the right to secede from the U.K. without the support of the majority. However, it is becoming very tiresome trying to keep both sides apart. They just do not see things as we do." (2)

"Northern Ireland is such a difficult problem that it's hard to know where to begin. If we become involved the British Government will tell us that we are interfering in their internal affairs while if we don't the Irish Government will accuse us of not caring. It's hard to know what we can actually do." (4)

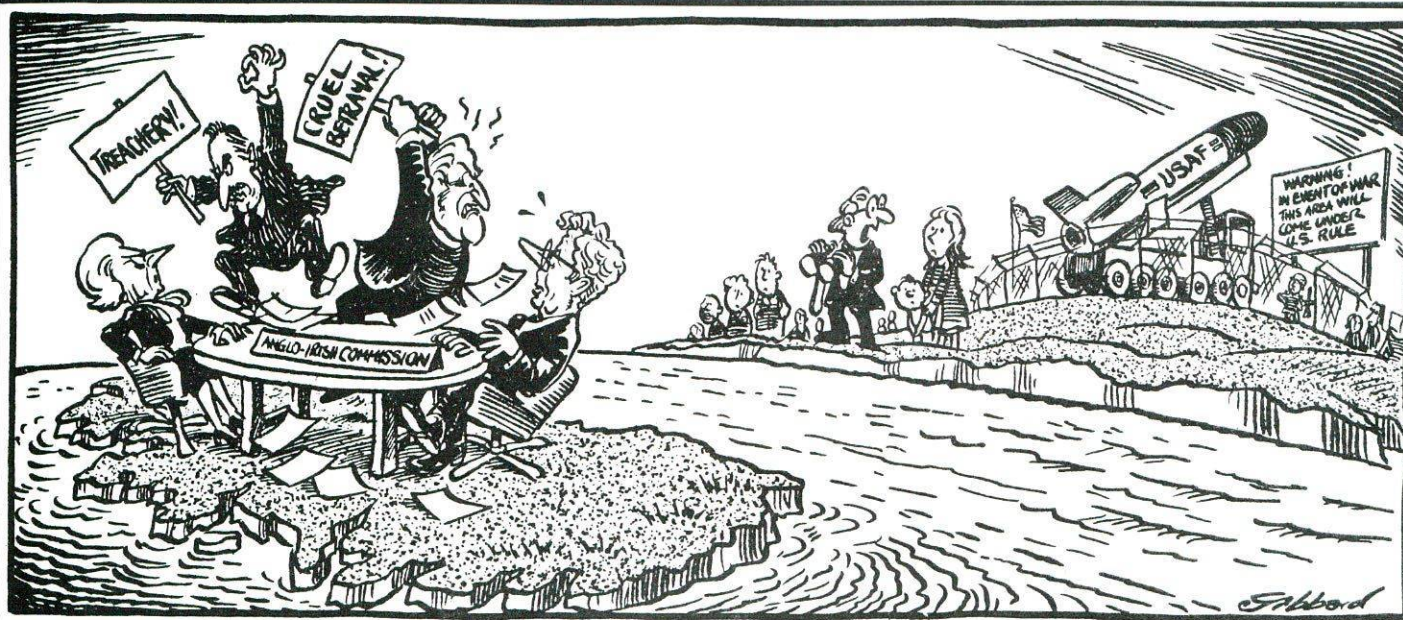
"Religious bigotry, while it's not all of the explanation of the problem is certainly a part of it. Each group believes that the other does not respect their religious view and has been able to get their own religious beliefs enshrined in the law. This only serves to institutionalise self-righteousness." (6)

"If the governments of the U.K. and the Republic do not stop playing with nationalism, and really deal with the North's problems, bringing to bear all the pressure available internationally, then the 'men of violence' will win out and we already know the consequences of this. Only a United Ireland, brought about peacefully, can really solve the problem. The Northern State has clearly failed." (9)

"We accept that mistakes may have been made in the past and that some peoples' rights are denied. But all that is in the past, we now have more in common than we have dividing us. So we should forget the past, concentrate on our common problems and opportunities and move forward together." (8)

"I don't believe we have the right to claim jurisdiction over Northern Ireland. One million protestants don't want to have anything to do with us and that's fair enough - they have good solid reasons. Our claims to control the North only make the situation worse. Let them sort out their problems without interference from us. Perhaps they would be better off on their own." (12)

"I couldn't care less about Northern Ireland. Those people refuse every reasonable proposal - they don't get on with each other or with us - in fact they are willing to attack or kill us because of their views. It would be better to break all ties and let them sort it out for themselves." (11)



'As far as I can make out, Messrs Paisley and Powell are stating that they refuse to have their destiny influenced by a foreign power!'

Dublin given voice in Belfast

ULSTER 'PACT FOR PEACE'

Loyalists threaten UDI
Paisley warns: We aren't playing — we'll paralyse the Government

Taoiseach's plea falls on deaf Unionist ears

Treasury Minister quits: threats from extremists

EEC praises deal on North and pledges total support

Leader of UN hails new pact

Maggie's big gamble

US acts to pass aid deal

Sinn Fein strategy to halt Unionists

Massive show of strength in Belfast

Death threat to Southern officials

HISTORIC DEAL GIVES IRISH REPUBLIC MORE INFLUENCE

Powell attacks Thatcher over Irish pact

Cynicism at the street corner

LOYALISTS SAY 'NEVER'

Anglo-Irish drive to defeat IRA

Ulster must take courage from Maggie

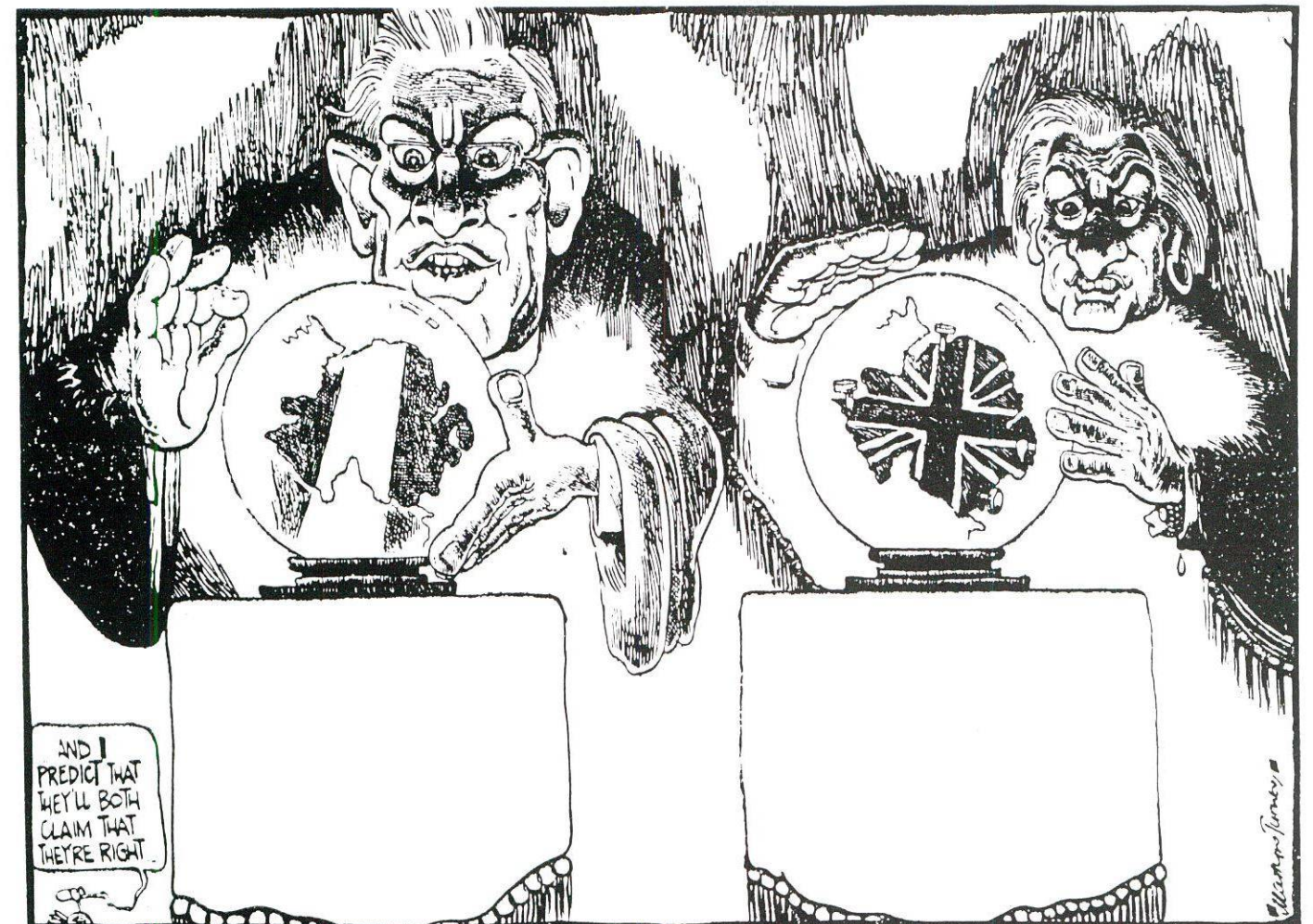
Reagan cash backs Ulster peace gamble

The Anglo-Irish Agreement - November 1985

In the final stages of putting 'Half the Lies are True' together, there was growing speculation about Britain and Ireland reaching an agreement in the near future. In the build-up to the signing of The Anglo-Irish Agreement there were many predictions about what it would mean. The Turner cartoon (from the Irish Times) with Ian Paisley and Charles Haughey using their crystal balls captures something of this build-up.

Time will tell how important this agreement is for the future of Ireland. It is not our job to speculate on that. It is clear, is that, as was the case with 'The New Forum Report', that there is a need for much more open discussion about the nature of the relationship between Britain and Ireland. It is also important, as the Gibbard Cartoon (from the Guardian) reminds us, to see this relationship in its international context. For these reasons, we thought it important to add these few extra pages on the agreement.

Before looking at some of the responses to the Anglo-Irish agreement we feel it is worthwhile to read the text itself (see page 74). It would be valuable to do this as a group using a simple activity such as asking pairs to work together on itemising the major points, and then sharing them as a whole group. Such preliminary work will allow a much fuller discussion of the responses (see page 76).



THE Government of Ireland and the Government of the United Kingdom:

Wishing further to develop the unique relationship between their peoples and the close co-operation between their countries as friendly neighbours and as partners in the European Community;

Recognising the major interest of both their countries and, above all, of the people of Northern Ireland in diminishing the divisions there and achieving lasting peace and stability;

Recognising the need for continuing efforts to reconcile and to acknowledge the rights of the two major traditions that exist in Ireland, represented on the one hand by those who wish for no change in the present status of Northern Ireland and on the other hand by those who aspire to a sovereign united Ireland achieved by peaceful means and through agreement;

Reaffirming their total rejection of any attempt to promote political objectives by violence or the threat of violence and their determination to work together to ensure that those who adopt or support such methods do not succeed;

Recognising that a condition of genuine reconciliation and dialogue between unionists and nationalists is mutual recognition and acceptance of each other's rights;

Recognising and respecting the identities of the two communities in Northern Ireland, and the right of each to pursue its aspirations by peaceful and constitutional means;

Reaffirming their commitment to a society in Northern Ireland in which all may live in peace, free from discrimination and intolerance, and with the opportunity for both communities to participate fully in the structures and processes of government;

Have accordingly agreed as follows:

A: STATUS OF NORTHERN IRELAND

Article 1

The two Governments

(a) affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland;

(b) recognise that the present wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland is for no change in the status of Northern Ireland.

(c) declare that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they will introduce and support in the respective Parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish.

B: THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE

Article 2

(a) There is hereby established, within the framework of the Anglo-Irish intergovernmental Council set up after the meeting between the two heads of government on November 6, 1981, an Intergovernmental Conference (hereinafter referred to as "the conference"), concerned with Northern Ireland and with relations between the two parts of the island of Ireland, to deal, as set out in this agreement, on a regular basis with

(i) political matters;

(ii) security and related matters;

(iii) legal matters, including the administration of justice;

(iv) the promotion of cross-border co-operation.

(b) The United Kingdom Government accept that the Irish Government will put forward views and proposals on matters relating to Northern Ireland within the field of activity of the conference in so far as those matters are not the responsibility of a devolved administration in Northern Ireland. In the interest of promoting peace and stability, determined efforts shall be made through the conference to resolve any differences.

The conference will be mainly concerned with Northern Ireland; but some of the matters under consideration will involve co-operative action in both parts of the island of Ireland, and possibly also in Great Britain. Some of the proposals considered in respect of Northern Ireland may also be found to have application by the Irish Government.

There is no derogation from the sovereignty of either the Irish government or the United Kingdom Government, and each retains responsibility for the decisions and administration of government within its own jurisdiction.

Article 3

The conference shall meet at ministerial or official level, as required. The business of the conference will thus receive attention at the highest level. Regular and frequent ministerial meetings shall be held; and in particular special meetings shall be convened at the request of either side. Officials may meet in subordinate groups. Membership of the conference and of sub-groups shall be small and flexible.

When the conference meets at ministerial level an Irish minister designated as the Permanent Irish Ministerial Representative and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland shall be joint

chairmen. Within the framework of the conference other Irish and British ministers may hold or attend meetings as appropriate; when legal matters are under consideration the Attorneys-General may attend.

Ministers may be accompanied by their officials and their professional advisers: for example, when questions of security policy or security co-operation are being discussed, they may be accompanied by the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána and the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary; or when questions of economic or social policy or co-operation are being discussed, they may be accompanied by officials of the relevant departments.

A secretariat shall be established by the two Governments to service the conference on a continuing basis in the discharge of its functions as set out in this agreement.

Article 4

(a) In relation to matters coming within its field of activity, the conference shall be a framework within which the Irish Government and the United Kingdom Government work together

(i) for the accommodation of the rights and identities of the two traditions which exist in Northern Ireland; and

(ii) for peace, stability and prosperity throughout the island of Ireland by promoting reconciliation, respect for human rights, co-operation against terrorism and the development of economic, social and cultural co-operation.

(b) It is the declared policy of the United Kingdom Government that responsibility in respect of certain matters within the powers of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland should be devolved within Northern Ireland on a basis which would secure widespread acceptance throughout the community. The Irish Government support that policy.

(c) Both Governments recognise that devolution can be achieved only with the co-operation of constitutional representatives within Northern Ireland of both traditions there. The conference shall be a framework within which the Irish Government may put forward views and proposals on the modalities of bringing about devolution in Northern Ireland, in so far as they relate to the interests of the minority community.

C: POLITICAL MATTERS

Article 5

(a) The conference shall concern itself with measures to recognise and accommodate the rights and identities of the two traditions in Northern Ireland, to protect human rights and to prevent discrimination. Matters to be considered in this area include measures to foster the cultural heritage of both traditions, changes in electoral arrangements, the use of flags and emblems, the avoidance of economic and social discrimination and the advantages and disadvantages of bill of rights in some form in Northern Ireland.

(b) The discussion of these matters shall be mainly concerned with Northern Ireland, but the possible application of any measures pursuant to this article by the Irish Government in their jurisdiction shall not be excluded.

(c) If it should prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution on a basis which secures widespread acceptance in Northern Ireland, the conference shall be a framework within which the Irish Government may, where the interests of the minority community are significantly or especially affected, put forward views on proposals for major legislation and on major policy issues, which are within the purview of the Northern Ireland Departments and which remain the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

Article 6

The conference shall be a framework within which the Irish Government may put forward views and proposals on the role and composition of bodies appointed by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland or by Departments subject to his direction and control including

the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights;

the Fair Employment Agency;

the Equal Opportunity Commission;

the Police Authority for Northern Ireland;

the Police Complaints Board.

D: SECURITY AND RELATED MATTERS

Article 7

(a) The conference shall consider

(i) security policy;

(ii) relations between the security forces and the community;

(iii) prisons policy.

(b) The conference shall consider the security situation at its regular meetings and thus provide an opportunity to address policy issues, serious incidents and forthcoming events.

(c) The two Governments agree that there is a need for a programme of special measures in Northern Ireland to improve relations between the security forces and the community, with the object in particular of making the security forces more readily accepted by the nationalist community.

Such a programme shall be developed, for the conference's consideration, and may include the establishment of local consultative machinery, training in community relations, crime prevention schemes involving the community, improvements in arrangements for handling complaints, and action to increase the proportion of members of the minority in the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Elements of the programme may be considered by the Irish Government suitable for application within their jurisdiction.

(d) The conference may consider policy issues relating to prisons. Individual cases may be raised as appropriate, so that information can be provided or inquiries instituted.

E: LEGAL MATTERS, INCLUDING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Article 8

The conference shall deal with issues of concern to both countries relating to the enforcement of the criminal law. In particular it shall consider whether there are areas of the criminal law applying in the North and in the South respectively which might with benefit be harmonised. The two Governments agree on the importance of public confidence in the administration of justice. The conference shall seek, with the help of advice from experts as appropriate, measures which would give substantial expression to this aim, considering inter alia the possibility of mixed courts in both jurisdictions for the trial of certain offences. The conference shall also be concerned with policy aspects of extradition and extra-territorial jurisdiction as between North and South.

F: CROSS-BORDER CO-OPERATION ON SECURITY, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL MATTERS

Article 9

(a) With a view to enhancing cross-border co-operation on security matters, the conference shall set in hand a programme of work to be undertaken by the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána and the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and, where appropriate, groups of officials, in such areas as threat assessments, exchange of information, liaison structures, technical co-operation, training of personnel, and operational resources.

(b) The conference shall have no operational responsibilities; responsibility for police operation shall remain with the heads of respective police forces, the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána maintaining his links with the Minister for Justice and the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary his links with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

Article 10

(a) The two Governments shall co-operate to promote the economic and social development of those areas of both parts of Ireland which have suffered most severely from the consequences of the instability of recent years, and shall consider the possibility of securing international support for this work.

(b) If it should prove impossible to achieve and sustain devolution on a basis which secures widespread acceptance in Northern Ireland, the conference shall be a framework for the promotion of co-operation between the two parts of Ireland concerning cross-border aspects of economic, social and cultural matters in relation to which the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland continues to exercise authority.

(c) If responsibility is devolved in respect of certain matters in the economic, social or cultural areas currently within the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, machinery will need to be established by the responsible authorities in the North and South for practical co-operation in respect of cross-border aspects of these issues.

G: ARRANGEMENTS FOR REVIEW

Article 11

At the end of three years from signature of this agreement, or earlier if requested by either Government, the working of the conference shall be reviewed by the two Governments to see whether any changes in the scope and nature of its activities are desirable.

H: INTERPARLIAMENTARY RELATIONS

Article 12

It will be for parliamentary decision in Dublin and in Westminster whether to establish an Anglo-Irish parliamentary body of the kind adumbrated in the Anglo-Irish Studies Report of November 1981. The two Governments agree that they would give support as appropriate to such a body, if it were to be established.

Text of the Anglo-Irish agreement.

What are people responding to?

On these pages we have selected a number of the responses to the Anglo-Irish Agreement. These could be used as a stimulus for discussion in a number of ways. It may be most effective to use them as a follow-up to a discussion about the text of the agreement itself. If you have used the 'Who says so' activity (pages 69-71) these quotes could form the basis of a discussion in role, providing you felt able to get people out of role in order to debrief!

To focus discussion it may be useful to introduce some basic questions such as:

Does the agreement mean that Ireland has given up its claim to Northern Ireland as part of its territory?

Does the agreement mean that Britain has made the first move in an eventual withdrawal from Northern Ireland?

Will the agreement strengthen the political power of Dr. Fitzgerald or Mrs. Thatcher in their own countries?

Will the agreement make any real difference in the North of Ireland - e.g. to violence, unemployment, quality of life?

Will the agreement help to forge new political alliances or simply consolidate old ones?

There is much speculation about an American Aid package to back up the agreement. Why might the Americans think it is important for them to spend this money? Which reasons do you support? Which reasons are of concern to you?

"Dr. Fitzgerald and I have today signed a serious and solemn agreement, which signifies the way ahead in relations between our two countries and towards peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland".....

..... "To sum up: we entered into this agreement to defeat the men of violence and to bring peace and stability. We enter into this agreement in good faith. We shall do everything to make it succeed. Whether it works will depend also on the will of the people and I hope that they will seize the chance which the agreement gives. Indeed, we call on all people of goodwill to join us in building peace and stability in Northern Ireland."

Margaret Thatcher (Prime Minister)

"However, I believe that the change of policy in Northern Ireland, including the involvement of a foreign power in a consultative role in the administration of the province, will prolong, and will not diminish, Ulster's agony. I cannot support this change of policy. It follows that I cannot remain in your Government."

Ian Gow

(in a letter resigning from the British Cabinet)

"Throughout these negotiations, the Irish Government's approach has been to seek ways of securing recognition of, and respect for, the rights and aspirations of both traditions in this island; a process which must of its nature contribute also to better relations between the peoples of Ireland and Britain."..... "To Nationalists and Unionists alike I appeal: Look at and evaluate this agreement, not as some people in both communities who are committed to maintaining divisions and hatreds will attempt to portray it, but for what it is."

Dr. Garret Fitzgerald (Taoiseach)

"I find that the conditional set-back and the damage done to the concept of Irish unity by the Government outweighs everything. It is totally against the principles enshrined in the New Ireland Forum report. What is wanted is for the British Government to agree to the holding of an all-round constitutional conference which would decide on new constitutional structures for the whole of Ireland."

Charles Haughey (Leader of Fianna Fail)

"I believe this is the beginning of the process of edging Northern Ireland out of the United Kingdom.... Only divine intervention could deliver Northern Ireland from the possible consequences of the agreement.... I believe, and I think our Church believes, in the right of our people to be consulted, whether by referendum, or by election, or by whatever other means."

Dr. Robert Dickinson

(Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland)

"We have consistently argued that the proper framework in which to proceed towards the peace and stability that everyone desires is the British/Irish framework, since it is within that framework that all the conflicting relationships that have given rise to our problems can be addressed."

John Hume (SDLP)

"A fragile first step, at best a shaky foundation which will not support an enduring political solution without some major additions and changes. It is an agreement that is far more symbolic than substantive."

Congressman Mario Biaggi

"At long last, the British have made some response, however meagre and inconsequential, to the 16 year battle of the IRA, and to the rising tide of support for Sinn Fein."

Martin Galvin (NORAI)

"The Catholic minority in the North will have a new advocate to advance their rights and help dispel the alienation that has led to so much tragedy and violence over the past sixteen years of the conflict."

Senator Edward Kennedy

"We applaud its promise of peace and a new dawn for the troubled communities of Northern Ireland. I wish to congratulate my two good friends - and outstanding prime ministers - who have demonstrated such statesmanship, vision and courage.... The peoples of the United Kingdom and of Ireland have made a great contribution to the political and intellectual heritage of the United States and to our economic and social development."

President Reagan

"The UDA views the Anglo-Irish deal as treachery and warns that members of the proposed secretariat and anyone who collaborates with them will be classified by us as legitimate targets for assassination. We further warn that all residents of the Irish Republic will be treated as hostile and if found on Ulster soil may suffer the consequences of Fitzgerald's folly."

Ulster Defence Association (UDA)

"The cast iron guarantees given to Loyalists that the Union would remain intact showed that Dr. Fitzgerald had 'capitulated' to Mrs. Thatcher's rejection last year of the Forum Report. Mrs. Thatcher's interest is to stabilize the Six County state and to neutralise Irish Nationalist aspirations through a mixture of appeasement and ongoing repression to which Garret Fitzgerald has committed the Dublin Government."

Sinn Fein believes that the claims of progress made by the Dublin Government, and which will undoubtedly be heralded by the leadership of the SDLP, are hollow claims. The formal recognition of the partition of Ireland is a disaster for the nationalist cause and far outweighs the powerless consultative role given to Dublin."

Gerry Adams (Sinn Fein)

"The SDP profoundly hopes that this Anglo-Irish agreement will succeed. To do so it must carry widespread conviction in both south and north. Such conviction can only be built up after sober reflection on the detail of the agreement rather than instant reaction."

Dr. David Owen (Leader SDP)

"The outcome of the summit is a modest step forward. The British people will be watching to see how the Government makes it work. We expect the Government to take tangible steps to ensure a clear understanding amongst the peoples of Northern Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom of the nature, purpose and potential of the agreement. It will, therefore, have to engage in an extensive programme of consultation and reassurance in both the communities of Northern Ireland."

Neil Kinnock and Roy Hattersley (Labour Party)

"This agreement is a minor but welcome step forward. It should not cause problems for Unionists because it is quite obvious that British sovereignty is not at stake and no change can take place on that issue without the agreement of both sides."

Stephen Ross (Liberal Spokesman)

A Study Visit to Northern Ireland

A group of teachers, members of the South West Development Education Project, based at the Centre for International Studies at Rolle College, Exmouth, became concerned at the lack of knowledge about Northern Ireland on the part of both pupils and teachers and felt that a study visit might help to clarify and inform. It was felt that there was no validity in looking at Northern Ireland in isolation from the South and so a visit was planned to both parts which took place in the Easter vacation of 1984.

We crossed the border without realizing it but a few kilometres later when we entered the outskirts of Newry, we encountered our first road block. Several RUC officers, wearing flak jackets and armed with sub-machine guns and rifles stopped our minibus and checked occupants and contents carefully. During the whole procedure a platoon of British soldiers kept their rifles trained on us. For most members of the group this was a first sight of armed police in Britain.

On the first evening there was an introductory meeting with a Catholic headteacher and a Protestant minister at Queen's University Methodist Chaplaincy. Much of their explanations concerned the common problems of poverty, poor housing and unemployment which so seriously affected sections of both religious groups.

The next morning we were shown part of working class Belfast and, as predicted, found it almost impossible to tell whether we were in Protestant or Catholic territory, other than by slogans painted on the walls. There was a uniformity of depression and decay which transcended the religious divide.

In the Falls Road area we visited St. Louisa's Comprehensive College to talk with a group of 20 adult students whose ages ranged from 16 to over 60. This proved, for all of us to be the most valuable and interesting part of the visit. Ordinary people told us in their own words their experiences of life in Belfast. From this it became much more apparent how great were the barriers which divided the communities. The comment "I never met a Protestant until I was 18...I thought they all had two heads or something" was one which provoked almost unanimous agreement.

Many of the students we talked with expressed the view that the Protestants were in the same situation as themselves, but that it was almost impossible to meet for discussion and reconciliation. Later, similar discussions with Protestants showed the same problems were experienced, an almost total lack of contact with members of the other faith and the fear of a paramilitary response to attempts to break down the barriers.

Our next visit was to the Glencairn Estate, which is a Protestant stronghold and which had been the setting for a series of sectarian murders before local residents reacted against the Protestant paramilitaries, forcing them to moderate their activities. Considerable steps were being made along the path of self-help as a community, but there seemed to be little, if any, wish to establish relations with Catholics and there was a strongly expressed intention to "remain British" even in the face of a possible rejection of the British people themselves. "We have 250,000 men trained, armed and ready to fight. We could definitely hold three counties and most of a fourth" we were told.

We visited Corrymeela House which exists to co-ordinate and encourage those who are working for reconciliation and to help the victims of sectarian strife. The Centre is situated on the North Coast of Antrim near Ballycastle and is largely staffed by volunteers from a variety of religions and national backgrounds. Its work is aimed at reconciliation and tries to provide an opportunity for those affected by sectarianism to get away for a break and to meet other people; help and counselling are provided for those bereaved by the violence. There are facilities for school parties to meet others as well as to use as a field centre for educational courses.

Much good work is being done at the Centre but, there is a substantial amount of antipathy to the Centre on the part of the extremists of both sides.

From Corrymeela we journeyed south to Dublin. Our discussions with a variety of people in the Republic indicated to us that the attitudes of many in the South towards the North are ambivalent. Almost without exception we found that citizens of Eire see a united Ireland as their ideal. However, in the foreseeable future, few seemed to regard this likely or economically desirable. The economic cost of rebuilding the decaying economic structure of the North would almost certainly severely damage or cripple the South and the prospect of inheriting the extremists of either (or both) of the sides filled most people with trepidation.

In such a short and generalised account as this, profound or detailed analysis is impossible and, indeed impertinent after such a short visit. However, I left Ireland with a generally gloomy expectation of the foreseeable future with regard to the North. The situation does not seem to have a solution which does not involve bloodshed. History has shown that to maintain the status quo will continue the sectarian murders and will probably require even more commitment of British Troops with the inevitable escalation of Catholic resentment. To withdraw the troops will almost inevitably lead to a bloody civil war.

We left Ireland with a great deal of food for thought. Prior to this visit we had all had preconceptions, some clear, some not, of the Northern Ireland situation. Some of the preconceptions were reinforced, some were altered. The page opposite shares some of these from our diaries.

Andy Tyacke

Reflections

"Disappointed to find so little effort made to cross the sectarian divide. The few tentative efforts seemed hardly to scratch the surface. Both groups, on the whole, seem imprisoned in their own communities. The only way forward seems to be through a radical change in the education system:- religious integration in schools from nursery to sixth form."

"I am afraid that the visit reinforced my feelings. Many of my views were confirmed directly as well as by implication in a variety of conversations. I was not really prepared for the total lack of communication between the two communities."

However, I saw a glimmer of hope in the attitudes of some of the adult students at St. Louisa's and the determination of individuals on both sides to break down barriers."

"I now look at Northern Ireland as being a separate country from the south and think it has nothing to offer and no-one wants it. I feel it has a lot in common with Lebanon with a population who are being manipulated by the internal and external forces."

"Prejudice appeared to be more based on Nationalism rather than religion, but was compounded by the fear/disgust and lack of communication between, and 'false' images of, the 'other side'."

"The reality of the situation shocked me - the Peace Line, the city centre barricades, I had not expected as such. The positive developments initiated by the church were encouraging. The overall scene was, though, depressive."

Expectations

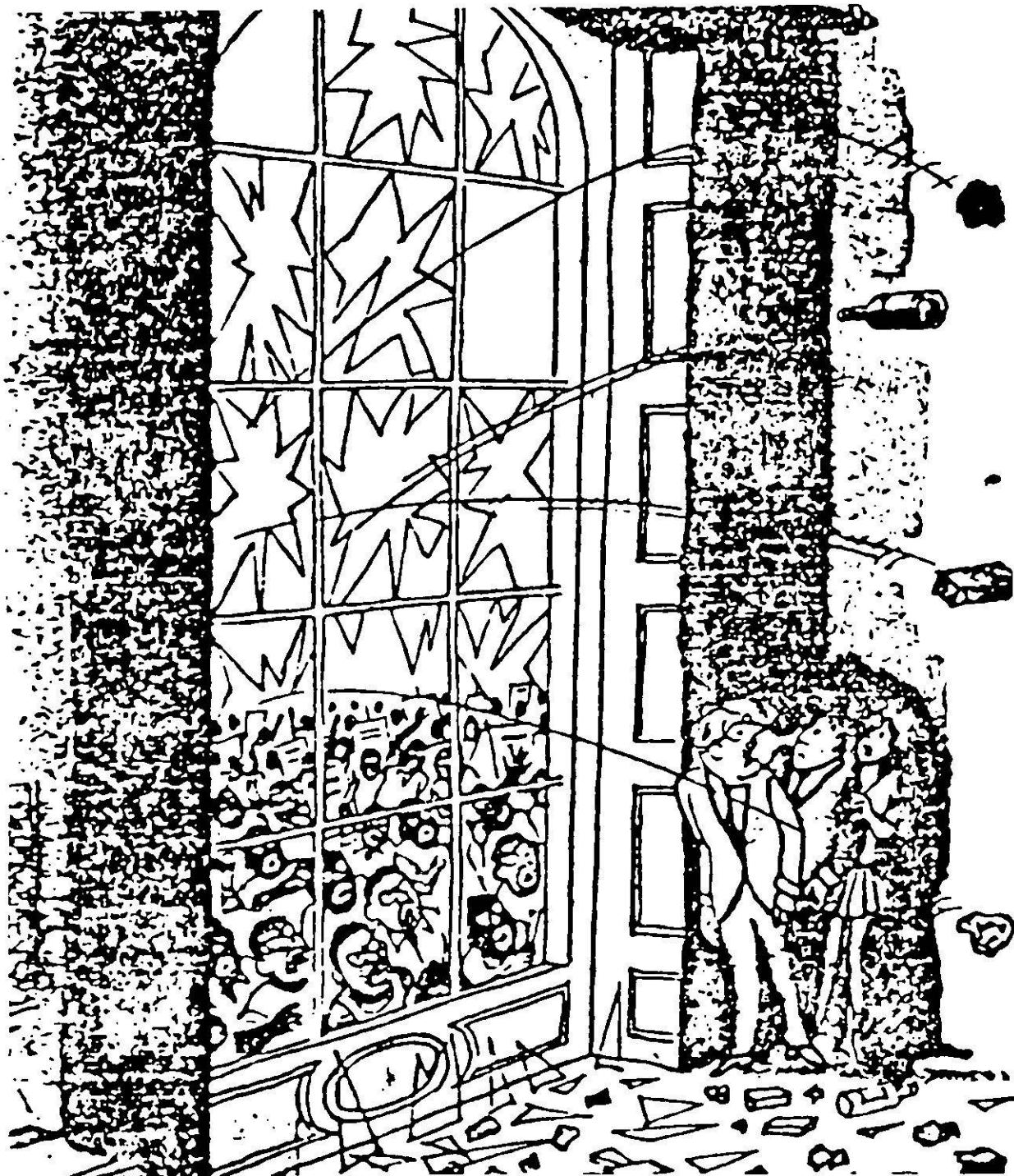
"I had imagined that the situation existing in the North was a class issue clouded by sectarian issues. I thought that the actions of the British had only caused the situation to stagnate and attitudes harden."

"I had seen Northern Ireland as a violent society split by religious bigotry. Two sides with irreconcilable differences and with entrenched positions and who were being manipulated and coerced by men of violence on both sides whose only main motivation was economic self-aggrandisement."

"I felt that both North and Southern Ireland were part of the British Isles and the situation in the North was caused by fanatical Unionists and I sympathised with the Catholic minority."

"A divided society with tremendous prejudice on both sides based on religious beliefs. Inner city problems magnified by the troubles. Road blocks."

Learning from the Past



"Oh for the days when you could quieten them with a flick of a cigarette lighter".

Many Third World writers, for example Franz Fanon, Kwame Nkruma, Walter Rodney, have demonstrated how vital a sense of history is to those who have experienced the impact of colonialism. In the post independence era the historical past of the colonised (often denied during the colonial era) becomes a central pivot around which national identity often rotates. Earlier in this book Joe Lee argued that Irish people's sense of historical grievance forms an integral part of their sense of both place and identity.

Today, it has become commonplace to argue that a central feature of "the Irish Question" (or as the Irish might refer to it - "The English Question") is that while the English remember little history, the Irish forget none. Thus any appreciation of Anglo-Irish relations today requires not only a knowledge of history but also a sense of the importance of history.

At the seminar in Greystones many participants discussed the way in which history in general and Irish/British history in particular is presented in schools. Following these discussions we invited a number of teachers to respond to various texts. While these texts were not strictly comparable we did hope they would raise questions and debates about the way in which each other's history and our joint histories are portrayed.

In this section Elaine Kelly Conroy, Brendan Fox and Elizabeth Parkin have contributed their thoughts on the (British) Schools Council History Project book - *'The Irish Question'* (published by Holmes McDougall).

Bob Waugh has extended his thoughts on three history books used in Irish schools to ask the questions 'Whose History?' The books are a series published by Gill and MacMillan.

In the final section a new project on history and development education is introduced. Part of this project will take place in Britain and part in Ireland.

(Schools Council Project 14-16 History Project 1977.)

This publication which is part of the Modern World Studies series, aims to help students aged 14-16 to understand the present world. *The Irish Question* is one of four, the other choices being, *'Arab-Israeli Conflict'*, *'The Rise of Communist China'* and *'The Move to European Unity'*. By all accounts *'The Irish Question'* is one of the least favourite choices but is, nevertheless, used in class.

All the reviewers agreed that the authors of *'The Irish Question'* had set themselves a mammoth task to deal with the complexity and interaction of economic, religious, cultural and political elements, as well as spanning a period of time. They felt the Schools Council were to be congratulated on grappling with this sensitive issue and on producing materials which were lively, accessible and, by and large, fair. Below, however, we concentrate on the areas of criticism and disagreement raised by the reviewers as these are central to our overall discussion in **'Half the Lies are True'**.

'The Irish Question' is in danger of reaffirming a popular view of Ireland peopled on the one hand by Roman Papists - supporters of the IRA indulged by an ambivalent Government, and on the other by Protestants, all fervent Unionists, supporters of the RUC and British Army. This attitude is clearly seen in the introductory statement - "**Ireland is divided between Catholics and Protestants**"- and reinforced throughout the text. In dealing with difficult issues there is always the temptation to divide the protagonists into "Goodies" and "Baddies". To give the book its due, it avoids this trap but its Protestant/Catholic analysis is equally simplistic.

“Since the middle ages Ireland’s history has been deeply affected by its closeness to England”. This is the opening sentence of *‘The Irish Question’*. However, the book seems to consider Irish history as it more adversely affects, not is affected by, England. The lasting impression of the text is of a situation ‘out there’ which England has to cope with, rather than one in which England has been closely involved.

The question of Irish neutrality during the second world war, and how important bases in Northern Ireland were to Western Europe, for example, is not mentioned at all. The only positive role played by the Northern Irish Unionists seemed to be in providing voting partners in Parliament.

One of the reviewers, who is from Northern Ireland, drew on her own experience: "I do not want to be an apologist for the Unionists in N. Ireland, for I do feel that they bear much of the responsibility for the current situation, but no consideration is given in the book to the feeling of threat that many of them, rightly or wrongly, live under."

"The polarisation which comes from the feeling that their own Church is the one true Church, has led to isolation in education and has exacerbated the public housing segregation. There has been a desire to keep one's family away from those of a different 'religion' to avoid tainting. This is not mentioned."

Some of the explanations used can be misleading, e.g. in the section on 'Some Important Terms' (page 93):-

"Universal franchise. A system of one person, one vote. After 1921, some Protestant businessmen had votes at their place of work as well as where they lived."

The law governing voting had been the same in the rest of the U.K. It was then changed in there but not in Northern Ireland. There were business votes - but not just for "Protestant businessmen". There would have been more Protestant than Catholic businessmen - as there were more Protestant than Catholic householders. People were not excluded because of their denominational allegiance but because of their

What overall impression of Ireland does this cover convey? In what ways might it be seen as anti-Irish?

Can you suggest why this might be seen as an inadequate or even misleading title for a text on the historical background to the troubles in Northern Ireland. Suggest two better alternative titles

How do you respond to the illustration? Are there other figures who would need to be included?

Use your atlas to find out why the placing of the word "Dungannon" makes it very difficult to see the "historic province of Ulster" on this map.

In what way is this term inaccurate?

Revise Workbook Three to find the meaning of the word 'Éire'.

In conveying the idea that the trouble originates in religious division within Ireland, what very significant factor is being put to one side? cf. New Ireland Forum, Chapter 3.

* Work through other pages of the text on "The Irish Question" and identify the images being conveyed. Note all examples of bias.

THE IRISH QUESTION

TEXT: *The Irish Question*
(Edinburgh: Holmes McDougall for the Schools Council, 1977)
ISBN 7157 1557-7.

INTRODUCTION

Ireland is divided into two parts: Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland. This political division goes back to the end of 1921.

Ireland is divided between Catholics and Protestants. This religious division goes back to 1534, though it was later that the differences began to cause trouble.

Ireland has in the past been divided between landlords and tenants. From the middle ages some of the largest and most powerful landlords have been immigrants from England and Scotland and the descendants of these immigrants. Even today there are enormous variations in wealth, not only between individuals, but between different areas of Ireland.

These divisions are complex and it is against the background of their long history that we must try to understand the present troubles.

Map 1: The political divisions of Ireland today

Schools Council History 13-16 Project

Modern World Studies

social situation, e.g. most women, because they were not householders, did not have a vote in local elections. The system worked to the advantage of the Unionists, but it was not a straightforward case of extra votes for Protestants.

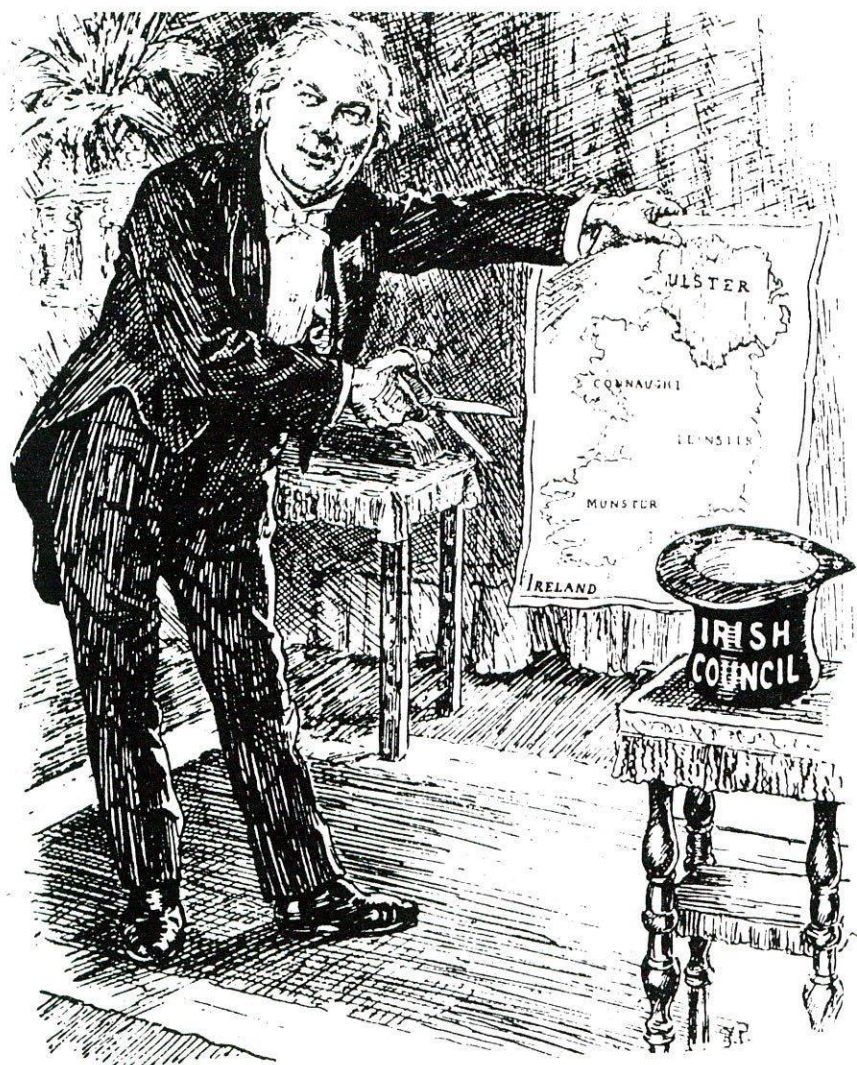
Sections two and three of the book, spanning forty years from the 1880's to the partition of Ireland in 1921, catch the mood of the period vividly, zooming in on the vital historical events and movements of the period.

The last two sections 1968-1980 are the best in the book. The sense of frustration, enmity, fear, alienation and reaction that was Derry in '68 or '69 is recalled with telling effect. The reader is taken with the new generation of Catholic working-class students at Queen's University in Belfast, benefitting educationally under the English welfare system, back to the divided, bitter city of Derry and their first introduction to politics at the barricades. En route on a march between the two cities they come face to face with the unacceptable, brutal face of a decadent state.

A lack of written text is handsomely counterbalanced by the many illustrations, cartoons, maps, statistical charts and photographs. These, in the main, are excellent with perhaps a slight question mark over a few inclusions:

- the point of Map 4 showing Catholic lands in Ireland in 1641, 1688 and 1703?
- the juxtaposition of the photographs on pages 50 and 51 captioned *A Catholic celebrating Mass* and *Inside a Protestant Church*. The *Catholic Mass* shows a concelebration with seven priests and cuts off the congregation - the *Protestant Church* shows the Minister surrounded by, and at one with, his flock in prayer.

A favourite inclusion is the *Punch* cartoon commenting on Lloyd George (the Welsh Wizard) and the Government of Ireland Act 1920.



The Kindest Cut of All Welsh Wizard: "I now proceed to cut the map into two parts and place them in the hat. After a suitable interval they will be found to have come together of their own accord. (Aside) At least I hope so. I've never done this trick before."

Summing it up the reviewers wrote:-

"..... One wonders if, at the end of it, even the more able students will have a clearer appreciation of the Irish Question."

"I feel students could come away with the impression that religious differences are the cause; that they maintain the strife and are the chief barriers to a solution. The danger of this was pointed out by Bernadette Devlin on p.62 but was not sufficiently followed up."

"..... It has been claimed that most British people believe that the Irish are to blame for the mess they are in; that Britain's role is that of a benign and patient parent tending to the ungrateful children who refuse to grow up and bury their religious hatred. I don't feel that this book, studied on its own, would succeed in debunking some of those myths and stereotypes. Its problem lies in the fact that it relies too much on describing events and movements and not enough on analysis. The central role of England as a major colonial power with vast commercial and strategic interests are not tackled."

All of the viewers agreed that 'The Irish Question' suffered from a weakness which to them as Irish people undermined its effectiveness. It is agreed that the historical dimension is crucial to understanding Northern Ireland today. While the 'The Irish Question' accepts this and begins its survey in the sixteenth century, it covers the period from then to 1870 in only 10 pages, thus avoiding some crucial and central aspects at the roots of today's conflicts, for example, the Plantation of Ulster. It also avoids an examination of the emergency of British colonial policy and how Ireland fitted into that policy.

Ken Bore - (a teacher who has recently been developing his own material about Northern Ireland) - puts our reviews into the wider context of some of the challenges which face teachers seeking ways to view contemporary issues into their historical context.

One of the major defects of 'The Irish Question' textbook as it stands is that it skips over Irish history up to 1800 in half a dozen pages. It is also extremely deficient in any evidence about Irish culture.

One might say that Ireland is exceptional in this regard, since it is a cliché that Ireland, perhaps more than any other country, is dominated by its sense of history, and understandably so. All the more regrettable, then, that a textbook which aims to put the problems of Ireland today into some sort of historical perspective ignores that cultural and historical background. I think, though, that the point is of wider relevance.

We cannot pitch our children into Italian history as if they were seasoned globe-trotters. Many of our pupils will hardly have ventured outside their own home-town, let alone to a country with a different culture. Ireland or Italy are a long way away. We have to break down cultural barriers and prejudices before we can attempt to project their young minds into the past.

'The past' is in itself such a difficult concept to grasp. After all, everything that is, is the past. The present is a fiction, and the future doesn't exist yet. We are teaching a four-dimensional subject, a weird subject. Unlike geography or physics or mathematics, which generally only teach what are their subjects' accepted truths as of today, we try to convey other dimensions. We have to convey a different culture, many different cultures, in time; if we are teaching foreign history we have to convey a different culture in space as well.

We also have to attempt to convey that the way these events and people in history are perceived has altered in time and space too, and that historians disagree about what the 'truth' is about any event or person.

Somehow we have to put all these nuances over to our pupils, without confusing them! Empathy is crucial to history at any level. All historians empathise. Those who believe it is not a skill that can be assessed are being less than honest with themselves. Any good history book should simply ooze with empathy, and it should be fairly easy at the end of reading it to say whether, and how far, the author really had been able to penetrate into the thoughts and feelings of the people of a different time.

Whose History?

History never ends. That is its fascination and its relevance. The English economist John Maynard Keynes used to say that men who considered themselves to be supremely practical were often unwittingly "the slaves of some defunct economist" - their present ideas were a continuation of lines of thought that had developed through history.

If studying the past has value, and in particular if the continued presence of History in the school curriculum can be justified, then it has to be in these terms - that it extends our understanding of our world, our fellow human beings, ourselves. At a time when powerful interest groups throughout the industrial world are seeking to redefine education as vocational and technical training, this essentially humanist view of education needs to be reasserted. It is, of course, true that the study of history teaches "skills" - of analysis, judgement, imagination, etc. - but these are means to an end, not the end itself.

Development education and history have not overlapped as much as they should. The concerns of DE are very much those of traditional humanist education - the widening of people's perceptions of their world, empathy with people in different situations, critical understanding of problems, etc. However, development education's penetration of the school syllabus has until recently been overwhelmingly in the field of Geography, with some interesting interventions in the fields of Economics, R.E. and Social Studies. This has left unresolved a key aspect of what are currently called "North-South relations" - how they were created historically. In turn this has allowed development education a certain political ambiguity - studied as a present reality, these relationships can be understood either as technical problems, soluble by scientific or technical improvements, or in terms of power-relationships - the exploitation of the weak by the strong. This ambiguity could usefully be resolved by the study of the relations between the "North" and the "South" as they were created over the centuries. In the UK, some important work is currently being done by the Centre for World Development Education's History Study Action Group (1), which so far has held two conferences and published several pamphlets.

For the history teacher in Ireland, Scotland or Wales, the concerns of development education are no less relevant, but must be placed in a different context to that of the teacher in the metropolitan country, England. The three countries have all had the experience of subjection, in some form or another, to the English state. In Wales and Ireland, the process was the blunt one of conquest; Scotland's experience was the more subtle approach of incorporation. The motive, however, was the same - the dominance of the smaller nations by the majority group, the English. It facilitated the emergence of Britain as a leading world power - for several decades at the beginning of the last century, the dominant world power. That identity is faded now - the British Empire is gone, and the counterpart to that has been the revival of a sense of nationhood on the "Celtic fringe".

This presents history teachers in these countries with a complex problem - they wish to create in their students both a clear and unsentimental idea of their national identity rooted in an awareness of their past, and an awareness of their place in a complex pattern of global inter-relationships. Are these two aims in conflict? Can they be reconciled? Might they even be complementary?

For history teachers in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland there is also an additional dimension to their dilemma. They are still parts of the British state, the United Kingdom. The extent to which their peoples can (or wish to) distance themselves from the central UK identity is unresolved, a matter of keen political conflict (and in Northern Ireland, political violence). Teachers trying to resolve these complex issues might seek in the schools of the Republic of Ireland the basis of a new approach, if they consider that the old "British (ie English) History" is no longer valid.

In the sixty-three years since the 26-county Irish Free State (as it then was called) was established, it has been ruled by a government elected by its own people. The history of these years, in particular since 1945, is one of emergence and growing self-confidence. Irish diplomats at the United Nations have played a distinctive role.

Irish troops have served with UN peacekeeping forces. Irish aid workers and priests have stirred the consciences of Irish people on issues of world poverty. Ireland's contribution to the recent "Live Aid" concert (the highest per capita in Europe) follows a tradition of generosity in support of overseas aid agencies. How much of this stems from an awareness of their own past? How do the young Irish of today (and in age-structure, the Irish are the youngest nation in Europe) see their past - a bolthole from the problems of the present or a springboard into the future?

As a Scot, educated along the lines of a traditional "British history" syllabus, who has been involved with world development issues since student days, now a history teacher in a small town in Oxfordshire, such thoughts have jumbled around in my head for years. It was therefore with some anticipation that I turned to read three history text books currently used in Irish schools. (2)

Some immediate reactions first. The books were well-produced, with many interesting illustrations and a clearly-printed text with special aspects or topics of study neatly boxed-off. There is a lot of text, indicating that these books are intended for the more academic, "top-stream" kids. What is more, the tasks set involve a lot of "finding out about", making certain assumptions about the motivation, initiative and background of the pupil reading the book.

The books are quite traditional in their approach. They contain a lot of information which is to be imparted to the student. There is little use of primary sources, evidence, or all the other methodology developed by the Schools Council 13-16 Project in England and Wales.

These observations, though relevant, were not, however, central to my reactions. It was the content itself which disappointed me; the approach, the selection of facts, are very similar to that of the traditional style of history text books in Britain. James Halpins' book on the period 1450-1660, **'From Columbus to Cromwell'** is an example of this. The first six chapters describe life in Europe in the late 15th century.

Then there follows a chapter describing Ireland at the beginning of this period; one each on the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; four on events in Ireland throughout the period, and another four on events in England (a key theme being how events in the latter country shaped the fate of the former, and how the two countries became increasingly entangled with each other); a chapter each on France and Spain; a chapter on Russia and Turkey; and the final chapter describes Europe in 1660. Only the penultimate chapter - No 21 - deals with 'New Worlds Exploration and Settlement'.

This means that the student is told in Chapter 13 that Spain was the leading power in Europe for most of this period. Not until Chapter 21 is s/he told of the looted wealth of the Aztec and Inca empires. A major historical example of domination and exploitation is therefore fudged in the student's mind. There is no space to discuss the role that the gold and silver from the "New World" played in the wider economic development of Europe which in turn might raise issues connected with power. To wedge explorers such as Columbus and Diaz in with Conquistadores Cortes and Pizarro, the trading empires of the Portuguese and Dutch in the Indian Ocean, and English and French settlements in North America, all into one chapter simply fails to explain either the power of Spain, or the nature of the challenge posed by the English and Dutch. Europe was by then part of a wider world, and Ireland's position in that Europe was being downgraded by the rising power in England. The connection between these processes needs to be understood.

IF YOU ARE A
POLITICAL PERSON-



AND DO NOT
STUDY HISTORY-



YOUR POLITICS WILL PRO-
VOKE CHAOS, ANARCHY
AND REPRESSION-



An interesting exercise might have been to compare the fortunes of Ireland in this period with that of Scotland, which not only retained her independence but in the late 1630s and early 1640s was dictating the course of English history. Scotland was far from economically well-developed, and was a small country like Ireland. Other considerations of power relationships were involved here and make for an interesting comparison with Ireland. Sadly, there is no chapter on Scotland despite her supposed "kinship" with Ireland.

Kenneth Neill has written two textbooks on the 19th and 20th centuries - *'The Age of Steam and Steel'* and *'Our Changing Times'*. Clearly he sees history as being of value in terms of civic education. He is constantly explaining terms, introducing concepts, and in various ways trying to inculcate a positive attitude to current events among Irish students.

For instance, his chapter on 'Modern Ireland' in *'Our Changing Times'* ends with the statement that "in the interconnected world in the 1970s there are no small nations - only small minds." The final chapter - 'Spaceship Earth' - ends with the statement that "the three post-war decades have seen a greater spirit of human brotherhood than ever before".

Neill's consistently optimistic tone - he was writing in 1975 - stems from a "Whig" view of history as the record of human progress. Thus he spends a fair amount of time describing development in science and technology, and repeats frequently the idea that faster travel, television, etc., have "made the world smaller". Although nuclear science has created weapons of mass destruction, it has also been used to generate electricity and so perhaps "it will turn out to be a greater friend than enemy". And so on.

One wonders if Neill's readers in Irish schools in 1985 share this optimism. What, for instance, do they make of his assessment of the risk of nuclear war? Writing of the crises of the late 1950s and early 1960s he describes the escalating missile race, but concludes "... it is doubtful that the USA or the USSR intended to use these frightening weapons". The last few years have cast a dark shadow on such hopeful thinking.

The need to maintain his positive attitudes has led Neill to downplay certain other aspects of the period. For example, his explanation of why the Industrial Revolution centred on Britain, focusses on her reserves of coal and iron with a passing mention of her "strength of trade". No mention at all is made of that most profitable trade - the slave trade - and its importance in creating the capital which was available to develop the inventions of the late 18th and early 19th century.

Again, in his book on the 20th century, he discusses space technology in some detail, but gives little attention to something which has also "made the world smaller" in a way that more directly affects ordinary people. This is the creation of a "world market", a process shaped by the policy of the USA since 1945 and one from which it has benefitted greatly. There is no discussion of that most significant institution of late 20th century history, the multi-national company. This leads on to other fudgings. His description of why Latin Americans dislike "Yanqui" businesses is clear enough, but his description of events in the specific case of Allende's Chile from 1970 to 1973 is significantly inadequate. No mention is made of CIA activities at all and he is misleadingly simplistic about the nature of Allende's Popular Unity Coalition (Allende is described as leader of "the Chilean Marxist Party" - which does/did not exist - and his policy is at one point called "Chilean Communism"). In the case of Ireland, the foreign companies which arrived in the 1960s are mentioned as being one of the factors modernising Irish society, and are therefore, by implication, a "good thing". In the circumstances of the mid-1980s he might be considering a postscript.

SO THE QUESTION IS:



IF YOU ARE A
POLITICAL PERSON -



AND STUDY HISTORY -



YOUR POLITICS WILL PRO-
DUCE DISILLUSION, APATHY
AND CYNIC-
ISM.



WHETHER TO IGNORE
HISTORY AND BE JAILED.



OR LEARN ITS LESSONS
AND BE IMPOTENT.



WHAT A CHOICE.



Why this ingenious optimism? The answer lies in the subtitles of the two books - *'Ireland, Britain and Europe in the Nineteenth Century'* and *'Ireland, Europe and the Modern World Since 1890'* - and in the preface to the former of these two books. In this passage he sets out his aim;

"In this book, as in 'Our Changing Times', an attempt has been made to integrate fully Irish and European history. For too long Ireland has been studied in isolation, a fact which has left many students with a very disjointed view of the past, as if Ireland and Europe were two separate planets. For too long texts have overlooked the fact that we are a European island, one which has both influenced and been influenced by developments elsewhere on the continent."

This line of thinking stems from the politics of these islands. The majority group, the English have long held internal politics of the minority nations and their concerns, to be by definition "trivial". This attitude is usually rooted in a most profound and determined ignorance, yet it has cast its shadow over the minds of the educated groups in these societies, who do not want to feel that they are "cutting themselves off", that they are being "introverted" or "small-minded".

Since the collapse of political order in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s and the failure to devise a new structure to replace the failed one of 1920/22, this attitude has been much in evidence. The British are calm, sophisticated people trying with little success to inject some reason into Irish politics (which are, it goes without saying, characterised by wild passions and obscure hatreds) - this is the prevalent tone. Mrs Thatcher's lofty dismissal of the New Ireland Forum last Autumn ("Out...out...out") was a prize example of this genre; her entire attitude was that of a patient headteacher who had, yet again, to deal with a rather dull group of miscreants.

In the 1970s educated groups in the minority countries fastened onto a line of argument which enabled them to escape all this. This was "Europeanism" - the emphasising of their wider European identity, and that of their country's within Europe. This had attractions - at one stroke the British became the parochial ones, weighed down by the faded grandeur of a bygone age, whereas it was the new "Eurocelts" who were in the mainstream of events. The trouble was that this argument in fact exchanged one set of doubtful assumptions for another. It leads most of its proponents to accept uncritically the cosy consensual view of "Europe" peddled by enthusiasts for the European Economic Community and all its works - that it was a united, harmonious international society which had overcome the hatreds and the injustices of the past. Those who pointed to the considerable discrepancies in income and living standards between social groups and areas within the EEC, and doubted that organization's ability to resolve these problems, could be dismissed as "anachronistic", "introverted", etc. - and how reassuring to be able to accuse them of it!

By 1985, Irish (as well as Scots and Welsh) students can see that the world is bleaker and harsher than supposed in the early 1970s. Their countries are peripheral in the context of the European economy - even the discovery of oil off the Scottish coast has not lifted that country out of the status of a "depressed area" - and so cannot be simply equated with the metropolitan heartlands of Europe.

Yet for these nations to come to terms with their peripheral identity is not for them to "cut themselves off". Indeed, an examination of their past in these terms, and in terms of the power-relationships to which this article has referred, means that they have experience of distant control and neglect. This gives them experience familiar to those on the wider periphery of the world economic system. An analysis of history in these terms, of power and weakness, wealth and poverty, and how they have come to be so unequally distributed, would lead students to ask, and attempt to answer, the question not posed in these books. **Why on Spaceship Earth, with all its technical and scientific wonders, are so many travelling steerage?**

New Project

Development Education — an Historical Dimension.

In this final section we would like to introduce a new curriculum development project which draws on our experiences of working together and on many of the issues in 'Half the Lies are True'. It is proposed that this project, which will be run jointly by the Development Education Centre (Birmingham) and Trocaire, will begin in Autumn Term 1986.

Our experience, as shown in this book, is that work on British/Irish relations in the context of international misunderstanding allows us to broaden the scope of development education, deepen our understanding of development as a local issue and improve our skills by working on the historical dimension. There is a need for further work on this historical dimension and to apply it to some of the mainstream concerns of development education.

It is not the case that these debates have been missing from historical research and publishing - far from it. A quick perusal of recent publications in both British and Irish history will reveal the vitality of the debate. Development Studies itself has a long pedigree of historical research. We are however, arguing that such research has rarely filtered through to classroom level. We are also arguing that development education has not paid sufficient attention to this area.

The project will centre on four main ideas:

1. That there is a need to see many contemporary development issues in their specific historical context.
2. That the processes and patterns involved in many historical events are parallel to many development issues today. Fuller use could be made of these case studies of development/under-development to enable young people to become more aware of the processes and patterns involved.
3. That there is a need to develop appropriate skills which make the most of a "joint approach" to our history (Britain/Ireland). This would in part be about our shared history but is also an opportunity for analysing ourselves in relation to wider world issues such as the Industrial Revolution, Colonialism or the Slave Trade.
4. That there is a need to identify the nature of the joint (British/Irish) approach. To see "joint history" as a concept which can be applied to preparing work on other joint histories - e.g. Ireland and U.S. of A. or Britain and Ghana.

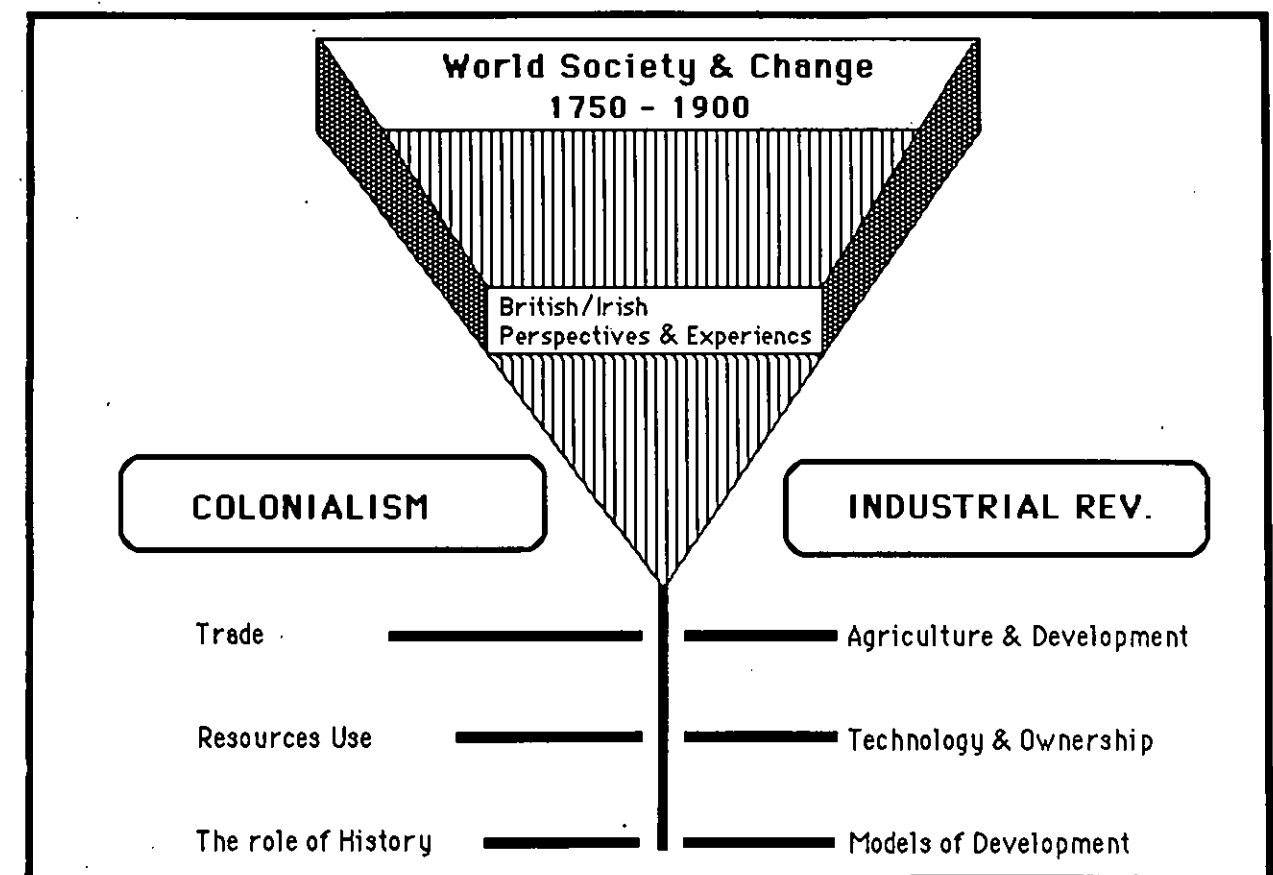
This will involve work on myths and images, in particular the influences of historical attitudes on perceptions today.

An historical dimension to development education will be valuable both to teachers of history and to those introducing those concepts in other areas of the curriculum such as geography, economics, social and political studies etc. The notion that an historical dimension is important to all work in development education will therefore also provide a major focus for the project.

Workshops will be set up both in Birmingham and Dublin to launch the project and to identify potential teachers to join working groups. While it is anticipated that history teachers will make up a significant proportion of the groups, other teachers interested in the historical dimension of development education will also be encouraged. The project will be seeking involvement from teachers, who with support, will be able to take a role in leading inservice workshops for other teachers.

The teacher groups will in the first place have their own programme prior to joint meetings and "study visit" style work in each other's country. They will then work in parallel to experiment with methods and develop materials. These materials should be designed for flexible use in a variety of history courses and in other areas of the curriculum where the historical dimension has an important role in providing a context for contemporary events and issues.

It is also important to be flexible in order to respond to the different national curriculum scenes and the different starting points over our "joint history". There is a notable lack of Irish History in British schools despite the realities of Northern Ireland today, our many other links, membership of the E.E.C. and a significant Irish population living in Britain. In Irish schools however, it is impossible to study Irish history without constant direct reference to British history - the two are inextricably linked. In Britain it is commonplace to make almost no reference to Irish history in discussing the emergence and complexion of modern British Society.

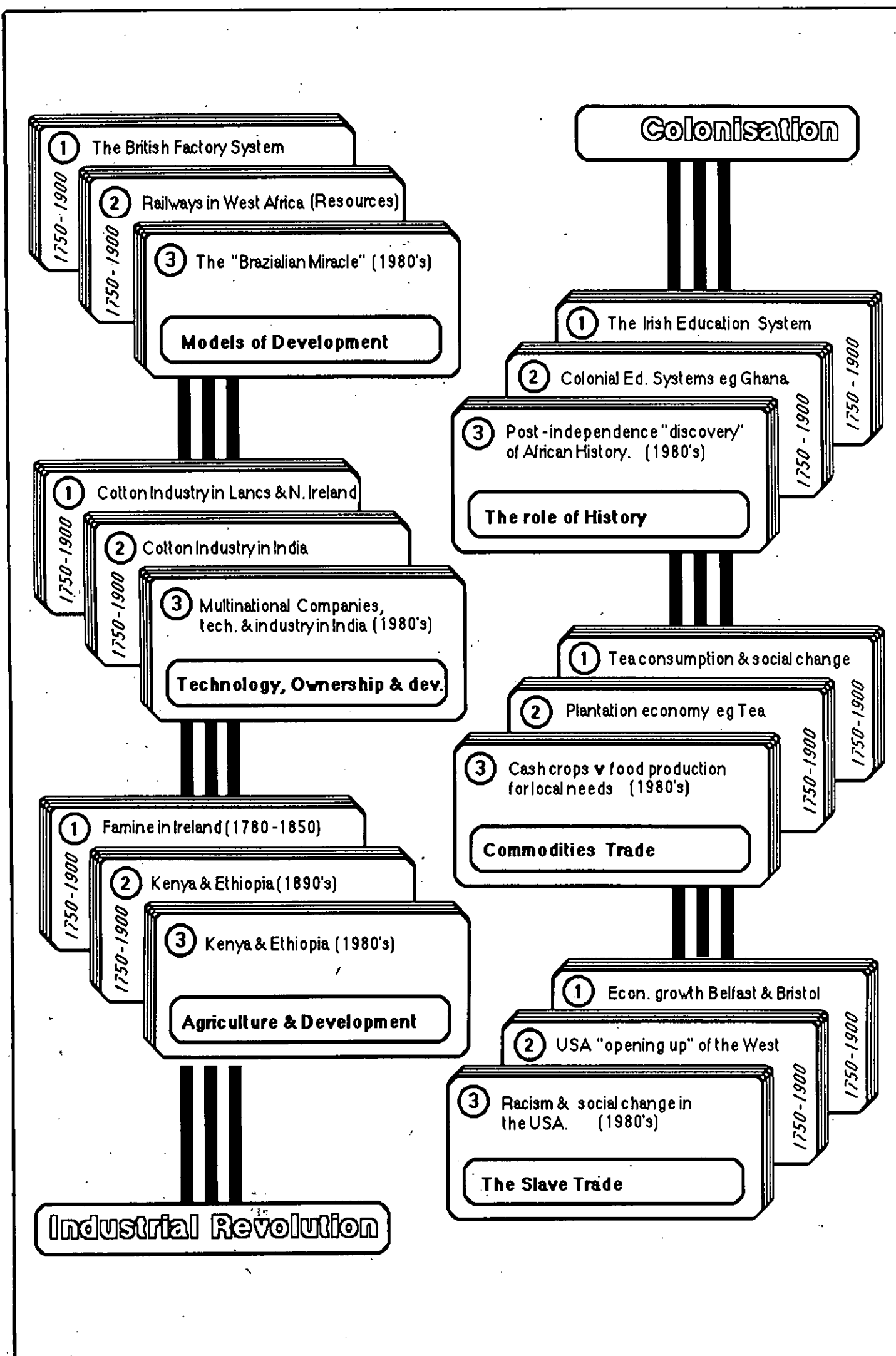


It is proposed that "World Society and Change 1750-1900" be used as a central theme. Many patterns and processes which influence the shape and events of the modern world stem from this period of history. In particular the dominant models of "development" were established at this time. It is proposed that they will be explored by focusing on major themes such as the Industrial Revolution and Colonialism.

In each case particular emphasis will be given to the idea of British and Irish experiences and perspectives. The process of teachers in Britain and Ireland working together on this will in itself heighten our awareness of these different perspectives and their role in our analysis of events. The exchange of ideas will force us to become more aware of our basic assumptions.

The decisions about which themes and case studies are most appropriate will evolve from the work of the teacher groups and their joint workshops. The following is therefore, only offered to illustrate some possibilities.

The Industrial Revolution and Colonialism, as shown in the diagram, could be used as a basis for several "process and pattern" themes. Agricultural change and land clearance, or the ownership of technology are themes which remain important today. They could provide a focus for some work on the influence of the Industrial Revolution on world society.



The patterns of world trade and the exploitation of natural resources remain major issues in any discussion about development in the world today. They could also be used to explore the evolution of colonialism and its effect on world society 1750-1900.

Both these major themes, Industrial Revolution and Colonialism, could be further developed by work on ideas, politics and social control. For example work could be done on the ideas used to legitimise colonialism in Europe or on the ways in which history and identity of the "mother country" (i.e. the coloniser) became so dominant to the thinking of the colonised. Questions about the models of development which influence the areas of the "Third World" that are currently undergoing rapid industrialisation are vital to any debate about contemporary world change. It is equally important to explore the kind of models which influenced the Industrial Revolution.

It is proposed that each of these "process and pattern" themes should be made more accessible by focusing on case studies. In order to make the link with contemporary issues and to encourage students to draw parallels between events in Britain, Ireland and other parts of the world it may be useful that each theme includes three types of case study as shown on the diagram.

1. An historical case study from a local (Britain and Ireland) context (1750-1900).
2. An historical case study from another part of the world (1750-1900).
3. A contemporary case study in a world context (1980's).

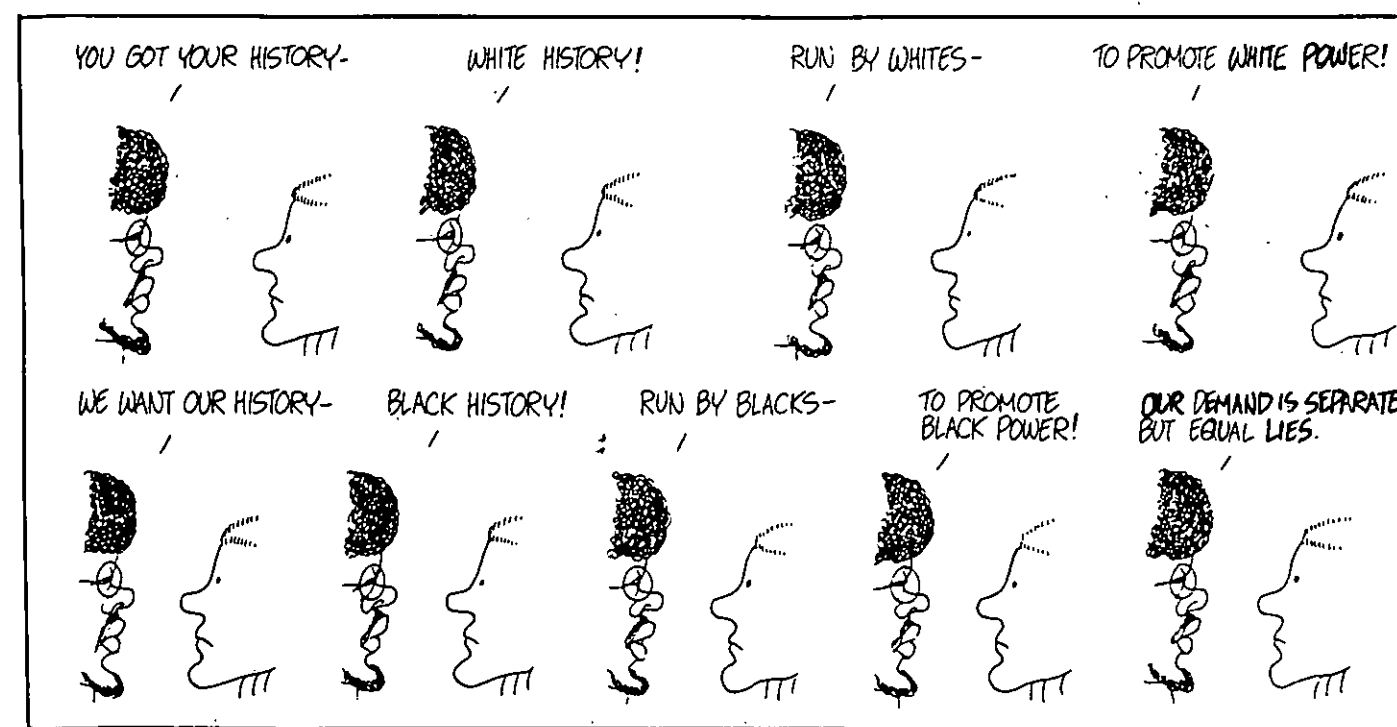
Following this pattern the 'Commodities Trade' for example, could focus on case studies:

1. Consumption Patterns and Social Change using tea as an example (Britain/Ireland 1750-1900).
2. The development of plantation economies with special reference to tea (1750-1900).
3. Cash Crops v Food Production for local needs (1980's).

In a similar way 'Technology ownership and change' could focus on case studies:

1. Cotton Industry in Lancashire and Northern Ireland (1750-1900).
2. Cotton Industry in India (1750-1900).
3. Multinational Companies, technology and industry in India (1980's).

If you would like to hear more about this project or be kept in touch about developments please write to Marje Bridle and Scott Sinclair at Birmingham DEC or Colm Regan at Trocaire. (For addresses see inside front cover.)



RESOURCES

We have limited ourselves to resources that have received specific mention and one or two others. Fuller lists of development education materials are available in other DEC and Trocaire handbooks. We have therefore also listed some of those.

Choices in Development

(Centre for World Development Education 1978) A set of A3 size black and white photographs from Kenya and Tanzania. A useful stimulus to the question: What do we mean by development? (see page 8)

The News behind the News (Oxfam 1985)

A broadsheet (free from Oxfam) produced to stimulate discussion about the way the situation in Ethiopia has been portrayed by the media.

The New Internationalist

(Monthly journal from 42 Hythe Bridge St., Oxford) An invaluable source of information including case studies of development issues.

Teaching and Controversial Issues R. Stradling et al (Edward Arnold 1984)

A valuable background to some of the educational issues we have been tackling. It has a chapter on both 'Northern Ireland' and 'Third World issues' but very different approaches are taken to the two sets of issues. This could provide the focus for a lively debate.

The British State and the Ulster Crisis P. Bew & H Patterson (Verso, London 1985)

A detailed review of the recent history of the relationship between Britain and Northern Ireland. It examines the policies of both the conservative and labour parties.

The Contribution of History to development education Ed. Sneh Shah (The Historical Association, London 1982)

A short discussion paper about the work of the CWDE History Group which focuses on courses in two particular schools. (Referred to on page 86)

Changing the Problem: Post Forum Reflection D. Murphy (Lilliput pamphlets no.3 1984)

The pamphlet puts forward the rationale of the case for an independent Northern Ireland. (see page 64)

Fighting for Freedom R. Richardson (London, Nelson 1978).

Classroom book. Referred to on pages 35-37. Part of a series. Packed full of valuable stimulus material.

Ireland a Positive Proposal Kevin Boyle & Tom Hadden (Penguin 1985).

An up to date review of the different initiatives and legal frameworks which have been attempted in Northern Ireland. It offers no simple solutions but does grapple with the factors which a legal solution would need to take into account.

Ireland - the Propoganda War L. Curtis (London, Pluto Press 1984).

A comprehensive overview of the role of the media in the issues of Northern Ireland. It offers detailed consideration of the different ways violence is covered and the different emphasis given to the role of the British, the Loyalists and the Republicans.

Ireland Since the Famine F.S.L. Lyons (Ed) (London, Fontana 1973)

Very detailed but readable review of Irish History since the famine.

The Irish Question Schools Council history 13-16 Project. (Holmes McDougall, Edinburgh). (See reviews on pages 82 - 85).

The Irish Question - Moving Ahead Ken Bore (Humberside County Council, 1983).

A collection of loose leaf typed sheets put together as part of a teacher fellowship. Aimed at the less able pupil. Part of a response to the Schools Council Book.

Learning for Change in World Society R. Richardson & Co. (World Studies Project, One World Trust 1979).

Great source of ideas and stimulus material for teaching about development and justice issues.

The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923 J.C. Beckett (London, Faber 1966)

Standard advanced text book. Very detailed

The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918 J.Lee (Dublin, Gill and MacMillan 1973)

A very readable and stimulating introduction to recent Irish history. Valuable as a school text.

The New Ireland Forum Report (Dublin, 1984)

The recent outlining three possible futures for Ireland (including Northern Ireland). (See pages 57-65). There are also very detailed and valuable sources in the back up reports on economics etc. Available from the Government Stationery Office, Dublin.

Nothing But the Same Old Story The Roots of anti Irish racism L. Curtis (London, 1984).

Very stimulating introduction to British attitudes towards Ireland and the Irish.

The Protestants of Ulster J. Bell (London, Pluto Press 1976).

One of the few serious studies of the majority population of Northern Ireland.

Teaching World Studies D Hicks and C. Townley (London, Longmans 1982)

Useful background reading to the evolution of thinking about development education in Britain.

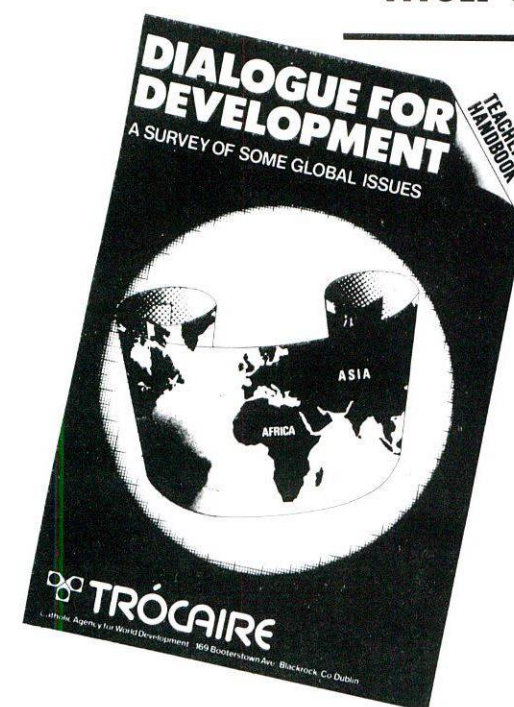
Terrorism. J. Dunlop, (Jordanhill Project in International Understanding, Glasgow 1979.

Classroom material. A welcome, and all too rare, attempt to deal with this issue from a development education perspective.

The Two Irelands: the double minority (London, Minority Rights Group 1979)

An informative report which has a section on the minority Catholic population in Northern Ireland and the minority Protestant population in the South.

...on development education:



Dialogue for Development - a survey of some global issues C. Regan (et al) (Dublin, Trocaire 1984).

A teachers' handbook which explores how development education has a role in many areas of the curriculum. It offers a range of activities which are very adaptable to your own needs. It also has a section on Ireland in the wider world.

People before Places? - development education as an approach to geography A. Daniels, S. Sinclair (et al) (Development Education Centre, Birmingham 1985)

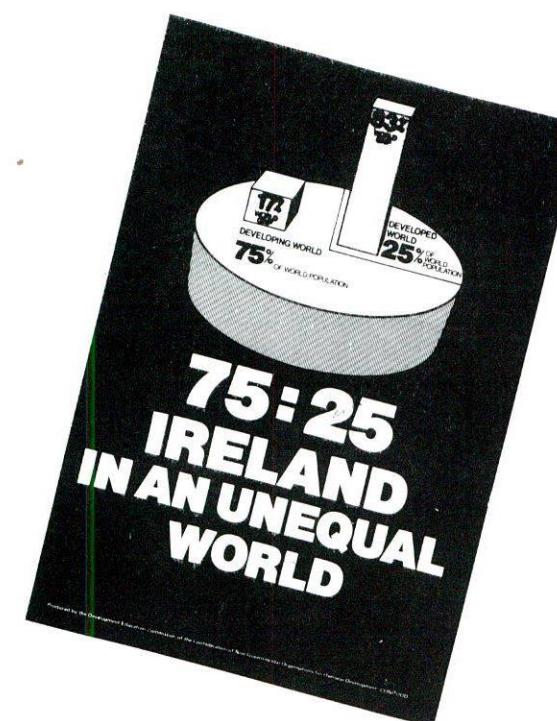
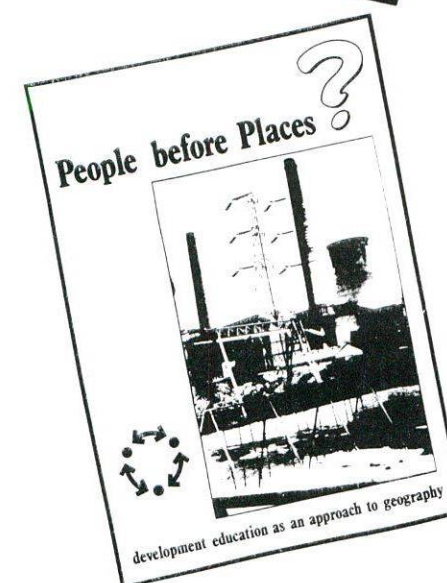
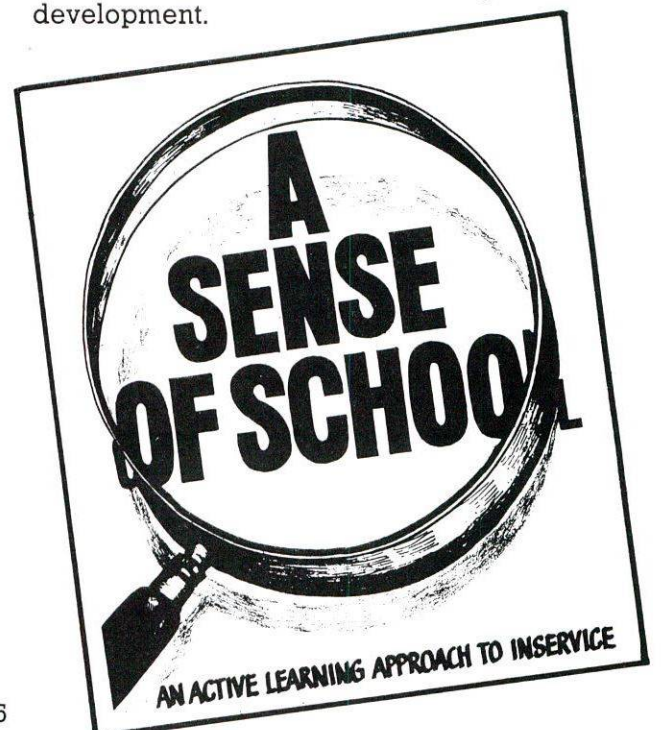
This curriculum book is the result of the work of a group of geography teachers. It outlines the case for an approach to development education and applies these ideas to practical classroom strategies.

Priorities for Development - a teacher's handbook for development education (Development Education Centre, Birmingham 1981)

A handbook which introduces an approach to development education which draws on pupils' own attitudes and starts from local examples of development issues in Birmingham. Many of the activities could be adapted for use with stimulus material about the relationship between Britain and Ireland.

A Sense of School - an active learning approach to inservice C. McFarlane and S. Sinclair (Development Education Centre, Birmingham 1986)

Part of a series of three books on development education in primary schools. This book concentrates on designing workshops for teachers. Many of the learning activities could be applied to work with other adult groups.



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Hot Press for article on Live Aid page 7;
Index on Censorship for the Naji al-Ali cartoon page 41;
Nelsons for visual of Prison from 'Fighting for Freedom' page 37;
Private Eye for cartoon on page 6;
Punch for cartoon on page 32;
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