



CRISIS COMMITTEES | 2014



BELFAST CONFERENCE
(NORTH IRELAND PEACE TALKS)



Dear Delegates,

Welcome to UTMUN 2014, and welcome to Belfast! I am Anna Heffernan, and I'm very pleased to be directing the Northern Ireland Peace Negotiations in Belfast, 1996. I am a third year student at U of T in Trinity College, specializing in History. I have studied Irish history through the Celtic Studies program, and have participated in Model UN since high school.

The Troubles in Northern Ireland represented the culmination of one of the most longstanding, deeply entrenched sectarian divisions in history. The ways in which leaders diffused the situation have informed the approaches in international relations toward other ongoing conflicts. Ulster Unionists believe that this land rightfully belongs to the Crown of Great Britain, while Irish Republicans see them as a force of foreign occupation. Whichever role you are assigned on this committee, it is very important to understand how deeply divided the delegates are from each other. By the time our committee meets in 1996, there have been several decades of terrorist attacks, murders, civil unrest and mass incarcerations that have affected delegates on both sides, and in some cases the delegates have been personally responsible for extreme violence. It is important to learn about other delegates and ascertain who your allies and opponents are. One of the most useful things you can do to prepare is to locate speeches, sermons or written material authored by the members of our committee that address the Northern Ireland issue, to get a taste of the kind of vitriol that was being spewed.

I visited Northern Ireland this past summer, and was amazed to see how much segregation still exists there – there are still places in Belfast where Catholics and Protestants walk on opposite sides of the street, there is still a wall separating communities, and there are still houses with steel cages covering the backyard to protect against rocks, and on occasion makeshift bombs, being thrown from the other side of the wall. What is most striking about Belfast is the public remembrance of the Troubles everywhere, with countless murals documenting historical events and sites commemorating 'martyrs' of the conflict. A person who is a hero on one side of the wall is a terrorist on the other. I was also struck by the number of police officers I saw in Belfast.

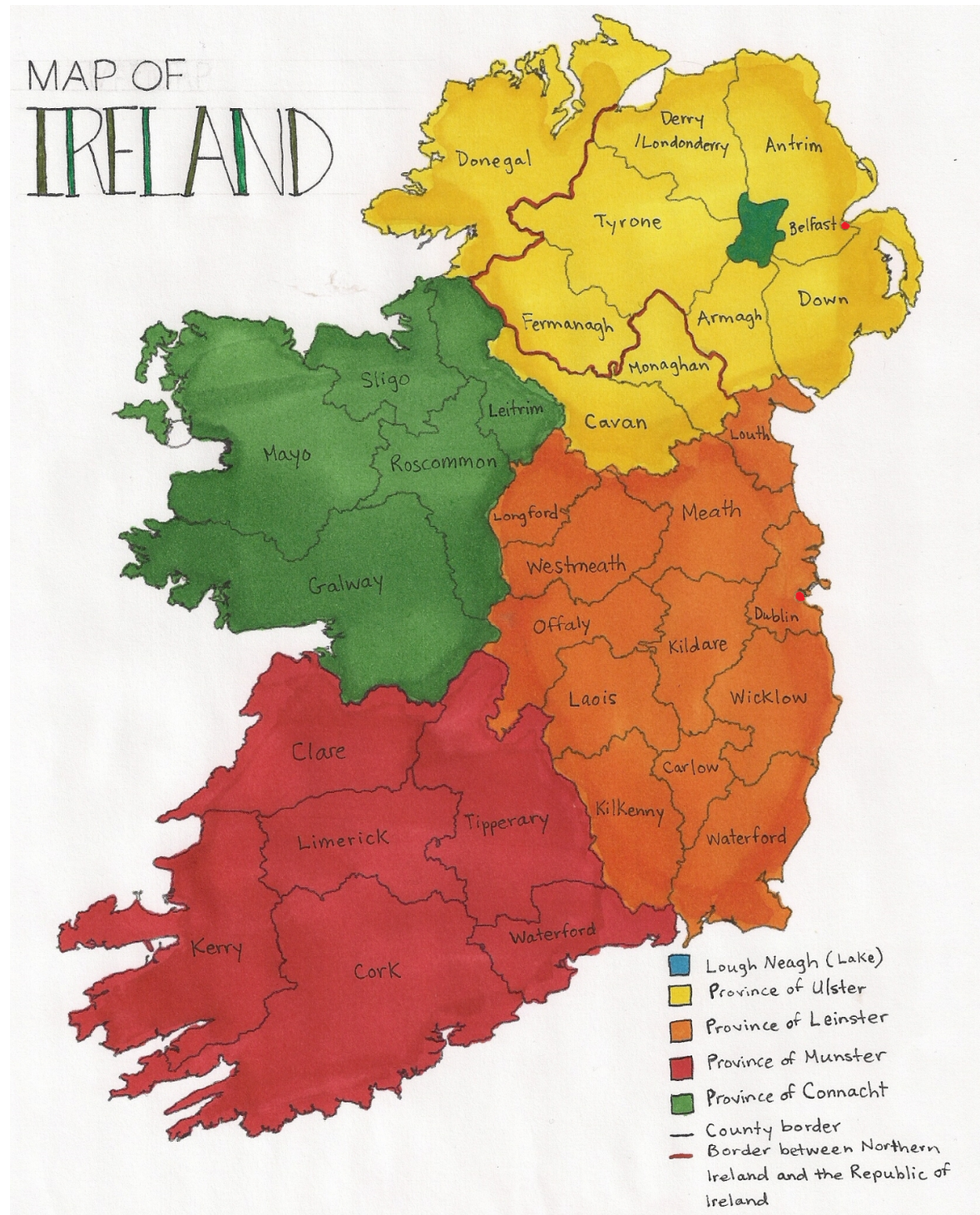
In reality, the negotiations you are about to participate in resulted in the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. Based on the political changes that have occurred since 1998 and the level of sectarianism that still exists, it is clear that this agreement was not perfect. Can you and your colleagues reach a more effective solution? The goal of this committee will be to pass resolutions that solve the underlying issues behind the Troubles. You must try to maintain the reputation of your persona with his or her supporters while stopping the violence and trying to make Northern Ireland into a place where Catholic and Protestant, Republican and Unionist can live side by side in equality.

I look forward to meeting each of you,
Anna Heffernan
anna.heffernan@mail.utoronto.ca

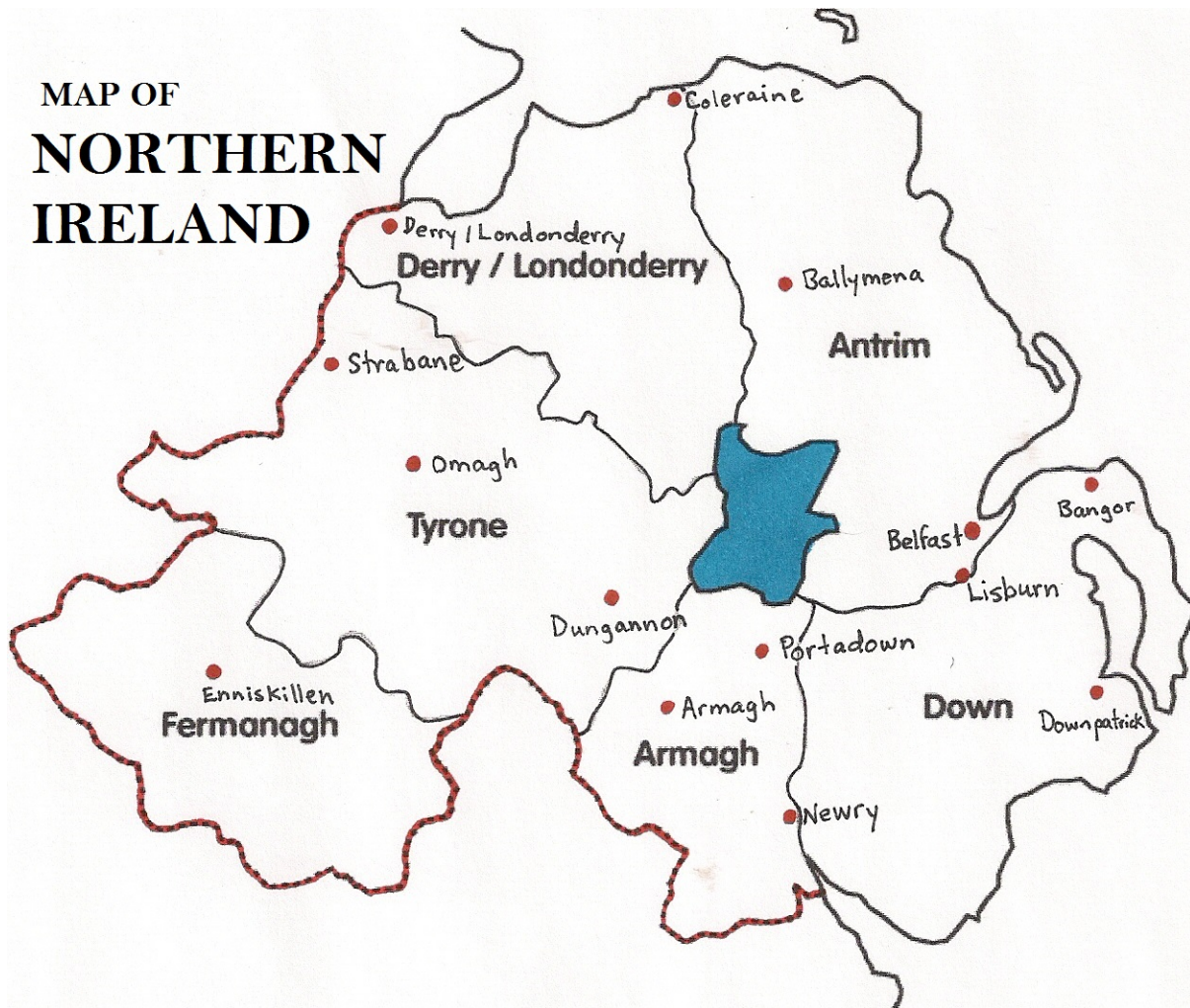


Section I: Maps

This is a brief section of maps to give you a general idea of the physical space we are discussing. The cities and towns have been added by me for your reference and are not exact.



MAP OF NORTHERN IRELAND



Ireland has historically had four provinces, since the earliest Irish mythology – Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connacht. There are 32 counties in all of Ireland. Twenty-six counties make up the Republic of Ireland. Six counties – Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Derry/Londonderry – now make up Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. I also recommend looking at maps on the CAIN website (listed in Sources) that illustrate the religious distribution of the two main cities that will come up in our discussions, Belfast and Derry/Londonderry, to gain a good understanding of which communities have Unionist allegiances and which have Republican allegiances.



Section II: History



Mural of Bobby Sands; the Belfast Mona Lisa

The history of Ireland is a complicated one, which is why I want to set out a general outline to help you avoid getting sidetracked in your research. One of the things you will notice is that Unionists and Republicans both use history to their own advantage, and you have to be careful about distinguishing fact from interpretation. Irish people have long memories, and many historic events are still very much a part of the modern conversation.

In **1171**, Henry II of England landed ships at the port of Waterford in the south east of Ireland and declared himself Lord of Ireland. In **1536**, King Henry VIII of England declared himself the King of Ireland and re-asserted control over the island, parts of which had been controlled by English lords since the 12th century. The question of when Ireland came completely under the control of Britain is a subject of controversy, but we can say with some certainty that by the end of the **Cromwellian War** in Ireland in 1653, Ireland was completely conquered by Great Britain.

In 1690, the **War of the Two Kings** was fought in Ireland between James II of England and William of Orange, who defeated James at the **Battle of the Boyne** named for the River Boyne near Drogheda, County Louth. This is how William of Orange from the Netherlands became King of England. Because James was a Catholic and William was a Protestant, this is remembered by many Protestants in Northern Ireland as the victory of Protestantism over Catholicism. William of Orange is a character still depicted on murals in Loyalist communities today. The **Loyal Orange Lodge**, also known as the Orange Order takes its name from William of Orange. The Orangemen, as its members are known, are a Protestant society in Northern Ireland that you should research in further depth if your persona is associated with Unionism. They hold **Orange Marches** every year on important dates in the Unionist calendar, especially July 12th, the celebration of victory at the Battle of the Boyne. For our purposes this is important because marches, in both the Unionist and Nationalist communities, become a source of tension and violence during the years of the Troubles.



During the 800 years that Britain had been present as an occupying force in Ireland, many measures were introduced that curtailed the rights and freedoms of the Irish people, just as other colonised peoples would experience under British colonialism. Since 1494, **Poyning's Law** made the Irish parliament unable to pass any laws without the approval of the English parliament. Despite several attempts at rebellion, especially in Ulster, England maintained power in Ireland. English and Scottish Protestants were privileged legislatively, and Irish Catholics were discriminated against. A large corpus of legislation against Catholics, known as the **Penal Laws**



were passed. Irish Catholics became tenants on land owned by English Protestant landlords, some of them farming independently, others hewers of wood and drawers of water for the English **landlords**. Under the Penal Laws, Irish Catholics could not vote or run for a seat in parliament unless they converted to the **Church of Ireland**, which was the name for the Church of England in Ireland (known in Canada as the Anglican Church). Many Scottish **Presbyterians** settled in Ulster, and Presbyterianism remains a strong denomination in Northern Ireland today.

Both Catholics and Presbyterians had to pay **tithing** to the Church of Ireland because it was the established state church, which angered many. Very few people in Ireland were members of the Church of Ireland, but they were the richest denomination because of this state support. The practice of **Catholicism** was in effect outlawed. People were not allowed to go on pilgrimages to Catholic holy sites, although they did so in secrecy. Young men were not allowed to go out of the country to be educated and ordained as priests, but many were successfully smuggled out and brought back to serve as priests in their community. Although Catholic churches were not allowed, many Catholics met at local landmarks such as large rocks to hear a priest say mass, and these were later known as “mass rocks”. Despite formal repression, Catholicism stayed very strong in Ireland.

In Ulster, however, many Scottish Presbyterians settled starting with the **Ulster Plantation** in 1609 along with English settlers. The coast of Ulster is very close to Scotland, so it was common for Scottish people to move to Ulster if they were experiencing difficulty, either from food shortages or religious persecution of Presbyterians at home. Eventually Protestants came to outnumber Catholics in the province as a whole. Over time, as some Irishmen and women converted to various denominations of Protestantism and as Protestant families lived for many generations in Ireland, many Protestants began to view themselves more as Irish than as English. Irish Catholics largely did not accept this view. Protestants were and in some places still are viewed as **foreigners** in Ireland. Some Unionists, especially in Ulster also ascribe to this view, preferring to identify with Britain rather than Ireland.

In 1800, the **Act of Union** was passed, which made all of Ireland formally part of Great Britain, forming the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. A big factor that led to this Act was



the five month long Rebellion of 1798, which was ultimately crushed. In practice this meant that decisions about Ireland were now made by the British Parliament at Westminster, and the Irish parliament was null and void. In 1829, due in large part to the effort of influential advocates of non-violent Irish nationalism such as the very popular figure **Daniel O'Connell** and his organization known as the Catholic Association, the **Catholic Relief Act** was passed which allowed Catholics to sit in Parliament and removed the remaining Penal Laws. From then on Irish nationalists were able to sit in Westminster and advocate for Irish rights.

In **1798, 1803, 1848** and **1867** there were failed attempts at armed rebellion which remain important examples of heroism in the name of Ireland for Irish Republicans, both in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. **Robert Emmet**, memorialized by Republicans as a hero of the 1798 and 1803 rebellions who was hanged for treason by the British government, made a powerful *Speech from the Dock* in which he reportedly said, "When my country takes her place among the nations of the earth, then and not till then, let my epitaph be written." You can visit Robert Emmet in a Dublin pub where his ghost is reported to still live. One of the most important things about Irish uprisings to remember is that they were frequently unpopular among the people when they began. Like any ordinary citizens, the Irish people didn't want their country to be plunged into the violence and difficult economic times that came along with war. Uprisings generally became popular after the British government executed its leaders, like Robert Emmet. By executing people, Britain made **martyrs** for the Irish cause and inadvertently strengthened Irish nationalism. An important example of this principle are the **Manchester Martyrs**, three men who were executed by the British after trying to break their comrades out of gaol in Manchester, where they were being incarcerated for their participation in the initially unpopular uprising of 1867. You will see similar occurrences in Northern Ireland during the Troubles.



The Potato Famine occurred from 1845 to 1851. It resulted in the deaths of at least a million people and the emigration of at least two million more people. For our purposes one of the most important outcomes of the Famine is that it resulted in the migration of many rural Irish people into the city in search of food and jobs. In Northern Ireland, many Irish Catholics moved into Belfast to take up industrial jobs. Living in close quarters in slums and competing for jobs greatly increased sectarian tensions between Catholics and Protestants.

Despite the efforts of both parliamentary advocates for Irish Home Rule and Irish rebels who were willing to use violence, Ireland did not gain independence until 1922. Great Britain was determined to hold on to her colonies, and Protestant Unionists, especially in Ulster, wanted to remain part of Great Britain. This was for pragmatic as well as cultural and religious reasons. Many Protestants feared that if Catholics were in power, they would discriminate against Protestants the same way that Catholics had



Patrick Pearse



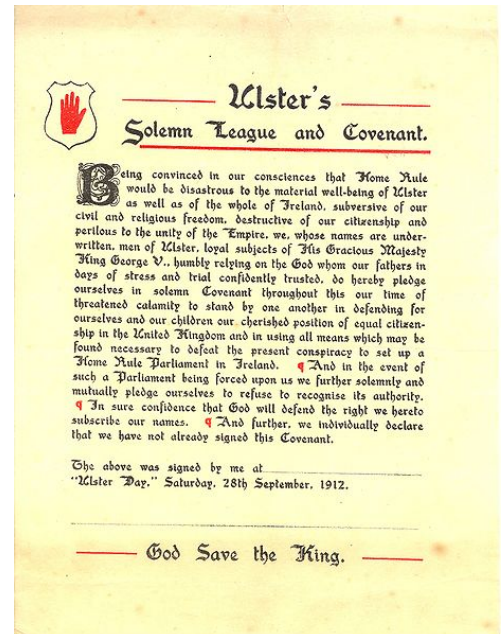
Edward Carson

been discriminated against. A common slogan bandied about among Unionists was "Home Rule is Rome Rule," insinuating that the Church of Rome would rule Ireland under a Catholic administration. In 1912, approximately half a million Ulstermen and women signed **Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant**, a document in which Unionists pledged to refuse to recognize any form of independence. They were led by **Edward Carson**, the leader of the northern unionists. In the same year the **Ulster Volunteer Force** was formed as a Unionist militia to enforce the Covenant if necessary.

You will recall from European history that after the First World War, countries around the world were starting to gain independence through nationalist movements, and Ireland was no different. The most well-known Irish rebellion is the **Easter Rising of 1916**.

During this uprising, Irish Republican leaders tried to take advantage of the fact that Britain was occupied with the war on the continent. They occupied several locations in Dublin and issued the **Proclamation of the Irish Republic**.

Initially this rebellion too was quite unpopular, especially because so many young Irishmen were fighting in the Great War in the British Army. The Rising was orchestrated by various groups including the **Irish Republican Brotherhood** and the **Irish Volunteers**. The Easter Rising failed, and resulted in the execution of fifteen Irish Republicans. This was a shock to Ireland, especially the execution of



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 CENNITT,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

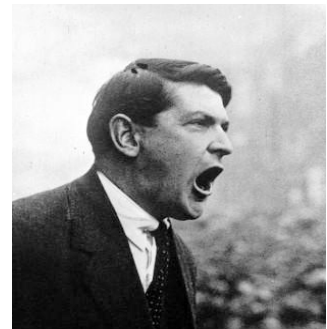
Willie Pearse, the younger brother of leader **Patrick Pearse**, because Willie was not a leader of the Rising in any sense of the word and it seemed his surname had condemned him to death. After the executions, the public started to support the Rising and over the next few years nationalist sentiment grew.

Now we move on to the **Irish War of Independence**. In late 1918, the general election in Ireland gave a majority to the **Sinn Féin** party. Sinn Féin is Irish for “ourselves alone”, which represents the desire for Ireland to rule itself without Britain. Sinn Féin (pronounced shin fayn) remains in existence today and is active in Northern Ireland. During the Troubles it was in effect the political wing of the IRA, and a number of former IRA leaders are now Sinn Féin representatives, allegedly including Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness. In 1919, the newly elected Sinn Féin majority refused to sit in Westminster because they did not recognize it as a legitimate authority over Ireland, so instead they formed their own assembly known as **Dáil Éireann** or the Assembly of Ireland. To this day, the assembly of the Republic of Ireland is known as the Dáil (pronounced doyle).



Eamon de Valera, aka "Dev"

The First Dáil issued a Declaration of Independence from the United Kingdom. The Dáil appointed the **Irish Volunteers** to be the official army for the Republic, and they were renamed the **Irish Republican Army**. The war was fought between members of the IRA and Royal Irish Constabulary forces, who were the police of the British regime. Britain sent in auxiliary forces known as the **Black and Tans** for their lack of uniforms. Most of these men had returned from the Great War and suffered its psychological effects.



Michael Collins, aka "Big Fella"

This combined with the anti-Irish prejudice in England at this time made for a war with incredible cruelty for civilians, cementing popular resentment of the English and bolstering support for the rebels. Republican **Eamon de Valera**, participant in the Easter Rising, became the President of the Dáil. His fellow Easter Rising veteran **Michael Collins** commanded the IRA during the conflict. The war ended with Irish victory and Michael Collins went to England to negotiate the terms of the **Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921**. This treaty established the **Irish Free State** which was not a full republic like the Irish nationalists wanted, but it gave them more independence than Ireland had had over the last 800 years. The Free State was similar to the Dominion status Canada had at the time.

When Michael Collins returned to Dublin with the terms of the treaty, the majority of the Dáil voted to accept it, and the Free State came into being. Eamon de Valera and his followers, however, refused to accept the treaty. They wanted a full republic, because to accept anything less they felt would be a disgrace to all those who had died fighting for it. Some members of the



Irish Republican Army split from the IRA to constitute the Free State Forces and fight on the side of Collins and the Free State. The IRA or Anti-Treaty Forces occupied the Four Courts in Dublin and were fired on by Collins in June 1922, marking the beginning of the **Civil War**. It ended just under a year later in May 1923 with victory for the Free State. Ireland would be independent, but not a full republic until 1949 when Eamon de Valera, who had returned to political power, signed the **Republic of Ireland Act**.

Another important issue about the Anglo-Irish Treaty was **Partition**. It allowed six counties of Ulster - Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Derry/Londonderry – to remain part of the United Kingdom, which is what the Protestant Unionists wanted, if they couldn't keep all of Ireland in the United Kingdom. Michael Collins and those who supported the Free State believed the six counties of Northern Ireland could be regained at a later time, but Eamon de Valera and those who pushed for a full republic believed the island of Ireland must not be partitioned. When the Anti-Treaty Forces lost the Civil War, partition was final and Northern Ireland was an undeniable reality.

Northern Ireland was given self-government within the United Kingdom. Successive regimes carried out a policy of discrimination against the Catholic minority. The government gerrymandered electoral districts to ensure Unionist victories and maintain control over places with nationalist majorities. In 1929, proportional representation was abolished, giving an advantage to the Ulster Unionist Party, resulting in fifty years of one-party rule in Northern Ireland. Voting rights were restricted by property requirements until 1969, whereas in England they had been abandoned in the 1940s. Discrimination in employment was an issue both in the public sector and heavy industry which provided much of the employment in Belfast.

The combination of long term systematic discrimination and the worldwide wave of student radicalism led to the emergence of the **civil rights movement** in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s. In January 1969, a civil rights march just outside Derry/Londonderry was attacked by a Unionist mob, including off duty police. On August 12th 1969, an Apprentice Boys march commemorating the War of the Two Kings in Derry/Londonderry, which is known by Catholics as Derry and Protestants as Londonderry. The police force of Northern Ireland, the **Royal Ulster Constabulary**, allowed the march to go through the Catholic area of Derry known as the **Bogside**. This led to two days of large scale rioting known as the **Battle of the Bogside**. The RUC released 1,091 canisters of CS gas during the battle. Severe riots erupted in Belfast and other towns in Northern Ireland in response to events in the Bogside. The following three decades of conflict came to be known among Irish people as “**the Troubles**”.

In the 1960s the Irish Republican Army, which was a remnant of the IRA that fought in the Civil War, split over ideological differences into the **Provisional IRA** and the Official IRA. The Provisional IRA, who were sometimes referred to as the Provisionals or the Provos, were more active in the Troubles than the Official IRA, and it is typically the Provisional IRA that is referred to if one simply says IRA. Its political wing is Sinn Féin, which remains a political party



even after the IRA declared a ceasefire in 1997 and disarmed under international supervision in 2005.

Initially the nationalist community in Northern Ireland had hoped the British army would protect them from Unionist attacks, but when they started imposing curfews and internment without trial for suspected IRA men, the nationalist community stopped cooperating with the state. The potential for cooperation was lost in January 1972 when members of the British army killed fourteen unarmed civilians in Derry, which is remembered as **Bloody Sunday**. 1970-72 saw an explosion of violence in which 500 people lost their lives. In both Belfast and Derry, the IRA established “no-go areas” where army personnel were not permitted. In Derry, barricades were put up to separate what came to be known as “**Free Derry**” from the rest of the city. Entrance and exit through the barricades was controlled by the IRA.

Unionists believe the violence of the 1970s was caused by the formation of the violent Provisional IRA which aimed to protect the Catholic community as opposed to older IRA which had long been non-violent, and the Official IRA which had a Marxist orientation and aimed to protect the working class community as a whole. 1972 was the most violent year of the Troubles. In that year the Provisional IRA killed 100 soldiers, wounded 500 soldiers, and bombed 1300 targets. In March 1972, the British Parliament passed emergency legislation called the **Temporary Provisions Act** to implement direct rule of Northern Ireland from London because they were



reluctant to grant any further authoritarian powers to the government at Stormont. On **Bloody Friday** in July, 22 bombs exploded in Belfast city centre killing seven civilians and two soldiers. Loyalist paramilitaries such as the Ulster Volunteer Force carried out indiscriminate violence against Catholics. The **Shankill Butchers** of the Protestant Shankill Road community of Belfast tortured their victims before killing them. At the end of July the British army carried out **Operation Motorman** to demolish the IRA barricades in Belfast and Derry and re-establish control.

Violence continued throughout the 1970s. Loyalist paramilitaries sometimes used fake British army uniforms and fake road blocks mimicking military checkpoints to ambush nationalists. For example in 1975 three members of the popular Irish band The Miami Showband were killed outside Newry by UVF men perpetrating one of these schemes. The conflict was also characterized by retaliation. When Catholics were killed, the IRA usually retaliated by killing Protestants and vice versa. The Official IRA proclaimed a ceasefire in 1972 and did not resume violence. Although smaller bands of armed republicans sprang up here and there, the Provisional IRA was now the primary representative of violent Irish nationalism.



Since 1972, paramilitary members were not given fair trials and were not afforded political status in prison. In **Maze prison**, 500 republican prisoners staged a **blanket protest** and a **dirty protest** in which they refused to wear prison clothing, wearing only their blankets, and refused to shower or clean their cells in an attempt to gain political status. This led to the **1981 Hunger Strike**, when ten prisoners starved themselves to death. Their leader was **Bobby Sands**, the first to die. This was another martyr for the nationalist community. Over 100,000 attended his funeral mass in West Belfast. **Margaret Thatcher**, who was the Prime Minister of Britain at the time, did not grant political status to prisoners of the Northern Ireland conflict.

Since 1983, Sinn Fein was led by Gerry Adams who sought to negotiate an end to violence. He was engaged in secret talks with the government, as were Loyalists. However, organizations in this conflict were not entirely unified. On October 12 1984, the IRA bombed the hotel in Brighton, England, where Thatcher and other British politicians were staying for the **Conservative Party conference**, killing five and injuring thirty-four. By the early 1990s, both Republican and Unionist groups were coming close to declaring ceasefire, which inadvertently increased the tension and resulted in several especially violent events. In 1993, the Unionist paramilitaries escalated the killing of Catholics. In retaliation the IRA bombed Shankill Road killing nine Protestant civilians. The Ulster Defence Association retaliated by killing eight and wounding thirteen in County Londonderry, known as the **Greysteel massacre**.



Bobby Sands

In the summer of 1994, both the Provisional IRA and the loyalist paramilitaries declared ceasefires. In 1995, the United States appointed **George Mitchell** as the United States Special Envoy for Northern Ireland. He came to Ireland to chair the international commission for disarming Northern Ireland paramilitaries.

This is where our committee begins, in 1996. Whether Northern Ireland will plunge back into conflict or be peaceful for centuries to come is now up to you.



Section III: Committee Topics

In committee sessions we will discuss three topics which you will have to pass resolutions on. These represent three broad areas that were underlying causes of the Troubles. You will also have to issue directives on any crises that might pop up while committee is in session – keep an eye on themes from history that could pop up to derail your negotiations!

I. Partition

- a. When the Republic of Ireland gained its independence, Britain “partitioned” the island so that most of the province of Ulster remained within the United Kingdom. The partitioned section is what we now know as Northern Ireland.
- b. One of the primary contentions of the Irish nationalist movement in Northern Ireland has been that as an island, all of Ireland should be united.
- c. Several questions must be answered by the committee:
 - i. Who should decide if Northern Ireland should remain part of the UK?
 - ii. How much if any of Ulster should be part of the UK? Should the borders be revised? Should we allow for the borders to change alongside demographics?
 - iii. What is the status of the respective citizens of the Republic and the North when in the opposite territory?

II. Ceasefire and decommissioning

- a. In order to participate in talks, the major Nationalist and Unionist paramilitary organizations declared a ceasefire. This was not always honored and individual members did not always follow orders.
- b. An International Independent Commission on Decommissioning was established to oversee and approve the process of decommissioning the weaponry of both sides. Much dispute arose over how to fairly and safely dispose of all weapons.
 - i. Should Unionist and Nationalist paramilitaries be required to surrender all weaponry?
 1. How can we determine how much weaponry each group has?
 2. How can we ensure that no arms are held back?
 3. How can we police the weapons ownership of private citizens who may or may not be involved in sectarian activity?
 4. On what timeline should decommissioning be performed?



III. Civil rights, equality and segregation

- a. The outbreak of the Troubles in the 1960s was precipitated by civil rights movement comprising several initiatives challenging discrimination against the Catholic Nationalist community in Northern Ireland
- b. As a whole the movement criticized what it perceived as
 - i. Employment inequality
 - 1. Catholic Nationalists held a much smaller proportion of jobs in the public sector
 - ii. Electoral inequality
 - a. In the UK all adults had the right to vote, except in Northern Ireland where only homeowners had the right to vote. This was seen as discriminatory against Catholic Nationalists because they represented a significantly smaller percentage of householders compared to Protestant Unionists
 - b. Electoral boundaries were gerrymandered in favour of Protestant Unionist political parties
 - iii. Resource inequality
 - 1. Electoral inequality led to Protestant Unionist control of local councils which allocated public housing, resulting in discrimination against Catholic Nationalists in the allocation process
 - iv. Legal inequality
 - 1. The Royal Ulster Constabulary, the police force of Northern Ireland, was comprised almost exclusively of Protestant Unionists. They were accused of sectarianism and police brutality.
 - 2. The Special Powers Act gave the RUC the right to search without warrant, imprison without charge or trial, ban public assemblies and publications. Civil rights activists contended that this Act was used primarily against Catholic Nationalists



Section IV: Delegate Personas

Tony Blair – Leader of the Labour Party since 1994. Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (May 1997 – June 2007). Immediately upon taking office, Blair began negotiations between government officials and Sinn Fein.



Marjorie (Mo) Mowlam – Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (May 1997 – June 2001) Predecessor of Mandelson; notable for negotiating IRA ceasefire of 1994 and visiting loyalist prisoners in Maze prison

Peter Mandelson – Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (October 1999 – January 2001) notable for overseeing the creation of a devolved legislative assembly, power sharing executive and reformed police force, while navigating political blunders.

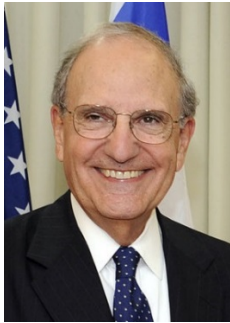


John Major – Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (November 1990 – May 1997) Predecessor of current PM Blair; notable for opening secret talks with Adams' PIRA and the Downing Street Declaration of 1993.

Margaret Thatcher – Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (May 1979 – November 1990) Predecessor of PM Major; notable for her decision not to grant political status to IRA prisoners leading to the Maze Prison hunger strikes of 1981 that killed ten Republican prisoners, escaping an IRA assassination attempt in 1984, and signing the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement which established the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Conference, a body comprised of representatives from the UK and the Republic of Ireland intended as a consultative body to the devolved government of Northern Ireland.



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George J. Mitchell – United States Special Envoy for Northern Ireland during the Clinton administration. Notable for establishing the six Mitchell Principles which the Irish and British governments and the political parties of Northern Ireland each agreed to, forming the basis of the all-party negotiations chaired by Mitchell.

General John de Chastelain – Chairman of the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning. Retired Canadian military officer notable for participating as an international observer and advisor during the peace process in Northern Ireland, focusing on paramilitary disarmament.



Gerry Adams – West Belfast native and leader of Sinn Féin, the political wing of the IRA from 1983. Formerly interned in Northern Ireland by the British government on grounds of suspected terrorism in the 1970s. Was elected to British Parliament but did not assume his seat following the party's policy of abstentionism. Denies IRA involvement. Actively involved the party in peace talks, was the key contact between the IRA and other negotiating parties and had a rapport with Clinton, who granted him a visa to the United States where he gave speeches in New York. Did not formally renounce violence as a tactic for the Republican movement until 1997.

Martin McGuinness – Derry native, chief negotiator for Sinn Féin. Involved in the Catholic civil rights movement in the 1960s. Admitted “former” Provisional IRA involvement. Was second-in-command of the IRA in Derry at the time of the 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre.



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John Hume – Derry native, leader of the Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party from 1979 to 2001. Active in the Catholic civil rights movement of the 1960s. Advocated an all-inclusive government of Northern Ireland. Promoted foreign investment in Northern Ireland, especially from America. Began private talks with Gerry Adams of rival party Sinn Fein in 1988. Co-recipient of the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize with David Trimble of the Ulster Unionist Party.



Monica McWilliams – Ballymoney native, Catholic co-founder of the non-sectarian Northern Ireland Women's Coalition founded in 1996. Did not espouse a particular ideology in regards to the sectarian conflict, but denounced violence on both sides.

David Trimble – Bangor native, Protestant leader of the Ulster Unionist Party since 1995. Was a hardline unionist but made several important concessions during the peace process. Co-recipient of the 1998 Nobel Peace Prize with John Hume of the Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party.



Ian Paisley – Armagh native, leader of the Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster since its founding in 1951. As a cleric he was noted for preaching against Roman Catholicism in his sermons. Denounced the Catholic Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and organized Unionist marches in protest. Leader of the Democratic Unionist Party since its founding in 1971. Opposed any arrangement that weakened Northern Ireland's union with Britain or gave power to Republicans.

Patrick B. (Bertie) Ahern – Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of the Republic of Ireland from 1997 to 2008, leader of the Fianna Fail party. Advocated an end to violence perpetrated by the IRA. Relinquished the goal of a united Ireland.





Bill Clinton – President of the United States from 1993-2001. During his tenure Clinton encouraged American economic investment in Northern Ireland. Angered London by granting Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams a visa to visit the United States on a short speaking tour. Sought to support any group that pledged an end to violence. Dispatched U.S. Senator George Mitchell to chair the peace talks. Made frequent phone calls from the Oval Office to key players all both sides of the negotiations.



Section VI: Extras!

To really get a taste of Ireland, here is an excerpt from a poem by Seamus Heaney, recently deceased Irish Nobel Laureate. This poem was written in 1975 in the midst of the Troubles. Heaney was from Derry, a name you will now recognize from the history section as the scene of much conflict. It is found in his collection *North*. It says a lot about the culture of Northern Ireland and what it was like to live there during the Troubles.

Here is a video of him reading this excerpt: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OpDw5n_rb5I

Whatever You Say Say Nothing

Religion's never mentioned here, of course.
You know them by their eyes, and hold your tongue.

Of the 'wee six' I sing
Where to be saved you only must save face
And whatever you say, you say nothing.

Smoke-signals are loud-mouthed compared with us:
Manoeuvrings to find out name and school,
With subtle discrimination by addresses
With hardly an exception to the rule

That Norman, Ken and Sidney signalled Prod,
And Seamus (call me Sean) was sure-fire Pape.
Oh, land of password, handgrip, wink and nod,
Of open minds as open as a trap,

Where tongues lie coiled, as under flame lie wicks,
Where half of us, as in a wooden horse
Were cabin'd and confined like wily Greeks,
Besieged within the siege, whispering morse.

- Seamus Heaney

Could the title have been inspired by this famous poster seen in Belfast during the Troubles?





Sources

CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet) – www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/index.html

The Museum of Free Derry – www.museumoffreederry.org

Ireland: A History by Thomas Bartlett

When God Took Sides: Religion and Identity in Ireland by Marianne Elliott

Armed Struggle: the History of the IRA by Richard English

Ten Men Dead: The Story of the 1981 Hunger Strike by David Beresford

The Fight for Peace: The Secret Story Behind the Irish Peace Process by Eamonn Mallie and David McKittrick

Making Sense of the Troubles by David McKittrick

➔ The following films may help spark your interest in Ireland. I highly recommend you watch at least one. The first three take place in Northern Ireland during the Troubles:

- **Hunger** – 2008; about the 1981 Hunger Strike in Maze Prison – on Netflix!
- **In the Name of the Father** – 1993; set in 1974 about accused IRA conspirators
- **Five Minutes of Heaven** – 2009; based on the true story of a former Ulster Volunteer Force man
- **Fifty Dead Men Walking** – 2008; based on the true story of an undercover spy in the IRA
- **Michael Collins** – 1996; about the Irish War of Independence
- **The Wind that Shook the Barley** – 2006; about the Irish War of Independence and Civil War

Map outlines:

<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/images/maps/map3.htm>

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