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**The Orange Order: The never-ending
Irish-English conflict**

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A Introduction

What comes in to the mind of man, if he was asked about Northern-Ireland? The most will surely say: "Ah, there's a war of religion and a lot of terrorism!" But few people really know what there is going on in the six counties of Northern-Ireland. Of course the nationalists are mainly Catholic and the unionists are mainly Protestant, but there are also Protestant men fighting in the IRA and Catholics in loyalist paramilitary groups. So it is actually not a war of religion, but a war about the claim for the six counties in Ulster. On the one side we have got the nationalist, republican movement. These people want to enfranchise themselves from English rule which was imposed on the Irish several hundred years ago. On the other side there are the unionist who want to maintain English heritage and dominance in the North. The Orange Order was always the armed wing of Britain's domination over Northern Ireland, who accepted inheritance over 200 years ago. The Order has a long history in Ireland, but the conflict has got even a longer history. The image of the Orangemen has changed in recent days, especially when men who pretend to march peacefully to commemorate their ancestors, start throwing stones, petrol bombs, plastic bombs and are even firing rounds of bullets at policemen as they did on 15 September last year. These were the worst riots in the last ten years several newspapers wrote. Also the republican movement has changed. The Provisional IRA declared cease-fire years ago and in 2005 they declared that all weapons have been decommissioned. Something is going on in the land of Ulster. Politics are changing. The unionists hate their government for shaking hands with Gerry Adams and his party. They think they were cheated by their own government and feel angry. But the republicans are also not happy with the situation. For them the goal, a united Ireland, is still far away. To understand all these problems, we first have to understand the basic conflict. One also has to know facts about the Orange Order, because it is the main organisation for unionism. Then we can try comprehending why people were killing each other several hundred of years and why people still get killed today.

B The March of the Orange Order: The never-ending Irish-English conflict

1. Historical origins of the Irish-English conflict

1.1 Ireland before the Norman Invasion in 1169

Ireland before the Norman invasion was politically split as it is today, but it was seen as a cultural unit. Since the Celts settled down between the 8th and first centuries BC the Island was split in several kingdoms which also fought each other. The first extraneous challenge came with the Vikings in the 8th century AD. Because Ireland was not united under a king, which means a better governance, it was easy for the Viking raiders to establish the first towns in coastal areas and therefore they were not defeated by the whole country. These were towns like Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork and Limerick. Although Brian Boru¹ defeated Ireland against the Vikings on Good Friday in 1014 at the Battle of Clontarf, he could not utilise his victory because he was killed at the fight. Otherwise he could have found a united Irish kingdom under his High-Kingship and the Isle would have been unified.[²]

1.2 The end of Gaelic Independence: The Norman Invasion

Because of this progressing disunity it was also easy for the Normans to invade Ireland in the 12th century.

The Normans, actually the Anglo-Normans, who then ruled Ireland and England enforced their legal and feudal system upon the natives which was quite oppositional to the Gaelic system. The Normans had a system of succession in contrast to the Gaels who had a system of earnings. The Norman kings used Ireland mainly for recruiting soldiers and as a military training area. Two hundred years later the Irish chiefs had learned enough from their occupants that they could push the occupying powers back to a 40 miles broad radius around Dublin which is known as the *Pale*³. Ireland was still English colony, but in fact the country was not colonised and the inhabitants came back to the

1 Brian Boru(941-1014) was High King in Ireland from 1002-1014. He was from the Ua Briain (O'Brien) dynasty

2 a) Oeser, Hans-Christian: Irland. Ein politisches Reisebuch. Hamburg: VSA-Verlag, 1987. p. 153.
b) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/clntrf01.shtm> (25.12.2005)

3 See appendix, pic 8, p. 31

old Gaelic way of life, a nomadic way of life where cities were not common. Trade with other countries, especially Scotland flourished and life was peaceful again.[⁴]

1.3 Ulster Plantation and the Irish Rebellion of 1641

The first real colonisation of Ireland began with Henry VIII., the English king, who broke with the Catholic church in 1533 and made his new *Church of England*⁵ to the state church in 1536, because Rome did not allow him to divorce. Hence he had suspicion that the pope would use Ireland as a backdoor to England, because the Island was strongly influenced by Roman Catholicism since Saint Patrick converted Ireland to Christianity in the 5th century. This means a strong religious alliance with Rome. The Church at that time was not only a religious institution, but the most influential power in Europe. This led Henry VIII to the point that he started solidifying his role as landlord of Ireland. After partitioning the isle in 32 counties which still exist today he was finally King of Ireland in 1541. In these years the centuries of rebellion began. When Elisabeth I. succeeded Henry's heritage she began reforming the church more Protestant, but Ireland's population remained mainly Roman Catholic. While Dublin turned into a mainly Protestant city, because the administrative organ sat in town, the rebellion of the O'Neills in the remote counties of Antrim and Donegal began. Yet Hugh O'Neill⁶ and his army who fought for the maintenance of the Gaelic and Catholic way of life lost in 1603 after the *Nine Years War* at Mellifont. This led to the *Flight of the Earls* in 1607 and so Ireland and especially the north of Ireland was leaderless and unprotected, because the chiefs were gone.[⁷]

The *Plantation of Ulster* could begin. One half of the lands of the defeated O'Neills and his followers like the O'Donnells was given to Presbyterian Scots as James VI of Scotland became successor of Elisabeth I. in England. The other half was given to English land-holders and soldiers. Thus two sharply antagonistic communities were established. This plantation led to the *Irish Rebellion* of 1641, when the native population tried to end discrimination and threat of the Protestant English government by violence.

4 a) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/norman.shtm> (25.12.2005)

b) see 2, p. 153

5 The Church of England is the official established Christian church in England.

6 Hugh O'Neill was an Irish chieftain. He became 2nd Earl of Tyrone, also known as the Great Earl

7 a) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/ss.shtm> (26.12.2005)

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_viii (26.12.2005)

c) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/origins.shtml> (26.12.2005)

d) see 2, p. 155f.

As the Catholic natives differed in language, religious practices and in the way of life from the foreign settlers, they were suspect for the Protestants and more discriminated than liked. This makes clear why a revolt started and people were chased in the end. The number of killed Protestants varies from 4000 to 12000. One famous incident happened in Portadown, where captured protestant inhabitants were taken to the bridge of the town following a massacre. Images of such massacres are still shown on banners of the *Orange Order*.^[8]

The rebellion then developed to the *Irish Confederate Wars*, which was the Irish part of the *Wars of the Three Kingdoms*. The *Irish Confederate Wars* was the nationwide expansion of the rebellion and in 1642 the *Confederate Catholics of Ireland* were a kind of self-government which were loyal to Charles I. and fought for for the Catholics in Ireland. At that time the *English Civil Wars* took place on the neighbour isle, where Parliamentarians, who wanted to establish a parliament, fought against Royalists, the supporters of Charles I. and the royal family.^[9]

1.4 Cromwellian conquest of Ireland

The victorious anti-monarchistic Parliamentarians under their leader Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) used their military and political power to then subdue Ireland and the Confederates “in a bloodbath of genocidal proportions that made the name of Wexford [and



[pic 1]¹⁰ Cromwell attacks Drogheda on 11 September 1649

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- 8 a) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Rebellion_of_1641#The_Rebellion (27.12.2005)
b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulster_plantation (27.12.2005)
c) see2, p. 156
d) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/origins.shtml> (27.12.2005)
e) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/conflict/bttc1.shtm> (27.12.2005)
9 a) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Confederate_War (28.12.2005)
b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confederate_Ireland (28.12.2005)
10 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/origins.shtml> (29.12.2005)

Drogheda (cf. pic 1)] a by-word for inhumanity”¹¹. After his victory in the three kingdoms Oliver Cromwell titled himself as Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland and after he passed the *Act for the Settlement of Ireland* in 1652 Catholics had no right to vote, “Catholic-owned land was confiscated and the "practice" of Roman Catholicism was banned”¹².^[13]

1.5 The battle of the Boyne: Ireland turns orange

After Cromwell’s death the Catholic King James II.(1685-88) came to power and better times for the Irish began. He tried to end Irish discrimination, but the English parliament was feared that Catholics would be ascendant and so James II. was banished. He had to flee to Ireland and with the *Act of Succession* of 1689 it was from now on forbidden for Catholics to become King of the empire, which is still valid today. James II. tried then with the help of his remained troops to capture Protestant towns in Ireland, especially in Ulster. Famous is the 15 week long siege of Derry in 1689, when Protestants defeated the city with the help of the *Apprentice Boys*¹⁴. This event shaped the saying *NO SURRENDER* which is still in use by loyalists and can be found as graffiti or on murals(see appendix) in Northern Irish cities. Eventually James II. withdrew from the North and he was finally defeated at the *Battle of the Boyne* in 1690 by William III of Orange, the Protestant and Dutch husband of James II.'s daughter Mary, who was his successor on the throne.^[15]

Hard times for the Gaels, the Gaelic people, began under a pernicious Lordship of William III of Orange. Especially with the *Penal Laws* a number of oppressing laws was passed. Catholics could not hold any public office, could not go to the polls, become MP, could not bear arms or join the army, could not buy land, could not worship and priests were not allowed to come closer than six miles to a town. The

11 Mulligan, Martin[Hrsg.]: Ireland unfree. Essays on the history of the Irish Freedom Struggle 1169-1981. Pathfinder Press. 1981. p. 15.

12 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oliver_Cromwell#Ireland_and_Scotland (29.12.2005)

13 a) see 11

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Act_for_the_Settlement_of_Ireland_1652 (29.12.2005)

c) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/cromwell.shtm> (29.12.2005)

14 Apprentice Boys are a Protestant fraternal society. Ian Paisley is a member of this organisation.

15 a) see 2, p. 156f

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_the_boyne (29.12.2005)

c) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/ch5.shtm> (29.12.2005)

political loss of power of the Jacobites¹⁶, the followers of James II., was signed with the *Treaty of Limerick* in 1691.^[17]

1.6 Wolfe Tone and the Act of Union(1801)

The following century there were no serious conflicts. Only when the society of the *United Irishmen* were formed in 1791 Irish nationalism got a new drive. Theobald Wolfe Tone founded this group to unite all Irish regardless of their religion and social background to build a united Ireland. Also regional radical groups were built to defend the Catholic peasants. These were groups like the *Sharravets*, the *Whiteboys*, the *Ribbonmen* or the *Defenders*. As a counter move to the *United Irishmen* and the smaller groups the *Peep O'Day Boys* and the *Orange Order* were built up. This radicalization-process took not only place in cities but also in rustic areas, where clashes between these groups were ordinary. Tone only realised a small rebellion with no serious effects. His era was over and an Irish uprising was put down again.^[18]

In consequence of this process *Grattan's Parliament*, the Irish parliament, which was founded in 1782 to ensure the Protestant rights in Ireland by self-government in Dublin was broken up. The ruling upper class, sitting in this parliament, thought that London would have better possibilities to oppress radical Catholic movements and as well the people in Ireland. This was followed by the *Act of Union* of 1801 and Ireland and Great Britain formed the United Kingdom. Ireland was no longer colony, but part of the kingdom and governed by Westminster (English Parliament). This let nationalism, mainly among Catholics, and unionism flourish in Ireland. Were the nationalist trying to end English rule in Ireland, so did the unionists try to preserve the unity with Great Britain.^[19]

Also separatism of the north arose, because the industrial revolution took only its effects in the north which strengthened the corporation with Great Britain. This economic dis-

16 They called themselves Jacobites, because the Latin form of James was Jacobus.

17 a) see 2, p. 157

b) see 11, p. 15F

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Limerick (30.12.2005)

d) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/conflict/bttc1.shtm> (30.12.2005)

18 a) see 2, p. 158-160

b) see 11, p. 16

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Irishmen (31.12.2005)

19 a) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grattan%27s_Parliament (31.12.2005)

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Act_of_Union_1800 (31.12.2005)

c) see 2, p. 160f

parity and the Catholic discrimination by the still remaining *Penal Laws* led Daniel O'Connell(1775-1847) to start a campaign for equal rights for Catholics (this insisted the abolishment of the *Penal laws*) and the repeal of the Union Act, the so called *Catholic Emancipation*. He had success in 1829, because he was a “katholischer Advokat”²⁰ (Catholic advocate) and had the support of the Catholic church and the Catholic people. He had a so strong backing, because he created the *Catholic Association* in 1823. Members of this society had to pay a „monthly subscription of 1 penny“(see 8), the *Catholic Rent*. So O'Connell had a consistent source of money. Furthermore it was easy for him to enforce his demands, because of the rent and the consequent possibility to count his followers. He had proof in his hand that so many people followed him. In 1829 O'Connell became known as “The Liberator”²¹, because from now on Catholics could sit in the English parliament.[²²]

1.7 Great Famine

Yet his further success was overshadowed by the *Great Famine* between the years of 1845 and 1848. When the potatoe was introduced to Ireland in the 16th century a way of successfulness began. The farmers had more 'free time' and also the population started increasing, because infant mortality sunk. Until 1820 the population rose from 4 million to 6,75 and it reached 8,25 million in 1841. “The Famine was at least fifty years in the making, due to the disastrous interaction of British economic policy, destructive farming methods, and the unfortunate appearance of "the Blight" —the potato fungus that almost instantly destroyed the primary food source for the majority population”²³. Especially regions in the west and south-west of Ireland were affected, because they were too secluded and far away from help (see Picture 2). Even the dead bodies could not be buried because nobody was there to pay them their last respect. A wave of emigration followed, because it was the only way to survive, even espoused by the English government (6£ to Canada and 21£ to the USA).

20 see 2, p. 161

21 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Association

22 a) see 2, p. 161Ff

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Association (02.01.2006)

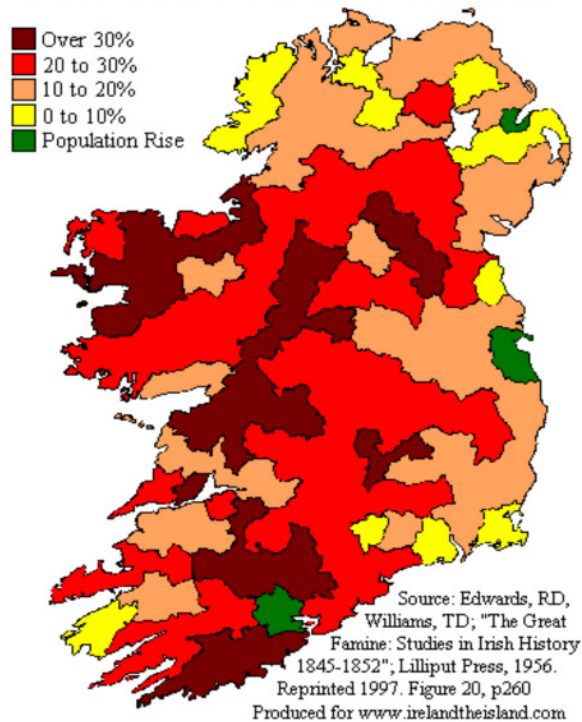
c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_O%27Connell (02.01.2006)

d) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholic_Emancipation (02.01.2006)

e) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/emanc.shtm> (02.01.2006)

23 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_potato_famine (03.01.2006)

Population Fall in Ireland 1841-1851



Unlike the rest of this site, this map is declared to be in the public domain.
[pic 2]²⁴ Population Fall in Ireland 1841-1851

Until 1851 about one million people died of the sequels of the potatoe disease and one million settled down in America(cf. pic 2). Only the North and Dublin with its strong connections to industry and commerce were much less affected, because they were richer and better supplied with goods and mainly Protestant.[²⁵]

1.8 Young Irishlanders and the Irish Republican Brotherhood

The following years until the World War I. saw several attempts for a repeal of the Union Act and a reformation of Ireland. So were the *Young Irishlanders* who grew out of Daniel O'Connell's movement trying to achieve the same aims, but on a path more violent towards repeal of the Act of Union. When they started a rebellion in July 1848 it was easily repressed by the British as the Young Irishlanders only managed to rouse 50 supporters²⁶.

24 http://wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/historical/pop_change_1841_1851.gif (04.01.2006)

25 a) see 23

b) see 2, p. 163ff

c) see 11, p. 19-23

26 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Irishlanders (04.01.2006)

This attempt however also had its good sides, because it gave the *Irish Republican Brotherhood*(IRB), also known as the Fenian Movement, the impulse for their forming in 1858, which was the main organisation for revolt against English rule in Ireland. They had support all over the world, because of the *Fenian Brotherhood* which was based in America and organised fundraisings for the violent withstand in Ireland. They even started their own campaign by starting raids to Canada to end English rule in Canada. Yet the IRB's decline was preprogrammed, because they did not learn from their predecessors like the *Young Irelanders*. It was easy for English agents to infiltrate the organisation and they had a too narrowed sight. They only proclaimed the constitutional problems, but did not care about the hardship of the peasants. Therefore they had too few support in the rustic areas to start a successful revolution of the whole country. So the revolt of 1867 failed.[²⁷]

1.9 Home Rule and the Easter Rising

Politically it looked the same. The *Home Rule*²⁸ campaign was also signed of failures in the beginning. The *Irish Parliamentary Party*(IPP) under the leadership of Isaac Butt, William Shaw and Charles Stewart Parnell demanded since the late 19th century a devolved government of Ireland, which still should be part of the UK. This led to the introduction of four bills for Irish Home Rule. The first one of 1886 was defeated in the House of Commons, the second one(1893) in the House of Lords. In 1912, a third Irish Home Rule Bill was introduced to the British House of Commons, which was blocked by the House of Lords. However it was not a complete block, but only a delay of two years, because in this year the House of Lords was reformed and they lost their full veto-right(*Parliament Act*). So it was possible that Home Rule could begin 1914, but this was intervened by World War I(1914-1918) and the Easter Rising of 1916.[²⁹]

Meanwhile a new party was founded by James Connolly(1968-1916), the *Irish Socialist Republican Party*(ISRP). Connolly was a Marxist, who was thinking of a socialist republic, which could only be established, when the working class was in freedom and

27 a) see 2, p. 165F

b) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/fenmove.shtm> (04.01.2006)

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Republican_Brotherhood (04.01.2006)

d) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fenian> (04.01.2006)

28 Home Rule means that the country becomes self-governed and free

29 a) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/homerule.shtm> (05.01.2006)

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Home_rule#Irish_home_rule (05.01.2006)

c) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/partition.shtml> (05.01.2006)

Ireland was independent. This was also supported by his military association, the *Irish Citizen Army*. Connolly and his companions then planned a revolution which should take place on Easter Monday of 1916, when the military leaders were at the annual horse race outside Dublin. But the communication problem of this time and some incidents led to a horrible fiasco. Firstly the German submarine did not bring the ordered weapons, because it was wiped out by the British navy. The second problem was that Eoin MacNeill(1867-1945) the leader of the *Irish Volunteers*³⁰ who wanted to take part in the rebellion wanted in his eyes more support by the population for a victorious rising. So he informed his soldiers(170.000!) to cancel the rising, but Connolly and Padraig Pearse, who was a Volunteer under MacNeill, but a supporter of Connolly, gave counter-order, to start the revolution. So in the end there were only the small ICA of Connolly and the few members of the Volunteers who followed Pearse. This was the hour of birth of the IRA, because while the rising these two groups fused to the *Irish Republican Army*. This made less “than 2000 relatively poorly armed”³¹ men in Dublin fighting against the British Army, and without MacNeill it was not a nationwide rebellion, because MacNeill, who was esteemed all over Ireland and people followed him. The Easter Proclamation³² was read out by Pearse at the General Post Office in Dublin, the fighting began and on April 29, after several days of hard battles the IRA was defeated by the British Army. After the surrender, the “15 leaders were executed”³³ one by one and British rule went on in Ireland.[³⁴]

1.10 Sinn Féin, the era Eamon de Valera and the Republic of Ireland

But with these murders a new wave of Irish republicanism was born, “the nationalist struggle intensified”³⁵. The long, successful way of Sinn Féin began with the elections of 1918 under the party leadership of Eamon de Valera. With 73 of the 106 Irish seats at Westminster Sinn Féin, founded by Arthur Griffith(1871–1922) in 1905 to establish a

30 The Irish Volunteers were formed in 1913 in response to the Ulster Volunteer force, the opposite.

31 See 11, p. 44

32 The Easter Proclamation is the paper in which the Irish independence was written down. cf. pic 7,p.30

33 See 11, p. 45

34 a) see 2, p. 173-176

b) see 11, p. 35-45

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Easter_Rising (07.01.2006)

d) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/easter.shtm> (07.01.2006)

e) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/conflict/bttc2.shtm> (08.01.2006)

f) see 29 d)

35 See 11, p. 45

dual-monarchy with England, became strongest party, boycotted Westminster and, meeting in Dublin, proclaimed themselves the Parliament (Dáil Éireann) of the Irish Republic and de Valera became President. Of course this step was homologated by the British and so a long lasting war began, the *Irish War of Independence*. But this time Irish paramilitaries were better organised. The IRA with Michael Collins (1890-1922) as leader fought against two specially formed units of the British Army, the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries. These were unemployed veterans after the first World War. Yet did the Unionists hold their position in the North with the help of the *Ulster Volunteer Force*, a Protestant paramilitary organisation, and the Orange Order. The south was free, but the North was defended. The Partition was then made official by the “Government of Ireland Act of 1920”. This divided Ireland in the South (26 counties) and the North (Counties Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down and Tyrone), which was mainly Protestant. The war ended on 11 July, 1921 with a truce and after negotiations until 6 December, 1921, the *Anglo-Irish Treaty* was signed by both sides and afterwards narrowly ratified in the Dáil with 64 to 57 votes. The *Irish Free State* was built, but it was still in the Commonwealth, equal to states like Canada. This led to a split in the IRA between “Pro-Treatyites” and “Anti-Treatyites” and de Valera resigned as President, because they did not agree with the dominion status which includes the British monarch as head of state. Griffith took his place and what followed was the *Irish Civil War* which lasted until 1923. In this war former comrades of the Easter Rising were fighting each other and the pro-treaty government used the same methods as the British used while the Rising, heavy artillery, against other Irish. Even Michael Collins, who was honoured by the oppositional insurgents, was killed. Griffith died of natural causes. It was William Cosgrave (1880-1965) and his party *Cumann na nGaedhael* (pro-treaty part of Sinn Féin; right-wing; today *Fine Gael*) who had to carry out Griffith's and Collins's burden, to build a functioning government in the *Irish Free State*. De Valera then proposed truce. The Civil war was won by the pro-treaty side and in 1925 the three governments (Irish Free State, Northern Ireland, England) decided to keep the status quo, which still exists today.^[36]

36 a) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_War_of_Independence (08.01.2006)

b) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/dates/inde.shtm> (08.01.2006)

c) see 2, p. 177-179

d) <http://www.irelandseye.com/aarticles/history/events/conflict/bttc3.shtm> (09.01.2006)

e) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Republican_Army (09.01.2006)

f) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Collins_%28Irish_leader%29 (09.01.2006)

In 1932 Cosgrave's Fine Gael lost the election against de Valera's new party, Fianna Fail and he became Prime Minister until 1948. He regained his office in 1951 and again in 1957. Until 1937 he wiped out the last British ascendancies in Ireland with a new constitution and the state was renamed *Éire*, the Irish word for Ireland. In 1949 it became a Republic called the *Republic of Ireland*. These years there was no real rumour in Ireland, but the conflict was only on ice and sagging slightly under the pressure of the last centuries, as though it could give way at any moment.^[37]

2. The Orange Order

2.1 Origins of the Orange Order

The Orange Order which has a very long history played the main role to maintain Britain's domination over Ireland in the last centuries. The order's origins go back to the 17th century, when Ulster was planted with Scottish and English people and was reconquered by Oliver Cromwell in 1641 by taking revenge on the Catholic population, because they killed several thousand people while the *Irish Rebellion* of 1641. Moreover the *Battle of the Boyne*, when William III of Orange defeated James II. on 12 July, 1690 is a striking and every year celebrated event in Protestant history. In these years an opposition to the natives was formed, because the Protestants had to defend themselves of the Catholic population who wanted to get their land back, which was wrongfully taken away.^[38]

In the 17th century different radical groups(cf. 1.6, p. 9) on both sides were formed. This inter-communal violence had its climax on 21 September, 1795. A clash between Protestants and Catholics in Loughall, County Armagh, had bigger consequences than anyone would think. The *Battle of the Diamond* was actually not a real battle, but a small skirmish of less than an hour, when a gang of *Defenders* tried to assault Dan Winter's house(cf. Picture 3) in the Diamond crossroads which was some sort of regional meeting-point for Protestants and the *Peep O'Day Boys*. This led to the point that some of those involved to the fight swore an oath to uphold the Protestant faith and the loyalism to the King, giving birth to the Orange Order. This new organisation, in the

37 a) see 2, p. 180-182

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eamon_De_Valera (10.01.2006)

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fine_Gael (10.01.2006)

38 a) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/1422212.stm (09.01.2006)

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orange_Order (09.01.2006)

c) <http://www.irishnationalcaucus.org/pages/Articles2004/TheOrangeOrder.htm> (09.01.2006)

beginning a secret society, but later on public, should solely be for Protestants and was based on the model of the *Freemasons*, because the three founders (James Wilson, Dan Winter, and James Sloan) were already in the Freemason organisation. Since then little has changed.^[39]



[pic 3]⁴⁰ Banner of the Loughall District

2.2 Hierarchic structure of the Orange Order^[41]

There are still the same presuppositions to become an Orangeman (loyalty to the crown, Protestant faith) and still the same rules. The following list shows this:

“Qualifications of an Orangeman according to the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland

An Orangeman should have a sincere love and veneration for his Heavenly Father;

A humble and steadfast faith in Jesus Christ, the Saviour of mankind, believing in Him as the only Mediator between God and man.

He should cultivate truth and justice, brotherly kindness and charity, devotion and piety, concord and unity, and obedience to the laws;

His deportment should be gentle and compassionate, kind and courteous;

He should seek a society of the virtuous, and avoid that of the evil;

He should honour and diligently study the Holy Scriptures, and make them the rule of his faith and practice;

He should love, uphold, and defend the Protestant religion, and sincerely desire and endeavour to propagate its doctrines and precepts;

39 a) http://www.orangenet.org/civilrights/No1/Battle_of_the_Diamond.htm (09.01.2006)

b) see 38 c)

c) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/1422212.stm (09.01.2006)

40 <http://www.orangenet.org/civilrights/No1/pic-banner.htm>

41 a) <http://www.grandorange.org.uk/parades/structure.html> (09.01.2006)

b) see 38

c) <http://www.orangenet.org/civilrights/No1/Structure.htm> (09.01.2006)

He should strenuously oppose the fatal errors and doctrines of the Church of Rome, and scrupulously avoid countenancing (by his presence or otherwise) any act of ceremony of Popish worship;

He should by all lawful means, resist the ascendancy of that Church, its encroachments, and the extension of its power, ever abstaining from all uncharitable words, actions or sentiments, towards his Roman Catholic brethren;

He should remember to keep holy the Sabbath day, and attend the public worship of God, and diligently train up his offspring, and all under his control, in the fear of God, and in the Protestant faith;

He should never take the name of God in vain, but abstain from all cursing and profane language, and use every opportunity of discouraging these, and all other sinful practices, in others; his conduct should be guided by wisdom and prudence, and marked by honesty, temperance, and sobriety;

The glory of God and the welfare of man, the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of his country, should be the motive of his actions.⁴²

The order is fully based on the Protestant faith and seems well organised, because it was already 200 years ago the only bigger organisation in the North, formed for the protection of Protestant settlers. This makes clear why the Order has so many members (75000 in Northern Ireland) and is spread all over the world. The number of supporting people is even higher, especially politically. The Order can be found not only in Ireland (the Republic and Northern Ireland) and Great Britain (Scotland and England), but also in former colonies of the British Empire (Canada, New Zealand, Australia, USA, Togo and Ghana), which are partly still in the Commonwealth today. As the organisation got bigger and bigger, it was more and more divided into smaller and more regional lodges and the structure got more ramified. The head of the Orange Order is the *Imperial Grand Lodge Council*, which represents all *Grand Lodges* (e.g.: *Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland*) and has the right to settle disputes between lodges or within lodges. These Grand Lodges of a country are subdivided in *County Grand Orange Lodges* (e.g. County Armagh with more than 5000 members). The “*County Officers* plus one representative from each District⁴³ participate at a *Grand Lodge Meeting* (county-level). A *District Lodge* is for example the Lodge of Portadown (900 members). This District Lodge has already been founded in 1796 and is the Loyalist Orange Lodge (L.O.L.) No.1 in the world. Portadown is some kind of stronghold for Orangeism. There are 161 District Lodges under the *Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland*. The District Lodge of Portadown further-more comprises out of 30 *Private Lodges*. Everybody can found such a *Private Lodge* and each member of the Orange Order has to be in a *Private Lodge*. A team of

42 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orange_Order (09.01.2006)

43 See 41 c)

principal *District Officers* and Committee members are in vanguard of the *District Lodge*. A meeting of this team is very big, because more than 170 people (21 members and five representatives of each *Private Lodge*) would encounter in one place. This shows how widespread this organisation is and how easy it is for the Orange Order to animate the people to come on the streets, when a march is planned.

2.3 Orangemen on the streets: The Twelfth

The tradition of running a parade is as old as the Orange Order itself and still attracts thousands of people each year. The founders of the order decided that a march would be the best way to “witness for their faith and to celebrate their cultural heritage“(see 19). Several events are commemorated each year. These are different battles(e.g.: Battle of the Diamond) Protestants were fighting several hundred years ago and fought in the last century, like the *Battle of the Somme*, when thousands of Protestants died on the first day of this battle, because the 36th division(Ulster division) of the British army which was formed in Ulster out of members of the UVF was first sent to the battlegrounds near the Somme in France during WWI.[⁴⁴]



[pic 4]⁴⁵ Portadown District on Parade in Drumcree

44 a) http://www.orangenet.org/civilrights/No1/Tradition_of_Parades.htm (09.01.2006)

b) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/1422212.stm (09.01.2006)

45 <http://www.orangenet.org/civilrights/No1/pic-no1.htm> (09.01.2006)

The highlight of each year's marching season (from Easter to August) represents the *Twelfth*, on 12 July. It is the commemoration day of the *Battle of the Boyne* (cf. 1.5, p. 8) when Catholic King James II. was defeated by the Dutch William III of Orange and the Protestants attained primacy in Ireland. It is annually paraded in numerous cities in Northern Ireland and all over the world (where Orange Lodges are). When the parade with its flutes, pipes and drums rolls past, hundred of people are on the street watching it. Standard-bearers are marching in the front of each Lodge, showing the banner of the Lodge with paintings, signs (crown and bible) and the number of the LOL on it. The Orangemen are wearing a black suit, white gloves, an umbrella and an orange sash or collarette around his neck, with symbols of his strong faith, his position in the lodge and the number of his LOL on it (cf. Picture 4).^[46]

These parades also implicate problems, because they often provoke others with egging songs and specific unionist drum-beats and melodies or when they are marching through mainly Catholic areas, who can not stand Orangemen showing the colors of their order and the Union Jack (red, blue, white). Clashes between Orangemen and Catholics appear annual and marches are often guarded by the RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary, the NI police service). The best example for this is *Garvaghy Road* in Portadown, which was re-routed, because half of the march led through mainly Catholic areas⁴⁷.^[48]

2.4 The Orange Order's role in Northern Ireland

The British did not want to keep Ireland for sentimental reason, but for economic reasons, because the North-East was some kind of powerhouse of Ireland. Belfast was the centre of engineering and ship-building (Titanic was built at the dockyard of Harland and Wolff, which only employed Protestants). This makes clear why the British tried to keep hold on to the North. But the people were very rebellious because it was so heavily planted in the 17th century. So the divisions between the settlers and the natives was artificially widened by the British. Protestants should become more loyal to the crown and should defeat Ulster for England. They reached this by granting Protestants privileges and by establishing the illusion that they were subordinate to Catholics.

46 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orange_Order#The_Twelfth (09.01.2006)

47 cf. pic 5, p. 29

48 a) http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/1422212.stm (10.01.2006)

b) http://www.grandorange.org.uk/parades/annual_drumcree_parade.html (10.01.2006)

Joining the Orange Order was often the only way for Protestants to get a job. This belief, known as Orangeism was formalised and rigidified in the Orange Order. Apartheid was much earlier institutionalised in Ulster than in Africa. The Orange Order always stood for Unionism, stands for Unionism and will stand for Unionism.[⁴⁹]

2.5 Political wing of the Order

In the beginning the Orange Order was only a society. But since the Partition in 1921, when the 6 counties formed a new statelet, which was wrongly called Ulster, because the actual historical Ulster consists of nine and not six counties⁵⁰, Northern Ireland obtained its own parliament in Stormont at Belfast. So the positions were made clear and the *Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)* became counter-part to the Irish home-rule movement and assailed the new parliament. The party itself was in fact moderate and not very offensive against Catholics. Edward Carson (party leader 1910-1921) even warned his followers of discrimination against the native population. From then the UUP began a way of success and nearly every unionist politician was a member of the Orange Order, until the so called *Civil Rights Movement*, the NICRA⁵¹ awoke in Ireland and the North in the 1960s. Based on the model of civil rights movement in America, the people woke up out of their slumber. The people were marching on the streets against unionist discrimination and for fair votes, because Stormont was a “Protestant government for a Protestant people”⁵². The conflict got a new drive since then and the Protestants were again feared of a Catholic ascendancy and more Protestants moved away from the conservative UUP and orientated towards the more radical right-wing *Democratic Unionist Party*. The DUP was instituted in 1971 by Desmond Boal and Ian Paisley. Paisley was Reverend and founded his own church, the *Free Presbyterian Church*⁵³ and is the political leader of the Unionist Movement in the North in the last thirty years. Since then he plays the central role. In 1966 he founded the *Ulster Constitution Defence Committee(UCDC)*, which had close links with the UPV, the *Ulster Protestant Volunteers*, another loyalist paramilitary organisation besides the

49 see 48 a)

50 The British wanted a statelet of 6 counties, because this insured an in-built Protestant majority

51 The organisation was called *Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association(NICRA)*

52 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/nicivil.shtml> (10.01.2006)

53 Presbyterianism is a form of Protestantism and was reformed by John Calvin

UVF (founded: 1966) and the UDA(founded: 1971), the *Ulster Defence Association*.^[54] This radicalization process occurred as well on the nationalist side. Sinn Féin disappeared from the scene after de Valera became so successful. When the people reawakened after World War II, also Sinn Féin and the IRA rearmed. This conflict is meant, when people are talking about the Northern-Ireland conflict, also called the *Troubles*.^[55]

3. The Troubles

3.1 The Battle of the Bogside

The actual turning-point in the Northern Irish politics came, when Terence O'Neill (UUP), a moderate Unionist and Northern Ireland's Prime Minister since 1963, tried to put through his policy of reforms for social housing⁵⁶ and electoral law, but failed by the opposition of hard-line Unionists. The government had to do something, because the world looked at Northern Ireland, when a peaceful civil rights march in Derry on 5 October, 1968 was stopped by the batons of the RUC and the B-Specials, a special police unit, which was known for its brutality. The RUC(95% Protestant) and the B-Special were the legitimate arm of the loyalist paramilitaries. Raids in Catholic areas were common and thousands of Irish were banished by them. This incident was filmed and in the end 13 people had to be taken to hospital. O'Neill's reforms found no support, he consequently won only fifty percent of the unionist votes and he finally had to resign from his Prime Minister office. His successor was more conservative, James Chichester-Clark (UUP). The Orange Order's marching season was in full swing. The *Battle of the Bogside* on 12 August, 1969 was then the final decisive point. Riots inflamed, when the *Apprentice Boys* were marching to commemorate for their dominance over the Catholics in 1689, the Siege of Derry(see 27), because the community was at that time very incited and aggravated, as it happened each year on this day that loyalists mobs invaded and attacked the Bogside, a Catholic area in Derry. The RUC and private loyalist groups pressed the nationalist back into the Bogside, and revolt started. Barricades were erected and the RUC and some loyalist groups tried to

54 a) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulster_Unionist_Party (11.01.2006)

b) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/DUP> (10.01.2006)

55 <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Troubles> (13.01.2006)

56 Social housing was in the hands of the Protestant government and so it was hard for Catholics to get a flat for their families

put the rebellion down, but it was impossible to oppress a whole community who had people firing with stones and petrol bombs. Finally after 3 days of rioting, Chichester-Clarke requested for help and the British Army was sent in, which was already on stand-by. The Army had the image of a saviour, which was neutral, but few months later they were hated as the RUC was and is. This was the first time London intervened itself in Northern-Ireland.[⁵⁷]

3.2 The IRA's split and Brian Faulkner's internment policy

The IRA was at that time very little organised and not able to defend the Catholic population in the different areas in Northern Ireland⁵⁸. The IRA then split in January 1970 over the decision, if the IRA should begin fighting for their aim, a united Ireland, with or without violence in the *Provisional IRA* and the *Official IRA*. The Provos(P-IRA) were the traditional wing and wanted to begin a new bombing campaign. They were the better organised part compared with the Officials(O-IRA) who were the Marxist wing and the smaller splinter group. So did Sinn Féin split in the Official and the Provisional wings. If somebody talks about the IRA or Sinn Féin in recent days, always the Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin are meant. The Official Sinn Féin later became *Sinn Féin the Workers party* and is today known as the *Workers Party of Ireland*. The Provos then started to hit back against the British. On 6 February 1971 they killed their first victim, a British soldier. Two years later after the British troops were sent in to relax the North, it had been even worse.[⁵⁹]

Brian Faulkner (UUP) became Prime Minister in 1971 and although he was not a reformer he introduced his internment policy on the 9 August, 1971, called *The Special Powers Act*. Internment meant that everyone(especially Catholics) suspected of a crime could be sent to prison without trial or proofs of committing this crime. On this day more than 300 Catholic civilians were imprisoned and the jails became fuller and fuller. The British even had to establish one prison in an unneeded Air force base, called Long

57 a) see 2, p. 192f

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terence_O%27Neill (14.01.2006)

c) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Troubles> (14.01.2006)

d) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/bogside.shtml> (14.01.2006)

58 e.g. Falls Road in West-Belfast where pogroms of Loyalists against Catholics were common, although it was a Catholic district

59 a) see 2, 194f

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provisional_Irish_Republican_Army#Origins (16.01.2006)

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Official_IRA (16.01.2006)

d) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/pira.shtml> (16.01.2006)

Kesh. The next weeks the NICRA arranged umpteen anti-internment demonstrations. One became known all over the world, *Bloody Sunday*.^[60]

3.3 Bloody Sunday and direct rule

It took place in Derry on Sunday 30 January, 1972. This day wrote history, because 14 people(aged 17 to 59) were killed by British paratroopers who shot in an unarmed crowd without warning. They claimed that IRA members were shooting first at the soldiers and some were handling with nail-bombs which had never been testified. Around the world there were immediate demonstrations against this legalised brutality. In Dublin the British embassy was burnt down by several thousand marchers and the IRA began a new bombing campaign. London's reaction to these incidents was simple but effective. Northern Ireland's parliament, called Stormont, was abolished in March 1973 and direct rule was imposed with William Whitelaw as the first Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. But Whitelaw realised that it could not rely on repression(police, troops and prisons) alone. With *Operation Motorman* an attempt was started by the police to 'clean' the *No Go Areas*(see 29) of paramilitaries in Belfast and Derry with more than 30'000 units.^[61]

Furthermore three new long-term policies were started by the British state. The first, Ulsterisation, involved replacing British troops, wherever possible, with the RUC, the Royal Ulster Constabulary. This went hand-in-hand with the second policy, normalisation. It was not 'normal' to have British troops patrolling Irish streets, but armed RUC policemen were OK. The third policy was criminalisation. Now that the Army had taken a back-seat, it was possible to portray the war as a fight between criminals and an impartial police force. From now on(1976), the IRA were to be described as godfathers of crime, an Irish mafia, who was a criminal organisation and not an army fighting a war.^[62]

60 a) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brian_Faulkner (17.01.2006)

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special_Powers_Act (17.01.06)

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internment#Northern_Ireland (17.01.2006)

61 a) see 2, p. 195

b) see 11, p. 77

c) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/bloodysun.shtml> (18.01.2006)

d) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bloody_Sunday_%281972%29 (18.01.2006)

62 see 61 a)

see 11, p. 78

3.4 Hunger-strikes

This meant that a lot of nationalists got interned. If someone was suspected of being linked to the IRA he could simply be arrested and held for up to a week. In this time he could easily be interrogated (often by torture) to 'confess'. This 'confession' was then used in court to sentence the accused for life, without any real proofs, often by a loyalist judge. The *special category status* of July 1972, which gave prisoners linked to paramilitary groups some privileges like wearing their own clothes and education in the jails was then abolished on 1 March, 1976, because the United Kingdom was not fighting a war anymore.^[63]

They lost their privileges and instantly refusal against these new measures began. The prisoners denied wearing the clothes for usual criminals, because they felt as prisoners of war (P.O.W.) That's why they took simple blankets instead. These people were called *Blanket Men* and by spring 1978 there were 300 prisoners *on the blanket*. This simple protest did not affect any political change. They increased their pressure by the *no-wash* protest and started to smear their excrements on the walls, because they disallowed going to the lavatories. This became known as the *dirty protest*. The support for the prisoners' five demands arose. These demands were: "the right to wear their own clothes; the right not to do prison work; the right to free association; the right to a weekly visit and to educational and recreational pursuits and the full restoration of remission lost through the protest"⁶⁴. This all took place in the H-Blocks⁶⁵ of Maze prison near Belfast. Outside the prison the battle was fought in the media, but inside seven republicans started the first *hunger-strike* to obtain their aims in October 1980. After few weeks the British wanted to grant them their demands, but it transpired that the British fooled with these people near to death. They suggested them 'private clothes' supplied by the prison. The hunger-strike was over, but nothing has changed. On 1 March, 1981 a second hunger-strike led by Bobby Sands was commenced. This time the strikers should begin their hard path time staggered. This would protract the whole campaign. Sands died after 66 days without eating of starvation. Few weeks before of his death Bobby Sands even got elected to Westminster as candidate for Counties

63 a) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/origins/internment.shtml> (19.01.2006)

b) see 2, p. 196f

64 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/hungerstrikes/hunger.shtml> (19.01.2006)

65 It is called H-Blocks due to the arrangement of the jail tracts in the form of an "H", where the imprisoned were segregated by political attitude.

Fermanagh and South Tyrone. This prompted several days of riot all over Ireland and more than 100'000 people were participating at his funeral procession. By and by nine other inmates died of the hunger-strike and a surge of IRA activities followed. Margaret Thatcher stayed firm, but in the end she had to indulge. The five demands were granted. The strike was over.^[66]

3.5 The Anglo-Irish Agreement

Four years later Margaret Thatcher made even a bigger step. Irish Taoiseach, the Irish president, Garret FitzGerald, signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement on 15 November, 1985. Thatcher who actually was indisposed to negotiate with Ireland had to do so, because Sinn Féin got more and more successful. In this treaty Ireland and the UK formed a common conference, called the *Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Conference*. This gave the Republic of Ireland a consultative role for decisions made in Northern Ireland. Therefore Ireland had to recognise the legitimacy of Northern Ireland, but it could make proposals concerning the North. For the Unionist this meant that the British loosened their role in the six counties and feared a withdrawal from Northern Ireland and the end of British protection, because they were not even included in the negotiations. The UUP and Paisley's DUP started mass rallies and even brought a suit in the High Court of the Republic of Ireland.

On the Republican side the agreement was seen as not legitimate, because it included the acceptance of Northern Ireland and its participation in the UK. So the IRA carried on its way without any deflection. But in some way this agreement was a step further to a united Ireland.^[67]

3.6 The path to the Good-Friday Agreement

The Good-Friday Agreement of 1998 had its origins already in 1988, when Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Féin, and John Hume, the chairman of the *Social Democratic*

66 a) see 64

b) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1981_Irish_Hunger_Strike (18.01.2006)

67 a) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/anglo.shtml> (19.01.2006)

b) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/reaction.shtml> (19.01.2006)

c) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Irish_Agreement (19.01.2006)

and Labour Party(SDLP)⁶⁸, started talking about a peace strategy until 1993 when they brought down to a common denominator. Peace and a united Ireland could only be achieved “if it can earn and enjoy the allegiance of the different traditions on this island, by accommodating diversity and providing for national reconciliation“⁶⁹. In other words the weapons should be put down and propitiation between the two communities should lead to peace. Driven on by these talks the British started secret communication with the IRA and finally in December 1993 Irish Taoiseach Albert Reynolds and British Prime Minister John Major enacted the *Downing Street Declaration*, which included following assignments:

“The British government had no selfish strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland.

The British government would uphold the right of the people of the Northern Ireland to decide between the Union with Great Britain or a united Ireland.

The British and Irish governments would work for an agreement among all the people of Ireland, embracing "the totality of relationships".

The Irish government recognised that "Irish self-determination" (meaning, in this context, a United Ireland) required the agreement and consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.

The Irish government would try to address unionist fears of a united Ireland.

A united Ireland could only be brought about by persuasion.

Peace must involve a permanent end to the use of, or support for, paramilitary violence.”⁷⁰

One year later on 1 August 1994 the Provisional IRA finally declared cease-fire, although Sinn Féin did not support the declaration. The Protestant paramilitaries continued their killings and the next day several people were shot by the UVF. But the cease-fire did not have the far reaching consequences which were desired. The Unionists and the British mistrusted the IRA and so Sinn Féin with Gerry Adams were not allowed to participate in the negotiations. The British postulated decommission before talks could start, but decommissioning of weapons was in their eyes equal to a surrender. Finally US senate leader George Mitchell was asked to observe decommission as neutral instance. Additionally he proposed that the talks should start simultaneously. John Major dismissed his suggestions then and nationalists were left behind angry. Few weeks later on 9 February, 1996 the IRA ended cease-fire with a bomb in the London docklands. Two people were killed, 40 injured and a damage of 100'000£ was caused. Nothing happened until Labour won in Great Britain's Westminster and Tony Blair

68 The SDLP is the second nationalist party in NI. It impelled the most negotiations made with London and was the party fighting for civil rights in the 1970s.

69 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/talks.shtml> (20.01.2006)

70 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Ireland_peace_process (20.01.2006)

became Prime Minister in May 1997 and also a new Taoiseach was elected, Bertie Ahern. Blair then met with Gerry Adams and Sinn Féin was allowed to participate in the negotiations (earlier they were not allowed because of their links to the IRA) and in June the cease-fire was reinstated. Ian Paisley and his DUP refused to attend the talks, which were led by President Clinton and Mitchell's committee.[⁷¹]

3.7 Good Friday Agreement and decommission

At Easter 1998 an agreement was ready to sign after intensive negotiations. *Good Friday Agreement* was then finally signed by the governments of both countries and the parties. It included the regulation of decommissioning, collaboration between the two states, a own government, demilitarisation and the “principle that the constitutional future of Northern Ireland should be determined by the majority vote of its citizens“⁷². Even territorial claim for the six counties was erased from the Irish constitution. So there is the possibility that Ireland gets united, but only with the will of the people. In 2000 the Provisional IRA declared to decommission weapons and in September 2005 it was done. The weapons were put down, on the side of the PIRA, but loyalists never gave up their weapons and every year still people get killed by unionist paramilitaries. There are also three splinter groups of the IRA still in action. Firstly the *Irish National Liberation Army* who split over the OIRA's cease-fire in 1976 and are a Marxist wing. Secondly the *Continuity IRA* who split in 1986 in a dispute if the elected Sinn Féin candidates should attend at the Daíl Éireann. The Provos refused sitting both in Stormont/Westminster and the Daíl. Thirdly the *Real IRA* who split in 1997 over the cease-fire and continued the armed fight. They are still organising bombings and assaults, but they are numerically small(only several hundred active members) compared with the Provos, who are the main organisation with several thousand soldiers.⁷³

71 a) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/talks.shtml> (21.01.2006)

b) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SDLP> (21.01.2006)

72 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Good_Friday_Agreement (22.01.2006)

73 a) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/ceasefires.shtml> (22.01.2006)

b) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/breakdown.shtml> (22.01.2006)

c) see 71

d) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/decommission.shtml> (22.01.2006)

e) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/war/troubles/agreement/agreement.shtml> (22.01.2006)

4. Summary of the results

As we can see, the Irish-English conflict has a long history, because the conflict origins can be traced back to the 12th century, when Ireland got occupied by foreign tribes, the Vikings and the Normans. Over the centuries monarchism spread over the two Isles and governments developed. Constitution was written down and Ireland got simply part of the English empire. All the English kings and queens claimed for Ireland from now on, because having a big empire was a sign of power, despite the fact that the Gaelic people never wanted to be part of this empire. Henry VIII. began the row of English kings ruling over Ireland in the early 16th century. This was also the time, when Protestantism came up in England. Elizabeth I. followed his path. Ireland was then planted with foreigners Years after England had solidified its role on the neighbour Isle. This situation was predestined for a conflict. Several attempts followed to end English rule which lay heavy over Ireland, but they all failed until 1921, because the Orangemen, the ardent supporters of English dominance in Ireland, were a strong opponent. In the 20th this year long 'tradition' made a turnaround, because the Irish gained independence. The *Irish Free State* was formed, but this was not the end of this century long conflict. Six counties remained in the United Kingdom and this is the cause why there are still *Troubles*. This war was fought in the last century and is still battled today. In the 90s of the last century this conflict pursued another way, a more peaceful and diplomatic, but the war is not over and will last at least for another decade, because this process takes its steps slowly forward, as the Orange Order and its political wings do not want to retreat and a lot of Irish do not want to keep the status quo.

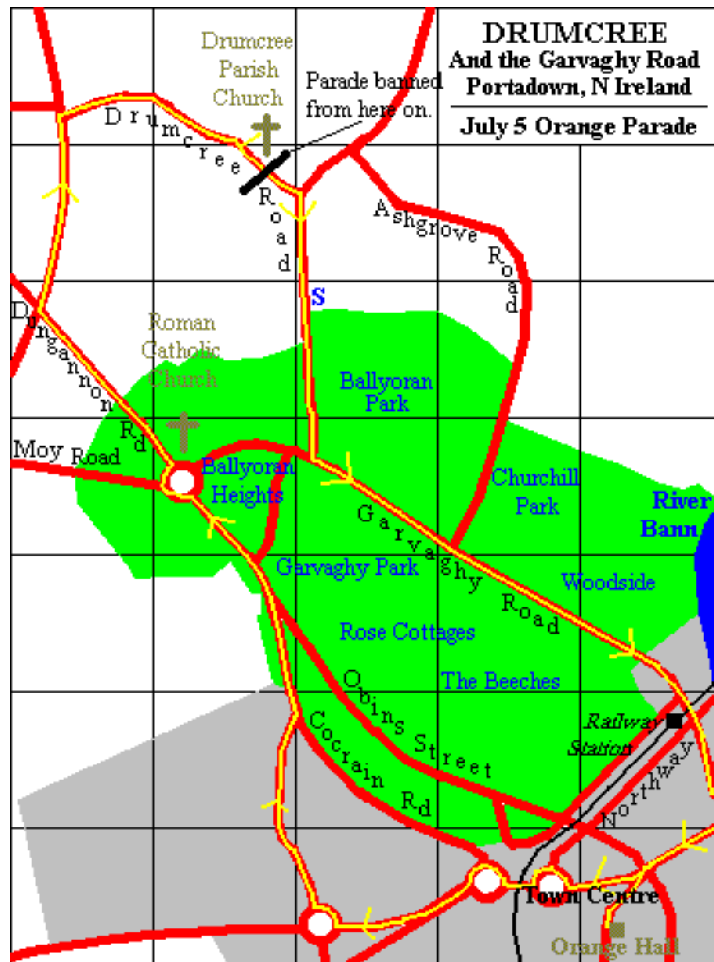
C Conclusion

We saw now that the conflict in Ireland made theoretically a step further towards peace, but if we look at the cities where this conflict is the daily life we can see something else. There are still huge walls or gates with barb wire on it, to separate the two 'ethnic groups'. Each year when the Orange Order marches and clashes take place. The Orangemen are not only commemorating as they say; they are playing provocative tunes and drum beats, everybody knows. So it's no surprise if the Catholics get upset and try to end this provocation. I my-self wondered why the Orange Order still has to march each single year? Of course parading has a long and old tradition in Ireland and it is a nice form of commemorating his fathers, but how many Catholic marches are there annual? You can nearly count them with your fingers. The Order always showed and still shows its dominance over Ireland with these parades. It was never possible to regain Northern Ireland, because the six counties were clever chosen. Protestants are in the majority and there is no chance for Irish to regain the North democratically which was always part of Ireland and in my opinion should be part of a united Ireland. All over the world the English gave up their colonies in the last century, India, Hong-Kong etc. But why not become friend with your neighbour? English people were more in danger of the IRA than of Mahatma Ghandi. England still have privileges in these Commonwealth countries, why not do the same in Ireland? But this conflict would never find an end. Image Ireland becomes united, then there would be a minority in the country fighting for an autonom statelet, comparable to the ETA which tries to separate Basque country. Of course these loyalists unionists illegitimate claim for a statelet, but who would teach them this fact. The British occupied Ireland this Irish soil. Nothing more! The Good Friday Agreement was a sign of goodwill and the aim is now, to unite the two traditions in Ireland that also Protestants vote for freedom, Sinn Féin or so.

If we look at the last year's election we can clearly see the opposite. Sinn Féin on the one side and the DUP on the other gained more and more votes, the more central SDLP and UUP lost (cf. pic 6, p. 29). The end is open and it is hard to say how the future will look like, but one thing is clear. There will always be Irish boys to fight and also loyalists who bar the way to progress. The struggle will go on.

D Appendices

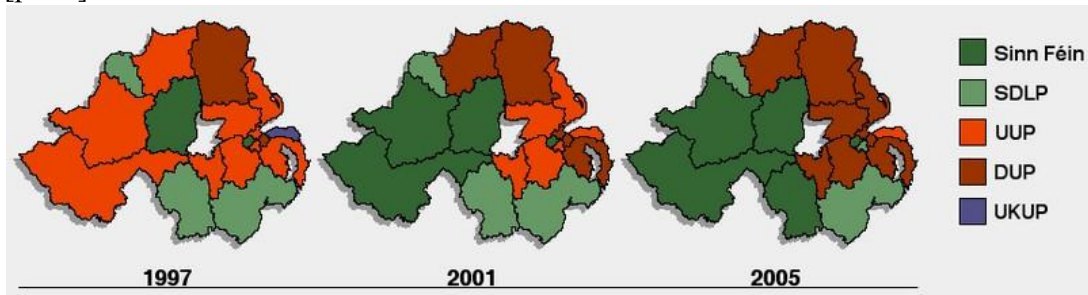
[pic 5]⁷⁴ Garvaghy Road in Portadown: the Drumcree march



The yellow line along the red roads is the proposed route of the Portadown Loyal Orange Lodge 1 Drumcree Parade on July 5. The green area is the predominantly Catholic area. The black bar marks where the parade is banned. The small 'S' shows where the front line of the 1996 standoff between Orangemen and the police was.

Unlike the rest of this site, this map is declared to be in the public domain.

[pic 6]⁷⁵



How the center-parties lost their voters

74 http://wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/drumcree_parade.gif (25.01.2006)

75 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulster_Unionist_Party (25.01.2006)

[pic 7]⁷⁶

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

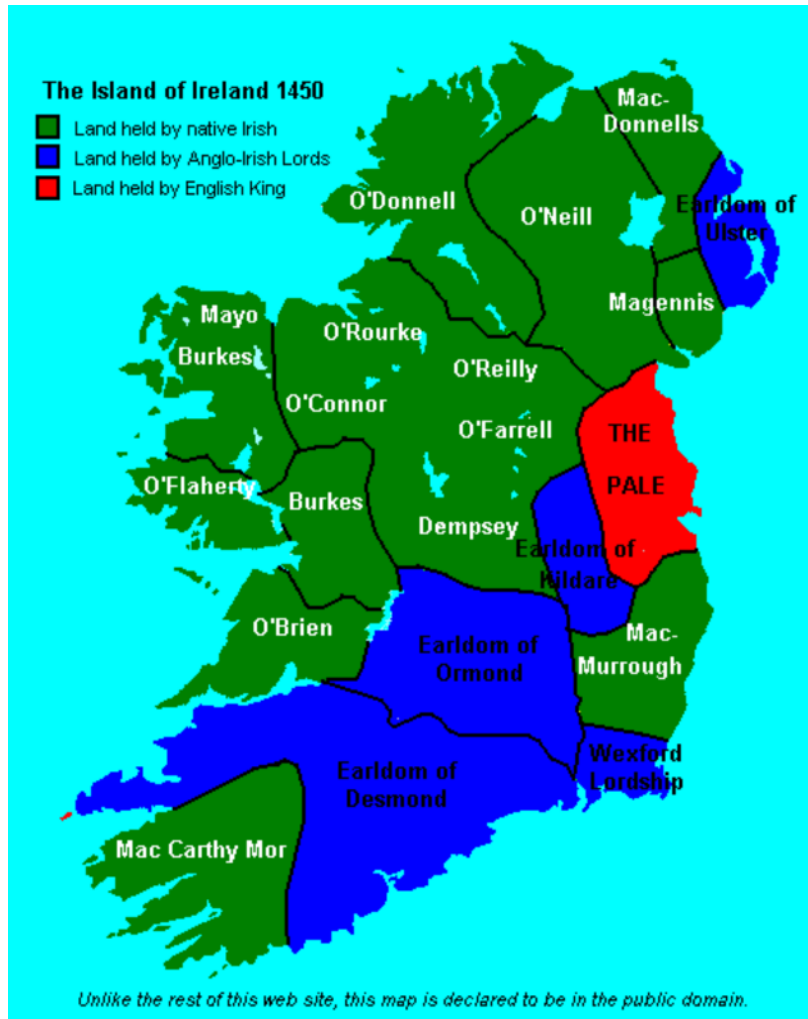
We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY. JOSEPH PLUNKETT

The Easter Proclamation of 1916

[pic 8]⁷⁷



[pic 9]



[pic 9] *The Bogside in Derry*

77 <http://wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/historical/map1450.gif> (25.01.2006)

[pic 10]⁷⁸



[pic 10] Bobby Sands funeral 1981

[pic 11]



[pic 11] Mural in the Bogside

78 <http://www.irishhungerstrike.com/bobbysfuneral.html>

[pic 12]



[pic 12] Now and then!

[pic 13]



[pic 13] violent UFF mural

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Erklärung

Ich versichere, dass ich die Facharbeit ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt und nur die im Literaturverzeichnis angeführten Quellen und Hilfsmittel benützt habe.

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Ort und Datum

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