

Northern Ireland Document Question

Introduction for ordinary level background

Foundation

- Northern Ireland consists of the six northeastern counties: Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Tyrone and Fermanagh
- In 1920, the **Government of Ireland Act** was passed, which granted Home Rule to all of Ireland.
- The South ignored it, as it was fighting for independence, but Ulster put it into practice, electing a parliament at Stormont.
- From 1922 to 1969, the Unionist Party was in complete control.
- The parliament was designed so that Unionists would always have a majority. This was done through the redrawing of electoral boundaries to guarantee Unionist majorities, a practice known as **gerrymandering**.
- Rich Unionists also had more than one vote, through a property qualification.

From 1921 to 1940, **James Craig** (Lord Craigavon) was Northern Ireland's first prime minister. **Sir Basil Brooke** (Lord Brookeborough) was prime minister from 1943 to 1963. **Early tensions**

- In 1920, the IRA was active in the border areas.
- There was discrimination against Catholics from employers, and in July of that year many Catholics were driven out of the shipyards in Belfast.
- From 1920 to 1922, the **Royal Ulster Constabulary** (RUC) and the **'B' Specials** (reserve force) were set up, both of which had a mainly Protestant membership.
- In 1922, the **Special Powers Act** was passed, which enabled the police to imprison IRA members without trial.
- The Civil War in the South gave Northern Ireland a chance to achieve security.

1930's

- Northern Ireland was badly hit by the fallout after the Wall Street

Crash.

- Harland & Wolff shipyard had to lay people off and Workman & Clark shipyard closed. As a result, unemployment was high.
- There was no welfare system (dole), so many suffered.

NORTHERN IRELAND, 1939-69

World War II

- In 1939, Northern Ireland joined the war on the same side as Britain. The war effort led to closer ties being formed with Britain.
- The economy improved dramatically during the war. Many American troops were based in Derry before the Normandy invasion, which boosted the local economy.
- Belfast was heavily damaged by German bombing, and the South sent fire brigades to help.

POST-WAR REFORMS

- In 1945, the **welfare state** was introduced, which guaranteed free medical care, from the 'cradle to the grave', that is, from birth to death. Investment was also made in education.
- Despite these improvements, sectarian attitudes changed little, and there were still tensions.

The crisis begins

- In 1963, **Terence O'Neill** replaced Lord Brookeborough. He was more open-minded than his predecessors.
- He met with Sean Lemass, the Irish Taoiseach. This was the first time that leaders of the two states had met. Many Unionists were outraged.
- In February 1967, the **Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA)** was founded. Its leaders were **John Hume, Austin Currie** and **Bernadette Devlin**.
- NICRA wanted equal rights for all people in Northern Ireland. Its members staged marches and demonstrations in 1967 and 1968.
- In April 1968, O'Neill resigned and was replaced by **Major James Chichester-Clark**.

The crisis of 1969

- In August 1969, there was rioting in Belfast and Derry. These events marked the beginning of 'The Troubles'.
- On 16 August, the British army went into Belfast to take control.
- Both Republicans and Loyalists began to organise secret organisations.

CATHOLIC/NATIONALIST

- The IRA split into the **Provisional IRA** and the **Official IRA**.
- The Provisional IRA, led by Joe Cahill, began a new campaign of terror.
- John Hume and Austin Currie set up the **Social Democratic and Labour Party** (SDLP).

PROTESTANT/UNIONIST

- The **Ulster Volunteer Force** (UVF) was resurrected, the **Ulster Defence Association** (UDA) was set up, and the **Democratic Unionist Party** was established by **Ian Paisley**.
- **John Alderdyce** founded the **Alliance Party** in an attempt to bring both sides together.
- Between 1969 and 1972, fighting, bombings, rioting and shootings continued in the province.
- On 1 August 1971, **internment** (imprisonment without trial) was introduced by Prime Minister Brian Faulkner. This was considered to be anti-Catholic and NICRA objected.

BLOODY SUNDAY

- On 30 January 1972, NICRA staged a peaceful march in Derry, although it had been banned.
- Thirteen civilians were killed by British troops, who claimed that they were fired at first. This event is known as **Bloody Sunday**.
- The British Embassy in Dublin was burned down in retaliation.
- The British government (Conservative government led by Edward Heath) decided to introduce direct rule of Northern Ireland.
- On 30 March 1972, Stormont was suspended. William Whitelaw was appointed as the first secretary of state.

The Sunningdale Agreement

- In June 1973, an election was held, free from gerrymandering, to elect representatives to a power-sharing parliament.
 - In December, Britain and Ireland signed the Sunningdale Agreement to support this new assembly. On 1 January 1974, a power-sharing executive came into being, with Brian Faulkner as leader and Gerry Fitt of the SDLP as deputy leader.
 - Loyalists were unhappy with the agreement as it provided Ulster with special status and
 - gave the South a minor say in Ulster's affairs.
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- 28 May 1974, Ian Paisley organised a Loyalist strike in opposition to the agreement and Northern Ireland ground to a halt. This led to the failure of the Sunningdale Agreement.
 - Violence continued in the 1970s, with bombs in Birmingham and Guildford in England and Dublin and Monaghan in Ireland.
 - Many members of the British establishment were killed, including Sir Christopher Ewart-Biggs, Lord Louis Mountbatten and Airey Neave.

IRA campaigns

- The IRA prisoners were kept at the **Maze Prison** (Long Kesh).
- They wanted to be given prisoner-of-war status but the British refused.
- The IRA began a blanket protest and refused to wear prison uniforms.
- Their cells had no toilets and they were refused the right to slop-out. They then began a **dirty protest**, smearing their excrement on the cell walls.
- When this did not work, they then went on hunger strike, led by **Bobby Sands**. Sands was elected as MP for Fermanagh/South Tyrone while he was on hunger strike.
- No concessions were granted, and ten IRA prisoners died, including Sands.
- In 1985, Margaret Thatcher and Dr Garret Fitzgerald signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement

- , which paved the way for peace.

•Background -honours

Northern Ireland was designated as a separate entity (within UK) on 3 May 1921, under the Government of Ireland Act - formed from six/nine counties of Ulster, four counties with unionist majorities, and Fermanagh and Tyrone with nationalist majorities. Unionists in the north east region, supported its creation while nationalists were opposed. On 6 December 1922, the island of Ireland became an independent dominion known as the Irish Free State but Northern Ireland immediately exercised its right to opt out. Northern Ireland would remain a divided society with a legacy of civil conflict.

Resistance to Home Rule

The Plantation of Ulster by Scottish and English colonists resulted in Northern Ireland following a different economic, religious and cultural trajectory to the rest of the island. In the 19th century, the majority of people wanted some form of self-rule to Ireland. The Irish Parliamentary Party sought to gain Home Rule, which would have given Ireland autonomy in internal affairs. Two bills granting Home Rule to Ireland were passed by the House of Commons in 1886 and 1893, but rejected by the House of Commons and Lords. With the passing of the Parliament Act 1911 by the Liberal Party it was clear that Home Rule would probably come into force in the next five years.

However, a significant minority was opposed to the idea and wished to retain the Union. Irish Unionists had been agitating

since the 1880s, and on 28 September 1912, the leader of the northern unionists, Edward Carson, introduced the Ulster Covenant in Belfast, pledging to exclude Ulster from home rule. The Ulster Covenant was signed by 450,000 men, some in their own blood.

By the early 20th Century, Belfast had become the largest city in Ireland. Its industrial economy, with strong engineering and shipbuilding sectors, was closely integrated with that of Britain. Belfast was a substantially Protestant town with a Catholic minority of less than 30%, concentrated in the west of the city.

A third Home Rule Bill was introduced by the Liberal minority government in 1912. However, the Conservative Party was sympathetic to the Unionist case, and the political voice of Unionism was strong in Parliament. After heavy amendment by the House of Lords, the Commons agreed in 1914 to allow four counties of Ulster to vote themselves out of its provisions and then only for six years. Throughout 1913 and 1914, paramilitary "volunteer armies" were recruited and armed, the UVF, and in response, the Irish Volunteers. Events in Europe took over with the start of World War I. Home rule was delayed for the duration of what was expected to be a short war and unionist and nationalist leaders agreed to encourage their volunteers to join the British army.

1916 Rising and Aftermath

In Easter, 1916 there was an attempted a rebellion in Dublin. After summary trials, the British government had the leaders executed . The government blamed Sinn Féin party, which had had little to do with it. In the general election of 1918, The Irish Parliamentary Party lost almost all of its seats to Sinn Féin. Guerrilla warfare raged across Ireland in the aftermath of the election.

Partition of Ireland The fourth and final Home Rule Bill (the Government of Ireland Act 1920) partitioned the island into Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland. For three days from 6 December 1922 Northern Ireland stopped being part of the United Kingdom and became part of the newly created Irish Free State .

The Treaty was given effect in the United Kingdom through the Irish Free State Constitution Act 1922. That Act established a new Dominion for the whole island of Ireland but also allowed Northern Ireland to opt out. Under Article 12 of the Treaty, Northern Ireland could exercise its opt out by presenting an address to the King requesting not to be part of the Irish Free State. Once the Treaty was ratified, the Houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland had one month to exercise this opt out.

Early years of Home Rule

Northern Ireland having received self-government within the United Kingdom, under the Government of Ireland Act was in some respects left to its own devices.

The first years of the new autonomous region were marked by bitter violence, particularly in Belfast. The IRA was determined to oppose the partition of Ireland and the authorities created the (mainly ex-UVF) Ulster Special Constabulary to aid the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and introduced emergency powers to put down the IRA. Many died in political violence from 1920, which petered out after the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in 1922 and through 1923.

The continuing violence created a climate of fear in the new region, and there was migration across the new border. As well as movement of Protestants from the Free State into Northern Ireland, some Catholics fled south, leaving some of those who remained feeling isolated. Despite the mixed religious affiliation of the old Royal Irish Constabulary and the transfer of many Catholic RIC police officers to the newly formed Royal Ulster Constabulary (1922), northern Catholics did not join the new force in great numbers. Many nationalists then came to view the new police force as sectarian, adding to their sense of alienation from the state.

1925 to 1965

Under successive Unionist Prime Ministers from Sir James Craig (later Lord Craigavon) onwards, the unionist establishment practised what is generally considered a policy of discrimination against the nationalist/Catholic minority.

This pattern was firmly established in the case of local government¹ where gerrymandered ward boundaries rigged local government elections to ensure unionist control of some local councils with nationalist majorities. In a number of cases, most prominently those of the Corporation of Londonderry, Omagh Urban District, and Fermanagh County Council, ward boundaries were drawn to place as many Catholics as possible into wards with overwhelming nationalist majorities while other wards were created where unionists had small but secure majorities, maximising unionist representation.

Voting arrangements which gave commercial companies multiple votes according to size, and which restricted the personal franchise to property owners, primary tenants and their spouses (which were ended in England in the 1940s) continued in Northern Ireland until 1969¹, became increasingly resented. Disputes over local government gerrymandering were at the heart of the civil rights movement in the 1960s.^[10]

In addition, there was widespread discrimination in employment, particularly at senior levels of the public sector and in certain sectors of the economy, such as shipbuilding and heavy engineering. Emigration to seek employment was significantly

more prevalent among the Catholic population. As a result, Northern Ireland's demography shifted further in favour of Protestants leaving their ascendancy seemingly impregnable by the late 1950s.

The abolition of proportional representation in 1929 meant that the structure of party politics gave the Ulster Unionist Party a continual sizable majority in the Northern Ireland Parliament, leading to fifty years of one-party rule. While Nationalist parties continued to retain the same number of seats that they had under proportional representation, the Northern Ireland Labour Party and various smaller leftist Unionist groups were smothered, meaning that it proved impossible for any group to sustain a challenge to the Ulster Unionist Party from within the Unionist section of the population.

In 1935, the worst violence since partition convulsed Belfast. After an Orange Order parade decided to return to the city centre through a Catholic area instead of its usual route; the resulting violence left nine people dead. Over 2,000 Catholics were forced to leave their homes across Northern Ireland. Though disputed for decades, many leaders of unionism now admit that Northern Ireland government in the period 1922–1972 was discriminatory, although prominent Democratic Unionist Party figures continue to deny it. One unionist leader, Nobel Peace Prize joint-winner, former UUP leader and First Minister of Northern Ireland David Trimble, described Northern Ireland as having been a "cold house for Catholics."

Despite this, Northern Ireland was relatively peaceful for most of the period from 1924 until the late 1960s, except for some brief flurries of IRA activity and the (Luftwaffe) Belfast blitz during the Second World War in 1941 and the so-called "Border Campaign" from 1956 to 1962. It found little support among the wider Catholic community — thanks, in part, to the economic prosperity of Northern Ireland, and the welfare benefits available there. However, many Catholics were resentful towards the state, and nationalist politics was sullen and defeatist. Meanwhile, the period saw an almost complete synthesis between the Ulster Unionist Party and the loyalist Orange Order, with even Catholic Unionists being excluded from any position of political or civil authority outside of a handful of Nationalist-controlled councils. Throughout this time, although the Catholic birth rate remained higher than for Protestants, the Catholic proportion of the population declined, as poor economic prospects, especially west of the River Bann saw Catholics emigrate in disproportionate numbers.

Nationalist political institutions declined, with the Nationalist party boycotting the Stormont Parliament for much of this period and its constituency organisations reducing to little more than shells. Sinn Féin was banned though operated through the Republican Clubs or similar vehicles. At various times the party stood and won elections on an abstensionist platform.

Labour-based politics were weak in Northern Ireland in comparison with Britain.¹ A small Northern Ireland Labour Party

existed but suffered many splits to both nationalist and unionist factions.

1966 to 1972 The Troubles

In the 1960s, moderate Unionist prime minister Terence O'Neill (later Lord O'Neill of the Maine) tried to reform the system, but encountered strong opposition from both fundamentalist Protestant leaders like Ian Paisley and within his own party. The increasing pressures from Nationalists for reform and opposition by Loyalists to compromise led to the appearance of the civil rights movement, under figures such as Austin Currie and joint-winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, John Hume. It had some moderate Protestant support and membership, and a considerable dose of student radicalism after Northern Ireland was swept up in the worldwide student revolts of 1968. Clashes between marchers and the Royal Ulster Constabulary led to increased communal strife, with elements both among the police and student radicals actively seeking to up the temperature, culminating in an attack by a unionist mob (which included police reservists) on a march, at Burntollet, outside Derry on 4 January 1969. Wholesale violence erupted after an Apprentice Boys march was forced through the nationalist Bogside area of Derry on 12 August 1969 by the RUC, which led to large scale disorder known as the Battle of the Bogside. Rioting continued until the 14th of August, and in that time 1,091 canisters, each containing 12.5g of CS gas and 14 canisters containing 50g of CS gas, were released by the RUC. Even more severe rioting broke out in

Belfast and elsewhere in response to events in Derry (see Northern Ireland riots of August 1969). The following thirty years of civil strife came to be known as the Troubles.

At the request of the Unionist Government, the British army was deployed by the UK Home Secretary James Callaghan two days later on 14 August 1969. Two weeks later, control of security in Northern Ireland was passed from the Stormont government to Lieutenant-General Ian Freeland (GOC). At first the soldiers received a warm welcome from Nationalists, who hoped they would protect them from Loyalist attack (which the IRA, at that point a Marxist organisation, had for ideological reasons declined to do)

However, tensions rose throughout the following years, with an important milestone in the worsening relationship between the army and nationalists being the Falls Curfew of 3 July 1970 when 3,000 British troops imposed a three day curfew on the Lower Falls area.

After the introduction of internment without trial for suspected IRA men on 9 August 1971, even the most moderate Nationalists reacted by completely withdrawing their co-operation with the state. The SDLP members of the Parliament of Northern Ireland withdrew from that body on 15 August and a widespread campaign of civil disobedience began. Tensions were ratcheted

to a higher level after the killing of fourteen unarmed civilians in Derry by the Parachute Regiment on 30 January 1972, an event dubbed Bloody Sunday.

Throughout this period, the modern constellation of paramilitary organisations began to form. After Bloody Sunday, their full fury was unleashed, and 1972 was the most violent year of the conflict. The appearance in 1970 of the Provisional IRA, a breakaway from the increasingly Marxist Official IRA, and a campaign of violence by loyalist paramilitary groups like the Ulster Defence Association and others brought Northern Ireland to the brink of civil war. On 30 March 1972, the British government, unwilling to grant the unionist Northern Ireland government more authoritarian special powers, and now convinced of its inability to restore order, pushed through emergency legislation that prorogued the Northern Ireland Parliament and introduced direct rule from London.^[14] In 1973 the British Government dissolved the Parliament of Northern Ireland and its government under the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973.

1972

The British government held talks with various parties, including the Provisional IRA, during 1972 and 1973. (The Official IRA declared a ceasefire in 1972, and eventually ended violence altogether, although a breakaway group, the Irish National Liberation Army, continued with a campaign of violence. The

Provisional IRA, however, remained the largest and most effective nationalist paramilitary group.)

On 9 December 1973, after talks in Sunningdale, Berkshire, the Ulster Unionist Party, SDLP and Alliance Party of Northern Ireland reached the Sunningdale Agreement on a cross-community government for Northern Ireland, which took office on 1 January 1974. The Provisional IRA was unimpressed, increasing the tempo of its violence, while many unionists were outraged at the participation of nationalists in the government of Northern Ireland and at the cross-border Council of Ireland. Although the pro-Sunningdale parties had a clear majority in the new Northern Ireland Assembly, the failure of the pro-Agreement parties to co-ordinate their efforts in the general election of 28 February, combined with an IRA-sponsored boycott by hardline republicans, allowed anti-Sunningdale Unionists to take 51.1% of the vote and 11 of Northern Ireland's 12 seats in the UK House of Commons.

Emboldened by this, a coalition of anti-Agreement Unionist politicians and paramilitaries encouraged a general strike on 15 May. The strikers brought Northern Ireland to a standstill by shutting down power stations, and after Prime Minister Harold Wilson refused to send in troops to take over from the strikers, the power-sharing executive collapsed on 28 May 1974.

Some British politicians, notably former British Labour minister Tony Benn, advocated British withdrawal from Ireland, but many

opposed this policy, and called their prediction of the possible results of British withdrawal the Doomsday Scenario, anticipating widespread communal strife. The worst fear envisaged a civil war which would engulf not just Northern Ireland, but also the Republic of Ireland and Scotland, both of which had major links with either or both communities. Later, the feared possible impact of British withdrawal was the Balkanisation of Northern Ireland after the violent break-up of Yugoslavia and the chaos that ensued.

The level of violence declined from its early 1970s peak from 1972 onwards, stabilising at 50 to 100 deaths a year.

Case study 1 Culture in a divided society

Partition created a divided society in Northern Ireland—communities, the Catholics/nationalists and the Protestants/unionists. Each community kept to itself and had little to do with the other. Catholics/nationalists believed they were Irish and rejected the northern state. They kept their cultural ties with the rest of the island and developed them through their schools, newspapers and clubs. Catholic schools taught students the Irish language and Irish history that were not part of the official school curriculum. They usually played hurling or Gaelic football, rather than rugby or soccer. The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was the most public expression of

nationalist identity. Most Catholic parishes had a GAA club, which was often the centre of social activity. Some Catholic men also belonged to the Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH). It was like a Catholic version of the Orange Order though it was much less powerful. It had links with the Nationalist Party. The AOH organised parades on St Patrick's Day and in 1 August. The RUC only allowed them to march in Catholic areas and would not let them to go through town centres.

The Orange Order is the largest Protestant organisation in Northern Ireland with at least 75,000 members, some of them in the Republic of Ireland. Its origins date from the seventeenth century battle for supremacy between Protestantism and Catholicism.

William of Orange, originally of the Netherlands, led the fight against Catholic King James. He took the throne in England and his final victory over James at the Battle of the Boyne in Ireland 1690 sealed the religion's supremacy in the British Isles. In 1795, a clash between Protestants and Catholics at the "Battle of the Diamond" led to some of those involved to swear a new oath to uphold the Protestant faith and be loyal to the King and his heirs, giving birth to the Orange Order. Since then, the Order's principles and aims, and those of similar organisations it is related to, have changed little.

Civil and religious liberty

It regards itself as defending civil and religious liberties of Protestants and seeks to uphold the rule and ascendancy of a Protestant monarch in the United Kingdom.

The only membership criteria is that an applicant is Protestant. The order is organised into "lodges". Lodges are created where and when members wish to set them up - William Craig, Northern Ireland's first prime minister, established a lodge at the House of Commons and there have been many linked to British military postings. Orangeism is also active in former British colonies - principally Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the two west African countries of Togo and Ghana.

Today, the annual 12 July events across Northern Ireland, the most important date in the Orange calendar, commemorate that victory (regarded by the order as a victory for liberty) and the Protestant faith.

At the heart of Orangeism is the right to parade - and the argument about what those parades stand for. Orangemen and women say that the parades are intrinsically linked to their culture and community, be it a public statement of faith, a commemoration of those who gave their lives in war or the annual colour and festivities of the Twelfth of July. They stress that for decades there was no dispute from the Catholic community over routes and timings of parades. Opponents of the organisation say the parades stand for bigotry and

sectarianism and symbolise a Northern Ireland organised to uphold the rights of only one part of the population.

They argue that opposition to parades has grown as the Catholic community has asserted its right not to be subjected to the whims of one section of the community.

Religious and political

The Orange Order has never been simply a religious organisation. When the Home Rule movement emerged in the nineteenth century, the Orange Order steadily moved towards the unionist position. The organisation opposed Home Rule and partition but concluded that the newly created Northern Ireland would be the defender of its cultural, civil and religious rights.

The first unionist Members of Parliament were drawn from the ranks of the loyal orders.

Almost every minister in the Northern Ireland government from 1921 until the imposition of Direct Rule in 1972 was an Orangeman.

As the violence of the Troubles deepened, the Orange Order supported the security forces against republican terrorism and its members opposed any political agreement seen as ceding ground to republicans or giving Dublin a say in Northern Ireland affairs.

During the early 1990s republicans began attacking rural Orange halls, particularly in County Armagh, raising fears among the organisation that its members were threatened with being forced out of areas.

But at the same time, the Orange Order has faced its own fair share of scrutiny with some members displaying an ambiguous relationship towards loyalist paramilitaries and their activities.

Polarisation

The decision to reject the Good Friday Agreement placed the organisation closer to the Democratic Unionists than the pro-agreement Ulster Unionists and led to some members questioning whether or not the institution had become too political.

Nowhere has this polarisation been seen more than at Drumcree in Portadown.

The route of the march, one of the oldest annual parades by the Order, has taken on a symbolic meaning for both communities out of all proportion with its actual importance.

The now annual stand-off over the route has not only put the organisation at loggerheads with the Catholic community - but also with the forces of law and order which it, ironically, saw as one of its closest allies.

The Apprentice Boys of Derry

At the start of the siege of Londonderry in 1689, 13 apprentice boys slammed the city gates against the army of the Catholic King James II. The Apprentice Boys of Derry, one of the Protestant Loyal Orders, is based upon this defiant action of "no surrender". New Apprentice Boys can only be initiated inside the city, in ceremonies in August and December each year. The order holds its main parade in Derry on 12 August to celebrate the relief of the city and the end of the siege. Usually some 10,000-12,000 members take part.

There is a lesser demonstration on 18 December, to mark the shutting of the gates, when an effigy is burned of Colonel Lundy, an officer who tried to negotiate the surrender of the city in 1689.

Even today those regarded as traitors to the unionist cause can be referred to as 'Lundies.'

There were serious riots in Derry after the August 1969 march, and parades were banned for the following two years.

The then Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, Brian Faulkner, an Apprentice Boy himself, was expelled from the order in 1971 for being associated with the ban.

In 1972 the parade was limited to the predominantly Protestant east side of the River Foyle, the Waterside area.

Bogside controversy

The order's general committee decided to call off the parade but many Apprentice Boys gathered at the Waterside to be addressed by fellow member, the Reverend Ian Paisley.

The order was allowed to parade within the old walled city again in 1975, but were banned from taking their usual route around the walls because they overlooked the mainly Catholic Bogside.

In 1985 Unionists boycotted the local council for changing its name from Londonderry to Derry.

Two leading Apprentice Boys officials refused to support the boycott and were dropped by the order.

James Guy, who was replaced as Lieutenant Governor, became Mayor of Derry in 1987-8.

In recent years, renewed controversy over parades by the Protestant Orange Order, and the Apprentice Boys, either through or near to Catholic nationalist areas have led to clashes.

Violent clashes

Lengthy negotiations have often been held in an effort by local community leaders and politicians such as SDLP leader John Hume to avoid violence.

In August 1995 the 'feeder parade', on its way to the main demonstration in Derry, resulted in violence on the nationalist lower Ormeau Road, in which 22 people were injured.

In Derry, the Apprentice Boys marched around the city's historic walls for the first time in many years, and republicans who mounted a sit-down protest were removed by the RUC.

More recently there have also been ugly confrontations between nationalists and marchers in Derry around the time of Apprentice Boys' parades, followed by petrol bomb attacks and stone throwing late at night.

Case study 2

Summary of The Sunningdale Agreement and Power-Sharing Executive 1973-1974

Overview As IRA violence continued, Secretary of State William Whitelaw turned to the political leaders for a way forward. In March 1973 London proposed an 80-member assembly - with unionist and nationalist representation - to take over the affairs of state.

Elections were held and the power-sharing executive established. But the vote revealed deep divisions amongst unionists. That division deepened at a meeting in December called at Sunningdale to discuss Irish government involvement in the future affairs of Northern Ireland.

After three days of negotiations at the civil service college at Sunningdale, Berkshire, all of the parties signed an uneasy

agreement establishing a Council of Ireland and a linked advisory assembly.

The unionists, led by Brian Faulkner, saw the council as nothing more than an advisory body which would improve cross-border economic development. The nationalist SDLP envisioned it as the foundations of eventual re-unification with the Republic.

But hardliners such as the Democratic Unionists' Ian Paisley, saw the deal as a sell-out. The majority of Ulster Unionists agreed and the loss of their support unseated Brian Faulkner.

At the same time, the Ulster Workers' Council organised a massive strike to destroy the deal. The UWC, headed by senior unionist/loyalist figures including Ian Paisley and William Craig of Ulster Vanguard, co-ordinated action which cut power and the supply of goods.

Loyalist paramilitaries became involved in enforcing blockades and eventually UUP members of the power-sharing body resigned.

The institutions collapsed and London imposed direct rule - an arrangement that would remain in place for 26 years. The political vacuum was once more filled by violence.

DETAILED SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

~ 1972- Whitelaw(Northern Ireland Secretary) calls a meeting for

all parties
~ Border Poll to ease Unionist worries: boycotted by Nationalists but Unionists
99% support for remaining part of the UK

~ White paper from Whitelaw has 4 key components: 1) Assembly 2) Executive 3) Council of Ireland 4) Guarantee that Northern Ireland remains part of UK as long as majority want it.
~ Split in Unionists: Faulkner leads Unionist Party supported by moderates and agree to White Paper must pledge their support now called "Pledged" Unionists"
~ Those Unionist against: Paisley and DUP, Craig and his Vanguard party, Orange Order and the "Unpledged" Unionists led by Harry West.
~ The Nationalist welcome White Paper with caution support from SDLP
~ Republicans reject it as it reinforces partition
~ Election results: 64% in favour of Power-Sharing, 36% against
~ All factions of Unionists results: 26 seats for anti-White Paper 24 seats for pro-White Paper
~ Faulkner now in a difficult position to unite Unionists within his own party and the more extreme Unionists.

TALKS BEGIN: THE AGREEMENT

~ Whitehall has great skill and patience as a negotiator
~ Faulkner wants a Unionist majority in the Executive
~ Council of Ireland agreed on and would have influence on

policing and representatives from the Dail.
 ~ SDLP agree to end rate strike against internment
 ~ Whitelaw called back to London and replaced by Francis Pym,
 (no experience)
 ~ 6th Dec. meet in Sunningdale, Berkshire
 ~ Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach along with Garret Fitzgerald and
 Conor Cruise O'Brien attend
 ~ John Hume from SDLP good negotiator for Nationalists- gets
 real power for the Council of Ireland which could open doors for
 a United Ireland at a later date
 ~ Prime Minister Heath chairs the meeting and quickly gets
 impatient with Unionists.
 ~ Irish Government agrees to give a verbal agreement on
 Northern Ireland remaining part of the UK as long as the majority
 wanted it.
 ~ Conference ends 9th Dec and that was the Sunningdale
 Agreement

THE POWER-SHARING EXECUTIVE

~ 1ST JAN 1974, Faulkner as Chief Minister and Gerry Fitt
 (SDLP) as Deputy, power-sharing begins
 ~ Orange Order, DUP, Vanguard and Unpledged Unionists led by
 Harry West unite to form the United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC)
 is created to resist power-sharing and a Council of
 Ireland.
 ~ Faulkner resigns as leader of the Unionist party after a motion
 on the Council of Ireland fails to pass at a meeting. He is

replaced by Harry West.

- ~ Faulkner sets up the Unionist Party of Northern Ireland
- ~ IRA and Loyalist attacks continue
- ~ Election called by Heath against the advice of the Executive who said it was bad timing
- ~ UUUC use election as a referendum on Sunningdale and put forward one anti-Agreement candidate in each constituency
- ~ UUUC win 11 out of 12 of the Westminster seats (Paisley, Craig and West all win)
- ~ Gerry Fitt the only pro-agreement candidate to win a seat.
- ~ In Britain, Heath (Conservative) loses the election and Wilson becomes PM (Labour)
- ~ Pym replaced by Meryln Rees as Northern Ireland Secretary (indecisive and not as committed a party)
- ~ Assembly remained despite violent and abusive behaviour from anti-agreement members

THE ULSTER WORKERS' COUNCIL (UWC)

- ~ Northern Ireland industries employed predominantly protestant workers.
- ~ The Ulster Workers' Council was a group of loyalist workers who worked in shipbuilding, engineering and electricity generation.
- ~ 15th May 1974, they called a strike
- ~ Loyalist paramilitaries became involved and workers were 'persuaded' not to return to work.
- ~ Road blockades were established and youths armed with

clubs turned back lorries delivering milk, groceries or petrol.

- ~ Strikers managed to cut electricity out-put by 60% and more factories were forced to close.
- ~ The British Army and Police stood by and did nothing.
- ~ Many Protestants supported the strike.
- ~ The UWC did not alienate their own and made sure needed supplies got through to Protestant areas.
- ~ Loyalists were strongly suspected as being involved in bomb attacks in Dublin and Monaghan in May.
- ~ The Executive was isolated and had no control.
- ~ Rees the Northern Ireland Secretary failed to stop the strikes.
- ~ Faulkner tried to get the Dublin government to reduce the powers of the Council of Ireland and despite them agreeing to hold off implementing it was too late.
- ~ Hospitals were about to close and the Executive resigned.
- ~ The Power-Sharing Executive had ended in failure.

WHY DID THE SUNNINGDALE AGREEMENT FAIL?

- ~ Northern Ireland Secretary Rees was unwilling to use the police and army to stop the strike.
- ~ The Labour party under Wilson who were in power were not as keen as the Conservatives about the Agreement.
- ~ The UWC strike brought the North to a halt.
- ~ The Council of Ireland was greatly feared by the Unionists as they believed it would lead to a United Ireland.

**Case Study 3 Coleraine University Controversy
1961: Robbins Committee set up to report on future of higher
education in Britain**

**May 1963: Stormont government decides to establish a
committee to investigate needs of higher education in NI.**

**Autumn 1963: Sir John Lockwood will be secretary to
committee, consisting of eight people with expertise in different
aspects of education, four based in England and none Catholic.**

**June 1964: Lockwood Committee draws up its shortlist – Magee
is not included.**

14th Jan 1965: O'Neill controversially receives Lemass in Belfast.

**30th Jan 1965: Basil McFarland, former mayor of Derry, says he
doubts Lockwood report will “do Derry much good” leading to
foundation of University for Derry Committee (also known as
Action Committee).**

8th Feb 1965: Large protest meeting at Guildhall in Derry.

9th Feb 1965: O'Neill is first NI PM to visit Dublin since 1921.

**10th Feb 1965: Lockwood Report published recommending
Coleraine as site for new university and Magee College to be
closed down.**

**18th Feb 1965: Two-minute silence in Derry with many shops and
businesses closed in protest. Opposition is cross-community.**

2,000 vehicle motorcade to Stormont led jointly by Derry's Unionist Mayor and a Nationalist MP.

Mar 1965: Lockwood shocked at bitter reaction to his decision and at length and scale of parliamentary debate (three days). Despite heated discussion and defection of two Unionists Mps, O'Neill's government wins the vote 27:19.

May 1965: Magee trustees agree to compromise whereby the college will become a constituent college of Coleraine University, with full degree courses – not honoured.

May 1965: Unionist MP Robert Nixon makes his “faceless men” allegation, backed up by Nationalist MP Patrick Gormley – that hardline Unionists had approached O'Neill and advised him against any future development for Derry (educational, economic or otherwise) so that an increase in Catholic voters would not materialise and Unionist control of Derry would not end. Nixon expelled from UPP and a petition of 15,000 names fails to move the government to investigate the matter.

1969: Magee College absorbed into new University of Ulster.