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Diplomová práce

„The One Island, One Republic Policy of the Irish Republican Army“

Jeden ostrov, jedna republika: Vývoj politiky Irské republikánské armády

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Anotace

V diplomové práci se budu zabývat konkrétním obdobím irských dějin a to politikou Irské republikánské armády a její snahou o vytvoření sjednoceného ostrova a jedné republiky.

V úvodní kapitole se zaměřím na vývoj v koloniální období a jeho důsledky na vztah mezi katolíky a protestanty, což vedlo k vytvoření Irského republikánského bratrstva a následně Irské republikánské armády. Práce zdůrazní události Velikonočního povstání v roce 1916, které zahájily éru bojů. Hlavní zaměření se bude týkat války za nezávislost a Anglo-irské dohody, která vyústila v rozdělení ostrova a občanskou válku. Následující kapitoly se budou zabývat historií Irska během dvacátého století. Podrobně bude popsána situace v Severním Irsku v posledních čtyřiceti letech. Závěrečné hlavní téma bude dohoda z Velkého pátku z roku 1998 a nová současná politika IRA.

Klíčová slova:

Irské republikánské bratrstvo (IRB), Irská republikánská armáda (IRA), Velikonoční povstání, vyhlášení republiky, válka za nezávislost, Anglo-Irská dohoda, občanská válka, ústava, dohoda z Velkého pátku.

Abstract

In the diploma work I will deal with a specific area of Irish history – the policy of Irish Republican Army and its efforts to create on the one island one republic. In the introductory chapter I will focus on the colonial period and its consequences on the relations between the two communities Catholics and Protestant that led to forming of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and consecutively Irish Republican Army. The work underscores the events of Easter Rising in 1916, which opened the era of fights. An obvious centre point will be the Anglo-Irish War and the Free State Treaty resulting in Partition and the Civil War. The succeeding chapters will follow the history over the decades of the twentieth century. The paper closely describes the situation in Northern Ireland during last forty years. The final main theme will be the Good Friday Accords of 1998 and the new policy of the IRA today.

Key words:

Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), Irish Republican Army (IRA), Easter Rising, Proclamation of the Republic, War of Independence, Free State Treaty, Civil War, Constitution, Good Friday Accords.

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Introduction

I chose the theme of the Irish Republican Army for my diploma work. The IRA is not an organisation that is well-known in the Czech Republic neither is the abbreviation IRA. That was one of the reasons why I started juggling with the idea to write about this topic. The other one was my interest in Ireland and its culture, people, nature and of course history. I have read several books about Ireland. There are presented pieces of the history and problems connected with the coexistence of two religious groups – Catholics and Protestants. However in the Republic the Catholic community predominates over Protestants, while the last mentioned forms a majority in the north-eastern area. For many centuries the Irish nation tried to be free of British rule. In the 18th century there occurred a tradition of uprising in every generation that influenced the Irish thinking and modern history.

After an introductory recapitulation of the Irish history from Celts to Great Famine in the middle of the 19th century, I began to deal with first attempts to win the independence by force of violence. While the Irish Republican Brotherhood was initially not successful, its activity stirred up next freedom fighters. The Easter Rising in 1916 showed the resolution to continue in the fights and although it was harshly suppressed and its leaders executed, preparations for a war with England started.

The Anglo-Irish War can be considered as a turning point so this thesis focuses on the course of the fights, the chief initiator Michael Collins and finally the contraction of the Anglo-Irish Treaty between England and Ireland. The Free State Treaty represented a key moment for the island because it divided the nation into two camps – some supported the Treaty and creation of the Irish Free State with the Status of British Dominion, while others rejected it as a killer of the dreamt-of Republic. Also Protestants were against the republic. They wished to maintain a union with Great Britain and presented a proposal for creating a nine-country dominion consisting of the whole Ulster area. The British government guaranteed only six northern counties with a Protestant majority that they would remain a part of the UK so Northern Ireland was originated.

The only possible solution of the situation seemed to be the Civil War. It lasted two years and claimed the lives of many innocent people. The pro-Treaty sympathisers won the war and established the Free State. The work follows the development in the relationship of the main actors Collins and de Valera. The opposite attitude made the former friends and

comrades-in-arm into rivals for life and death. De Valera remained the leading figure for nearly fifty years whereas Collins died in an ambush during the war.

De Valera's politics is described in a separate chapter. He had merit in defining a new constitution and creating Éire (the name was used until 1949 when the state became Republic of Ireland. He also removed the Oath of Allegiance to the British Crown which had depressed him for many years and proclaimed Ireland an independent and democratic republic. It is important to say that the neutrality of the Irish Republic during the Second World War strengthened the relation to Northern Ireland because the North as a part of Britain was involved in the warfare and when it was bombed, the Republic offered help.

Since that time it is better to occupy with the history of the island apart. The Republic tried to improve the social and economic conditions during the 1950s, 1960s and made many reforms. The unemployment decreased at the end of the century and Ireland reached big flowering of industry, tourism and trade.

In Northern Ireland after decades of oppression of Catholics and deprivation of their rights broke out demonstrations in the 1960s and riots and violence in the 1970s. Protestant and Catholics killed each other and the IRA started a bomb campaign in which many civilians died. It lasted more than thirty years until a peace agreement was signed in 1998.

The attention was given to the Troubles in Northern Ireland because it shows how the situation changed during the time. At the beginning of the century Irishmen fought for independence but later this struggles transformed into killing and senseless murders. Protestant shot Catholics just because they were Catholics, they did not care if they carried guns or had families; they had no reasons for slaughters. The IRA behaved in the same way because its members follow the tradition of uprising in every generation. They continued in fighting to demonstrate that they were not afraid and did not reconcile with their destiny.

1. Historical context and the Anglo-Norman invasion

Everyone who has sometimes thought of the political situation in Ireland must ask a simple question – why? Why did Irish people fight against each other? Why did Protestants hate Catholics? Why had to die hundreds of innocent inhabitants? Why is there ghost of past still present in the air?

The answer seems to be evident. These people struggled for freedom and independence on the British Empire. That is absolutely truth, but to understand their grounds and reasons is necessary to follow the disturbed history of the island.

In the last decades became Ireland, especially the Irish Republic, a favoured holiday destination for visitors from Continent as well as from all over the world. Not only a picturesque land and beautiful nature, but also the Celtic history, lure tourists to spend time walking and getting to know the life of local gentry. The island has much to offer, but the past did not always act well. Many cruel rulers oppressed their subjects and tyrannised especially rural people.

However first primeval hunters came to Ireland about 6000 BC and began to build primitive dwellings, cultivate land and produce simple tools and ornaments, the real development brought approximately 150 BC tribes from middle Europe called Celts. These rich tribes spoke Celtic, which is a similar language to present Irish. Their arrival changed permanently the lifestyle and culture and they took control over the island for more than one thousand years. The Celts were proficient warriors so they conquered indigenous inhabitants very easily. They were also skilful craftsmen and traders and dealt with ironmongery.

Later in the 5th century AD spread Christianity to Ireland. The main merit goes to St. Patrick and his missions. Throughout the island people accepted faith regardless of whether they were original Irishmen or Celts. Patrick and his scholars founded many monasteries and acquired a large amount of converted people. The next centuries were accompanied by increase of education. This tendency lasted more or less until the first attack of Vikings in 795 (cf Woody 2003).

They sailed from Scandinavia, plundered monasteries along the eastern coast and killed monks. Initially they made several raids and returned back to their homeland, but in 837 they decided to stay and build permanent bases. This acting led to struggles between Irish kings and Scandinavians and it meant first real interference into Irish affairs. After some time

the newcomers assimilated and adopted the Irish way of life. Many later important cities such as Dublin, Limerick or Waterford were founded by Vikings.

The country slowly began to flourish again and it was drawing to become a strong central monarchy. Unfortunately the process was stopped by an Anglo-Norman invasion. Paradoxically, the impetus came from one of the Irish rulers. Diarmait Mac Murchada and Tigernán Ua Ruairc fought for the throne and their relations deteriorated when Mac Murchada kidnapped the wife of Ua Ruairc. Mac Murchada was finally defeated and run away to England to ask King Henry II for help. Henry II was interested in Ireland for a long time and promised to support him. Mac Murchada found a helping hand with a Norman leader from Wales Richard FitzGilbert de Clare, known as Strongbow. Together with several troops they landed in the bay Bannow in 1169. In one year they overran Waterford, Dublin and Wexford. After Mac Murchada's death Strongbow became the ruler which worried Henry II. Before Henry set for his way to the island, he asked Pope Hadrian IV, who was the only Pope from England, for a permission to make a catholic reform in Ireland. There was no resistance and Henry II took control over the territory. To strengthen the power he gave land to Anglo-Norman aristocracy so they owned the majority very soon.

During two centuries the Normans merged with the local population. As a consequence, King Edward III issued The Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366. These documents forbade mixed marriages, Irish language, customs and traditional clothes. The folk rebelled against them and did not respect them so only a small territory called Pale remained English. Gaelic Irishmen regained many lost areas but they did not free of English domination.

A big breakthrough in the Anglo-Irish relationship came hand in hand with the reign of King Henry VIII. After he fell out with Pope, he founded the Church of England and proclaimed himself as a head of it. He wished to spread this Protestant faith to Ireland and gain control of the country because he was afraid that Irish unit together with his Spanish enemy. 1541 Henry VIII was crowned king of Ireland and immediately he launched far-reaching reforms. He tried to establish order by a peaceful way, although his reign was accompanied by violence. New decrees like the English way of life and the language, which should associate all dweller of the island, elicited indignation. The whole Tudor dynasty assigned importance to conquer the Irish territory and due to their persistency they succeeded.

A constant change of Protestant and Catholic rulers of the British throne caused a confusion and distrust of the Irish subjects. The biggest riots broke out in Munster but they were quickly suppressed. The consequential uprising in Ulster under the leadership of Hugh

O'Neill ended up in a nine years war. Finally they lost the battle at Kinsale in 1603; O'Neill and his faithful did not reconciled with subjection, left Ireland and went to exile (known as the flight of the Earls). This revolt resulted in a large colonization – the rebels lost their land that was given to the Englishmen. The situation seemed to develop very positively for the British crown. The Irish people have lost the majority of their land and were forced to cultivate the worst soil.

Meanwhile in England, the contest for power between the king and the parliament broke out. Charles I was a Catholic and had the support of Irish mass but Oliver Cromwell had available a bigger army and the parliament on his side. After winning the fight Cromwell executed Charles and established a republic. In 1649 he conquered Ireland, destroyed the town Drogheda where many men, women and even children died. It took only two years before Ireland lay at his feet. He brought to an end the confiscation of the land. His cruel policy was unprecedented in the Irish history.

The death of Cromwell in 1660 meant the end of the republic and a renewed rule of Stuarts and Charles II. Catholics put their hope in him because he wanted to satisfy both groups – Catholics and Cromwell's supporters – but that was not possible due to the lack of land and people were disappointed. When Charles's brother James II ascended the throne, he cancelled the statutes on the confiscation of the land. The Irish Lord Deputy became Richard Talbot. He reorganized the army and stacked Catholics in position to control the state. The situation calmed down, the trade was going well and population increased.

Prospect of a better future was thwarted by a revolution in England. A Protestant William of Orange (James's son-in-law) won the throne; James escaped to Ireland where he formed a soldiery. The decisive battle took place in Boyne in 1690. James spinelessly ran away, his soldiers retreated and William of Orange triumphed. He left nothing to chance and introduced tough measures which further worsened the living conditions of the Irishmen. Catholics were deprived of their rights and liberties, they were not allowed to enter the army or navy, to learn the Irish language and Catholic faith, practise their customs and even masses were banned. Such laws should weaken Irish spirit but contrary was the case. Divine services were hold secretly outside and sometimes also in the night. Thank to this activities Irish traditions survived. These regulations were not so strictly respected after 1715.

At the end of the 18th century Irish patriots definitively decided to stop discrimination and oppression and started a long struggle to autonomy. Henry Grattan and Henry Flood founded a national party, in which Catholics and Protestant should strive together to limit the

British power. Since England was enfeebled because of the American War of Independence, the British government accepted Ireland as a formally independent state in 1782. Irish citizens finally felt satisfaction and established many important institutions like the Irish Post Office, the Bank of Ireland, the Custom House and Four Courts. The Irish parliament removed many religious, social and economic restriction imposed on Catholics. This sovereignty lasted in fact only 18 years.

Small Irish Protestant groups, Enlightenment-inspired, took charge of initiative. One of the groups, United Irishmen, organized gatherings all over the island. Its leader Theobald Wolf Tone thought that the independence should be based on coequality between Protestants and Catholics and enforced important laws for example to vote. The strengthening of their rights encouraged the activists to make other steps. They provoked few rebellions which were suppressed and Tone was arrested and sentenced to death. Government reacted quickly and issued Act of Union which made Ireland a part of the British state.

Two decades later a capable lawyer Daniel O'Connell entered politics. In 1823 he founded the Catholic Association. Even poor people became members; they gave only one penny a month as a duty. He peacefully fought for equality and celebrated success. In 1829 the parliament approved with a narrow majority the equalization of Catholics. O'Connell encouraged by progresses founded another organisation called the Repeal Association that should abrogate the Union. Great meetings took place in whole Ireland; over one million people visited the biggest one in Tara in 1843. The government did not want to dissolve the Union and forbade the next meeting. O'Connell found himself at an impasse and lost support of the Association. The initiative took a movement the Young Ireland. They were young politicians, whose ideas influenced the next generations.

The great famine in 1845-50 pushed the Union problem away. The population increased from 5 to 8 million during forty years (cf Woody 2003). Villagers grew corn and potatoes and when there was not a good crop, they starved. Several consecutive years there was a lack of potatoes. Two million people died, fell ill or emigrated. From the ruins was born the modern Irish economy and the living standards of poor people rose. Emigrants in America, Canada or Australia formed numerous communities that supported the revolt in Ireland and became very important for following events.

2. From the Irish Republican Brotherhood to founding of the IRA

After Ireland recovered from the big famine, new groups embarked on the struggle for freedom again. In 1858 Fenian Brotherhood was founded in New York by John O'Mahony and Michael Doheny and at the same time Irish Republican Brotherhood was established in Dublin by James Stephens. Both groups were known as The Fenians which referred to medieval warriors Fianna. The members of the Brotherhood were closely connected with the revolt in 1848. From the beginning this organization operated in secret. The IRB unlike political leaders was not afraid to use violence and in the USA they got weapons and money from Irish emigrants and the sister organization Clan na Gael. They waited for a suitable occasion to attack. Their only aim was to gain independence. They arranged the uprising in 1867 but most of them ended up arrested because of informers. New leaders came to their places and without bigger troubles and attention of government they survived during the next fifty years.

These efforts inspired William E. Gladstone, a member of British Parliament, who enforced a law to separate Church of Ireland from the state. This should guarantee equality of all churches. In 1870 Isaac Butt founded the Home Government Association and after winning the election in 1874, he asserted autonomy. His persuasion was not successful and in 1879 Charles Stewart Parnell became a head of the Association. He had a huge leading potential and believed that only the Irish Parliament can solve all problems so he tried to free it from British domination. To avert imminent danger of another agricultural crises Parnell together with Michael Davitt constituted the Land League and helped cottiers to reduce the rent. That aroused so-called the Land War between the years 1879-82. It was the largest movement in modern Irish history. The League boycotted landowners which caused protests and violence. The cottiers won the war and the Land Act in 1881 strengthened their rights.

Parnell focused on his other aim and founded National League to strive for Irish independence. He found an ally in Gladstone who was elected Prime Minister a third time. Gladstone relentlessly promoted the autonomy. However he always got a little farther, but then he failed. Parnell's political carrier ended when his infidelity was revealed and he refused to leave the Irish Parliamentary Party. He died very soon in 1891 and a long political stagnation followed.

Fortunately Irish nation did not fall asleep. The intellectual class put its mind to revive Irish language and traditions and participated in the formation of Gaelic League in 1893 and

Gaelic Athletic Association a year later. The two most important representatives of the League were Douglas Hyde and Eoin McNeill. They wished Irish to be a main language and wanted to create national culture. They rejected the English language, literature, sport, music, clothes and thinking. The League influenced a wide public, organized Irish courses and established dance groups or theatre associations. It contributed to a higher level of education and also social and moral growth.

In political scene the Irish Parliamentary Party was slowly replaced by a new movement Sinn Féin (formed in 1905), translated from Irish as Ourselves. They had a simple program – to prove that the creation of Union was illegal and repeal it. The founder Arthur Griffith (a former member of IRB) leaned toward separatism but furthered dualism. He thought it was the lesser evil. This idea could win more supporters and in local elections they celebrated success. Sinn Féin had a strong relation to IRB because they were connected by common ideas and also by friendship of the members. IRB wished to establish a republic by armed force. In 1912 the House of Commons approved of the Home Rule Bill so House of Lords could delay at most two years. The act came never into force because of the First World War and the Easter Rising in 1916.

The Boar War and chiefly the World War I were good occasions for IRB to make a rebellion. England was enfeebled by waging wars and did not much care for Irish affairs. The Unionist in Ulster felt in danger and formed Ulster Volunteers in 1913. One year later they received a big consignment of weapons and were ready to defend their rights. A provisional Government was appointed which would take control in the day, when autonomy will be in force. The Government temporized and decided that the autonomy would not cover the whole island. As a result, National Volunteers were founded. They procured armaments as well as UV. The outbreak of First World War meant an important shift in Irish efforts. A large number of recruits entered the British armed services in 1916 and by the end of the war it amounted to 200.000 soldiers. They held the view, if they stood on the side of Britain, the Government will take a more conciliatory attitude toward Irish independence. That caused a split of the Volunteers into two camps. The minority took the name Irish Volunteers and represented militant IRB politics. The second conservative one took name National Volunteers.

Irish rebels planned the date and place of the next rising. They relied on German aid and trusted in profiting from post-war arrangement. Arms were sent from Germany, but the cargo did not arrive because the plan was revealed and the crew of the German submarine was

imprisoned. The IRB wanted to take over several key buildings in Dublin on Easter Sunday. In spite of the fact, that the rebellion was threatened, they put it off by one day only. The author of Collins biography Coogen (1992:37) described it aptly: “They expected to fail, and to pay for the failure with their lives, but they felt it was their historical duty to continue in the footsteps of Wolfe Tone and the tradition of arising in every generation.” On Easter Monday more than 1600 members of Irish Volunteers, Citizen Army and IRB seized a few buildings in the centre and made their headquarters at the General Post Office (GPO), where Patrick Pearse read his Proclamation of the Republic (see appendix 1). Tough fights lasted one week and big part of the city centre was devastated. The result was 450 dead and 2.614 wounded people. There were also losses in the police ranks – 16 policemen and 116 soldiers. The British forces acted like IRB did. Ninety main activists were sentenced to death but only sixteen of them were finally executed. They immediately became martyrs. Many important men, who played a notable role in forthcoming events, were involved in the Rising. The two most significant were Eamon de Valera and Michael Collins. In the beginning they were on the same side, but then their way parted and they became rivals.

Michael Collins came from strongly Catholic family in West Cork and from early years he was destined to do great things. His father said on his deathbed: “One day he’ll be a great man. He’ll do great work for Ireland. “(Coogen, 1992:9) Collins took part in the Easter Rising, organized many secret operations and fought in Anglo-Irish War and then in Civil War for Irish independence. He was very intelligent, smart and relentless. As a young man he was sent to England to work at a post office and a bank, which influenced his attitude to newspapers. In 1906 he moved to London, where he entered the IRB three years later and engaged in planning and preparing for a revolt in Ireland. Collins also enrolled to Volunteers in 1914 and together with other patriots trained to use rifles. He returned to Ireland just few months before the Rising. During the Easter week he stayed in the GPO in operation room and wrote down the names and addresses of all mutineers. The General Post Office was the epicentre of fights, so after a week the rebels had to escape. To a friend Michael Collins told his feeling:

Although I was never actually scared in the GPO I was – and others also – witless enough to do the most stupid things. As the flames and heat increased so apparently did the shelling. Machine-gun fire made escape more or less impossible. Not that we wished to escape. No man wished to budge. In that building, the defiance of our men, and the gallantry, reached unimaginable proportions. (Coogen, 1992:40)

However they did not get far and were apprehended. He spent the rest of the year in a jail and a camp, where he became a leader of prisoners and still organized many things. He got free before Christmas 1916 and went to Dublin. He had contact with IRB, Sinn Féin and Volunteers.

Collins supported Sinn Féin, but did not agree with two opinions – first that moral is much more important than physical force and second their recognition of the British Empire. Collins prepared for by-election on 9 May 1917 but finally he did not participate. In contrast Eamon de Valera stood as a candidate in a by-election in East Clare and won the seat on 10 July 1917. It is very remarkable, that he held this position almost forty years. For the first time Volunteers worked publicly as elections supervisors. The most powerful organizations were Sinn Féin (under the leadership of A. Griffith) and Irish Volunteers led by de Valera.

Eamon de Valera took part in the Easter Rising as well as Collins, but was embattled in the streets in Bolland's Mill in the eastern part of Dublin. He was 8 years older than Collins and did not have such an ideal family background as Collins. He got his surname after a Spanish father, who left his Irish mother shortly after Eamon's birth. De Valera was more reasonable and prudent which later caused dissention between these two leaders. After the Rising he was arrested and sentenced to death, but his American citizenship, arranged by his mother living in the USA, rescued him. He escaped from prison with the help of Collins and joined the others.

In 1918 were declared general elections in which Sinn Féin won the majority, refused to sit in the British Parliament, proclaimed itself as Dáil Éireann (Assembly of Ireland) and pledge to support the formations of the Irish Republic. Members of the Dáil were young, Catholics and lower-middle class and also 6 women were represented. President of it was Eamon de Valera, Arthur Griffith was given the post of vice-president and Michael Collins became Minister of Finance. Collins further held the positions of President of the Supreme Council of the IRB and effective Commander of the Irish Republican Army, a new organization transformed from Volunteers after the creation of Dáil.

Michael Collins was the moving power and initiator of military attacks and installed many spies in advantageous offices. The scouts gleaned pieces of information which helped to prepare better for the upcoming war with England.

3. The Anglo-Irish War

3.1 The fight for independence

In 1918 a large number of IRB members and also Sinn Féin politicians were arrested. Collins was very active in these years. He published newspapers, organized intelligence network, founded a factory for bomb production and planned an arms smuggling route. Collins helped de Valera and other prisoners out of the jail. The most amazing escape from prison of was that of de Valera which happened on 3 February 1919 (cf Coogan 1993). He made a universal key from the doors and unlocking easily every of them he got free. Immediately de Valera decided to go to America.

On 10 April 1919 the first meeting of the Dáil was held. From 104 members only twenty-eight were presented. Sinn Féin enunciated its policy and some important documents as Declaration of Independence was announced. After this sitting the Volunteers came to be known as the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The Dáil declared war on British Crown; de Valera was proclaimed President of Dáil Éireann (First Minister) and Collins Minister of Finance. They appealed to American President Wilson to provide support. He promised to occupy himself with the situation. The Versailles Conference in Paris should solve reorganization in Western Europe but not for Ireland.

De Valera was still determined to leave for America. He was forced by circumstances to escape from his house on 1 June 1919. Collins assisted him and got him to the airport. After de Valera's departure Michael Collins was elected President of the Supreme Council of the IRB. He formed a military unit "Squad" that should looked for Dublin's detective constables, the so-called "G-men".

During the Anglo-Irish War 1919-1920 the relation to England became acute. As a pretext for the war served an event from 1919 when two members of Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) were murdered in county Tipperary. This act started a series of violent attacks. From 1919 shooting policemen on and off duty belonged to the IRA's new tactics. Several people were killed by government forces up the beginning of the year 1920. The IRA responded in the same way, its soldiers murdered 16 policemen. Violence became an everyday reality.

Typical for this war were ambushes, guerrilla warfare, attacks upon barracks and assassinations, the IRA members killed 400 policemen by July 1921. On the other side were prosecutions, burning of towns, executions, terror and about 160 dead IRA soldiers.

Vengeance became official matter which was the best propaganda for the guerrillas. England responded by sending special police troops nicknamed “The Black and Tans”, after their black and brown uniforms, who were ex-servicemen and hunted the rebels. They should destroy Irish nationalism. They had a bad reputation and were not able to cope with the violence that is why Winston Churchill sent a second force Police Auxiliary Cadets so-called Auxiliaries. They were ordered to control the RIC as well as the Black and Tans. Both troops terrorized common people so the Volunteers gave back the strike and attacked the British units. Three barracks in Cork were attacked which caused new fights that spread in other parts and counties in Ireland. Kilkenny, Waterford and Wexford came under martial law.

Not only the Black and Tans were the “bad” but also the IRA resorted to shooting farmers and their sons who refused to help dig trenches. On 21 November 1920 IRA soldiers assassinated eleven unarmed British government officers in Dublin. They were suspected of being intelligence operatives. The Black and Tans counter-attacked during a football match, where they killed twelve football players and spectators.

The numbers of police men were 17.000 by the end of 1921. IRA had similar strength available but they operated in smaller units. They led guerrilla war because they had the advantage of familiar surroundings and the support of local people. Indispensable was the input of money and guns from America because Collins “knew the value of the gun as a propaganda weapon, its power of destruction a headline, its detonation a slogan” (Foster 1988: 502).

On 23 December 1920 the Government of Ireland Act became a law. They accepted the bill from the year 1914 and provided two parliaments – one in Belfast for six north-eastern counties (Derry, Antrim, Armagh, Fermanagh, Down and Tyrone) and another in Dublin for remaining twenty-six counties. The Nationalists ignored it, but the six counties consented, so Northern Ireland was created. The second part of the island should bear the name Southern Ireland.

In the North an election was held in which Sinn Féin succeeded. The militant Protestants had to use guns to hold their positions. A few days later a policeman was killed in Thurles and police as revenge shot up the town. Another case occurred near Cork, where a policeman was shot to death; soldiers burst in a house of MacCurtain and shot him in the presence of his wife. On 6 March 1921 three leading men were murdered and his death reminded of the MacCurtain’s. The murders were so cruel that General Gough summarized it:

Law and order have given way to a bloody and brutal anarchy ... England has departed further from her own standards, and further from the standards even of any nation in the world, not excepting the Turk and Zulu, than has ever been known in history before. (Coogan 1992: 124)

In Dublin several places were located that served as meeting places of different people. One of them was “Kidd’s Back” a very popular bar where both Irish and British soldiers, agents and spies met. The IRA members had another ideal space in a busy centre – a pub in Parnell Square that Liam Devlin owned, a patriot returned from Scotland. He was in contact with Collins through the IRB.

In April 1920 the Mountjoy Jail strike piqued the interest of the public. The hunger-strike started on 5 April when IRA soldiers demanded to be recognized as prisoners of war. Labour leaders called the general strike on 12 April that was widely observed and the prisoners were released three days later. Throughout the country people celebrated victory. The impact on public heightened when police and military in Miltown Malbay shot up a crowd and killed three people and wounded nine. On 21 April the next hunger-strike was held in Wormwood Scrubs, hence this English jail held Irish captures, and did not finish until they were set free eighteen days later. This strike was accompanied by violence. London mobs attacked an Irish mass praying and demonstrating outside the jail. The police did not interfere.

The war became more brutal through 1920. Volunteers murdered mainly informers and spies. The warfare enacted in two fronts – propaganda and intelligence in military field. A specialty of the Anglo-Irish war was so-called “Flying Columns”. These units consisted of fifteen to twenty less armed men who staged ambushes and barracks raids. There was no problem for them to spent a night out and wait to set up an ambush. They fought in Cork, Clare, Tipperary, Longford, Limerick and Mayo. They tried up over fifty thousand troops and drove RIC out of all their barracks. The IRA in Cork had to face British brigades which were led by Major Montgomery. He described his work: “My whole attention was given to defeating the rebels. It never bothered me a bit how many houses were burned.” (Coogan 1992: 140) The British soldiers did not contrive to conquer the fast-moving Flying Columns because they had local support and above all motivation.

On 1 August 1920 a meeting was arranged in Dublin. Brugha, Collins, Mulcahy, MacSwiney, McKee and a Catholic priest Father Dirk MacCarthy were presented. Brugha was against ambushes and suggested straight fifths. If IRA would adopt this strategy, they would lose their strongest means – surprise – that was necessary against a huge, superior and better armed British force. Auxiliaries were found out to be bigger threat than Black and Tans.

They wanted to reduce them in towns by the use of Volunteers. Although they needed more guns they did not have so they continued to attack by ambushes. They shot six policemen at Macroom on 23 August 1920 and seized many rifles. Fortunately both sides tried to eschew killing civil people, at least for some time. A young Volunteer Seán MacBride depicted what were they doing:

We'd walked up and down on opposite sides of the street. And when we'd see patrol or a lorry coming along we'd fire on it, or lob a bomb and fire on them when they'd jump out. Then we'd run like hares, dump the revolvers and I'd get back ... I remember one evening myself and another Volunteer were pinned down on the railway line by Tans firing on us. I could see the sparks from the bullets striking the tracks. I noticed blood coming from my friend's head and suddenly I realised he was dead. I had to see his parents and go to the wake and that sort of thing. It was my first experience of death. I was about sixteen at the time. (Coogan 1992: 143)

British government reacted and started to negotiate what to do. Meanwhile the fights continued. Both camps had remittent success and failure. Some sources claims that during the year 1920 about 200 unarmed people (including women and children) were killed by British forces. People were killed at their homes, in the streets and very often the behaviour of the Tans and Auxiliaries had no reason. They shot innocent civilians sometimes just because they sympathised with the IRA. British soldiers did heinous things such as mutilate dead bodies and rob them. Some people were taken to headquarters where they were tortured and interrogated. The officers wanted information about prominent IRA members and of course Michael Collins.

In October 1920 an incident in which also Collins was involved happened. Dan Breen and Sean Treacy, who helped Collins, were offered to stay in Dublin but they were found by British intelligence on 11 October. They escaped, killing two men. Tracy later went to Major Smyth funeral when he was recognized. He and one of the British officers died. Other two RIC sergeant planned to look for Breen in the Dublin hospitals but Collins was informed in time and had one of the officers Sergeant Roche be murdered. The other man was shot too. Breen was hidden in a safe place but this was discovered and surrounded by soldiers. However the soldiers did not raid the house and Breen reminded secure.

The war was partly moved to England and there were seventeen houses burned on 28 November 1920. Other places in Britain followed. Collins knew some addresses of Black and Tans so their houses were attacked and destroyed. They had suggestions to strike in London, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, Manchester and Liverpool that were not realised. The next year in April, however, shipping in Liverpool and Manchester's electricity were destroyed.

The war included executions of prisoners and hostages on both sides. Collins who had the lives of the men in his hands did not like his role. British servicemen by contrast had no remorse. A young man, Barry, a student of Dublin University, was captured and sentenced to hang. Before his death he was maltreated and pled for mercy. British cabinet proclaimed on 28 October 1920 that they could not agree with the death penalty. A large crowd (about 5.000 people) waited in front of the jail, they prayed and sang hymns. No attempts to free Barry were made because he would be shot forthwith.

The last big hunger-strike was held in the same time. Terence MacSwiney was arrested in Cork after a demonstration on 12 August 1920. He went on a hunger-strike for release and was moved to the Brixton Prison. He was supported by ten Volunteers imprisoned with him. The police refused to set him free. MacSwiney fasted for seventy-two days before he died on 25 October. His fellow Joseph Murphy died several hours after him. The others ended the strike at Griffith's request. MacSwiney's case caused discussion in the world and even people living in London paid their respects. MacSwiney was buried on 31 October a day before Barry was hanged.

Terrible events continued during the next month, one of them was on "Bloody Sunday" on 21 November 1920. This day was chosen on purpose because there was a football match in Dublin and the streets were crowded. On the previous day the Auxiliaries raided a hotel, where Collins and his comrades were meeting. They all escaped except Conor Clune. Two others Clancy and McKee were captured in a different place. In the morning Volunteers members converged on eight addresses of British Secret Service Officers in Dublin. Groups of three men shot nineteen soldiers, some in the presence of their wives. All murderers were young boys. One of them was the future Prime Minister Seán Lemass. Only one IRA man, Frank Teeling was caught, but Collins helped him out of the prison. Collins wanted the Gaelic Athletic Association to cancel the football match but he was told it was too late. The two British order forces Auxiliaries and Black and Tans surrounded the locality where the football match should take place. They looked for the murderers and Sinn Féin members. Its appearance caused panic and subsequent bloodshed. Fourteen people died and hundreds were wounded. In the night many prisoners were replaced, but McKee, Clancy and Clune were shot death, with British claiming they had tried to escape. More likely is the explanation that Auxiliaries members wanted vengeance.

One week later on 28 November further ambush happened. The Flying Columns killed seventeen Auxiliaries in an attack, which was the highest number from the beginning of the

war. Collin's brother Johnny was included in planning. On 11 December many houses and shops were burned out in Cork, two brothers were killed among others.

Collins experienced a dramatic Christmas. When he was celebrated with his friends and fellows, the Auxiliaries came to raid them. They found a bottle of whiskey by Collins and he was taken to the lavatory. The officers did not recognise him and released him.

Between January and April 1921 seventy people were shot as spies. IRA did not murder all of them; some were the work of criminals or the "Dirty Tricks Brigade". In Cork six members of Volunteers were captured and sentenced to death after an old lady Mrs Lindsay betrayed an ambush. She was kidnapped afterwards and also killed. In February 1921 a group of Volunteers was encircled by Tans and Auxiliaries. The battle lasted only two hours, when the Volunteers capitulated, nine of them were killed in their place and six remaining were then executed. Major Compton Smith, who was killed by the IRA after that event, wrote in his last letter to his wife that he was treated "far better than Englishmen would treat an Irishman in the same circumstances" (Coogan 1992: 173). He also wished no reprisals for his death. On 16 April the farm of Collins' brother Johnny was burned out. There were eight children and two maids left desolated while Johnny was arrested. Four other houses in the area met the same fate. Collins was affected with this act very much and said to his friend: "They knew where they could hurt me most" (Coogan 1992: 178).

In June 1921 a large armament was shipped to Ireland. Collins was pleased and immediately tested them. Later the guns were used in Dublin ambushes and helped IRA in many actions but did not affect the war. The IRA fighters planned to kidnap members of British parliament; they watched them and obtained much useful information and their habits. After all it came to nothing.

3.2 The Negotiations and the Anglo-Irish Treaty

Negotiations were held throughout 1921 Britain was more involved and many proposals came from its side. Attempts to communicate with Sinn Féin members were unsuccessful. De Valera returned from the United States in December 1920 after eighteen months. He sent money to Ireland – about 2, 5 million dollars. He travelled across America and persuaded local politicians to support the establishment of the Irish Republic. Collins said to an interviewer that: "there will be no compromise and no negotiations with any British Government until Ireland is recognised as an Independent Republic" (Coogan 1992: 192).

The delegates of Ireland went to Rome to speak to the Pope. He gave his opinion to the problem and expressed his concern, which did not please Britain. They sent to the Vatican a protest. De Valera made Collins angry by proposing for him to travel to America to see their system of communication and learn about their financing.

On 21 January 1921 de Valera met with the Dáil. He and Collins had different opinions; de Valera wanted to change the strategy of war. Instead of ambushes there should be large assaults with the British. One example of this fight was the burning of the Common House in May. Although this struggle caused a public interest, six Volunteers died, another were injured and more than seventy were imprisoned.

Very soon after that Active Service Unit (ASU) was formed, this covered fifty men of the Dublin Brigade. They were able to operate anytime. ASU did not remind separate division for so long; it was put together with the Squad and became known as the “Guard”. Their shooting on trains and lorries killed unfortunately many civilians. It is interesting that there was a reward on Michael Collins head of 10.000 pounds. He was not the only one; other IRA members were listed too. This however never got to public. (cf Coogan 1992)

Charles Burgess (Cathal Brugha)	£10.000
Michael Collins	£10.000
Richard Mulcahy	£10.000
William Cosgrave	£3.500
Gerald O’Sullivan	£3.500
Austin Stack	£3.500
Joseph McDonagh	£3.500

The talks continued in April and May 1921. Collins refused the Dominion status because he thought “the same effort which would get us Dominion Home Rule would get us a Republic” (Coogan 1992: 211). On 24 May were held general elections in which succeeded Sinn Féin, National Party and Nationalists with Collins, de Valera, Griffith, Seán O’Mahony, Seán Milroy and Eoin MacNeill. In the South Sinn Féin achieved a big victory and in the North Unionists won. Violence began to spread and the land divided. However, no borders were marked.

Six men – Griffith, Barton, MacNeill, Eamonn Duggan, Michael Staines and de Valera talked to General Smuts who represented England. De Valera insisted on a Republic first but in an answer to Smuts he compromised and replied: “If the status of a Dominion is offered to me I will use all our machinery to get the Irish people to accept it” (Coogan 1992: 216).

The truce was made from the Earl of Middleton, Sir Maurice Dockrell, Sir R. Wood and Andrew Jameson (British side) and de Valera and Griffith (Irish side). Both groups negotiated with English Prime Minister Lloyd George. The truce was valid from the noon 11 July 1921; IRA had to lay down arms till this deadline. The men of IRA managed to kill four British soldiers tight before the ultimatum expired. The next day de Valera set for a journey to London to meet Lloyd George. He had a delegation to accompany him but Collins was not among them. British preferred to talk to de Valera, because Collins had a bad reputation. De Valera was seen as the moderate one. He informed Collins was going on in London and Collins referred back to him about the condition in Ireland. Lloyd George threatened that if the negotiations would be interrupted, a new war would have a “different character” (cf Coogan 1992). He offered to the Irishmen the twenty-six Southern Counties Dominion not including six counties in the North. Collins wanted IRA prisoners to be released. British agreed and announced that they set free all except Seán MacEoin on 6 August. Collins warned that: “There can and will be no meeting of Dáil Éireann until Commandant Seán MacEoin is released. The refusal to release him appears to indicate a desire on the part of the English Government to terminate the Truce.” (Coogan 1992: 223) Hence MacEoin was liberated the same day.

De Valera and Lloyd George sent several letters to each other in September. George refused de Valera’s proclamation that Ireland is “an independent and sovereign state” (cf Coogan 1992). The Prime Minister also cancelled a planning conference until the time de Valera changes his opinion. De Valera argued with Collins, he required him to participate in the conference in London. Collins was against this idea because he did not account himself as a politician. De Valera as a President and symbol of the state wished to stay impartial and out of the negotiations.

Finally a conference took place on 11 October 1921 at 11 o’clock in London. England was represented by David Lloyd George, Lord Birkenhead, Austen Chamberlain, Winston Churchill and Sir Gordon Hewart. Irish delegation included Michael Collins, Arthur Griffith, Robert Barton, Eamonn Duggan and George Gavan Duffy. Lloyd George started the negotiations with recapitulation of the situation. He claimed that the talks were very important for both countries and not even one of them would back off. From 11 to 24 October seven Plenary Sessions were held. Collins regularly wrote back to Dublin to inform de Valera and the Dáil how they were doing. Collins and Griffith preferred to meet alone with George and Chamberlain. Barton commented it sadly: “From the moment their power to resist weakened.

They became almost pro-British in their arguments with us and Duffy and I often felt that we had to fight them first and the British afterwards” (Coogen 1992: 243).

Collins returned to Ireland after the sixth session to persuade de Valera to join the delegation. He refused and stayed in Dublin. During the next weeks the communication became more complicated. De Valera and Collins could not find common way. Michael Collins threatened to leave the conference but was said to not give up. At the same time the Prime Minister held dialogues with the six counties in the North of Ireland. Unionist did not accept Republic for the whole island.

Michael Collins focused on studying the advantages and disadvantages of the Dominion status they were offered. He thought only this establishment could bring the



compromise between England and Ireland. The Dáil was against the Oath of Allegiance (see Appendix 2) to the Crown and was prepared to a new war with Britain if necessary. On the 6 December 1921 both sides signed the Treaty. Collins gave his name under the document after a long and exhausting struggle with himself.

Signing the Anglo-Irish Treaty

De Valera did not agree with the treaty as the British delegates proposed it. He said that he had “to examine my own heart and it told me straight off what the Irish people wanted” (Foster 1988:509). The Treaty should provide a dominion but not the republic. There was no possibility to deliver a united Ireland because Sinn Féin had no influence in four of six northern counties. As the Treaty provided complete independence in Irish affairs, it could seem like a victory. On 7 January 1922 the Dáil ratified the Treaty and Ireland was split. De Valera was disappointed and left Sinn Féin. All British troops were gone by May 1922 except the Dublin garrison and Irish forces took control over Ireland. In the next election supporters of the Treaty won, they had 58 candidates, 36 were against it, 17 were from Labour party and 17 represented farmers, independents and other groups.

Originally Collins stood in opposition because only the republic was a solution for him. However he changed his opinion that probably arose from IRB decision. Its members

voted eleven to four in favour of the Treaty. Collins still tried to involve both sides, he continued with armed operations and the murder of Sir Henry Wilson in June 1922 is attributed to him. Two months later Michael Collins was killed in Cork while he was travelling to negotiate with anti-Treaty leaders. Ten days before Collins Arthur Griffith died, who was substituted by William T. Cosgrave in the position of Prime Minister.

The result of Irish War of Independence was a twenty-six county dominion within the English Empire; the six northern counties remained a part of the United Kingdom. Ulster Unionists did not like the Treaty but they decided to ratify it because it was more acceptable than the Dublin Government. The question about boundaries still hung in the air so the Boundary Commission was appointed. It should suggest the modification of boundaries between Irish Free State and Northern Ireland by the year 1925.

Irishmen who fought in Anglo-Irish war were not impressed by the dominion status. Many people tolerated the treaty because they hoped that the Commission will reorganize the boundaries in their benefit. A small area could have not prospered and the unification would be easier. A day before the commission should publish the report; a newspaper in Northern Ireland had released news that Northern Ireland would get a little bit larger area than the Free State. That caused stir among the people so the three premiers of the NI, Free State and Britain reacted quickly and made an agreement. The report was never published and boundaries stayed as they were.

4. The Civil War

4.1 Conflict between Collins and de Valera

Those who expected peace were disappointed because a new conflict within the country followed. When de Valera heard about the Treaty, he was very angry and immediately organized a meeting of the Dáil. He wanted the three absent members Collins, Griffith and Barton to resign but Cosgrave suggested to listen to them first. De Valera pointed out that the delegates in London did not refer back to Dublin and signed the agreement. Collins was supported by IRB and his fellows. The opposition was formed from de Valera, Brugha and Stack together with the three remaining delegates Duffy, Barton and Childers. Collins made a public speech where he defended the treaty. The crowd and press were on his side because the people desired peace.

The cabinet voted on the Treaty on 7 January 1922. The result was sixty-four for the Treaty and fifty-seven against it. People were happy but politicians were dissatisfied. De Valera announced his resignation, but Collins appealed to him that the nation needs him. Mary MacSwiney ended the discussion with words: “I tell you there can be no union between the representatives of the Irish Republic and the so-called Free State” (Coogan 1992: 307). She expressed the sentiment of all anti-Treaty politicians and it was obvious that civil war was unavoidable. The Free State supporters stood on one side; fractions rejecting the Treaty were on the other. The Irish leaders did not share common point of view of the Treaty. The Civil war between the years 1922-1923 divided political parties, interests and even friends and families.

In the country situation worsened, violence grew in the North and anarchy in the South, many people lost their jobs. On 10 January de Valera’s resignation became a fact by being voted down sixty votes against fifty-eight. The Free State fetched up without government. Griffith was elected the new President of Dáil. Other members were:

Michael Collins – Minister of Finance
Gavan Duffy – Minister of Foreign Affairs
Eamonn Duggan – Minister of Home Affairs
W. T. Cosgrave – Minister of Local Government
Kevin O’Higgins – Minister of Economical Affairs
Richard Mulcahy – Minister of Defence

They started to talk about Constitution. Both the anti-Treaty and pro-Treaty should find common language. The constitutional Committee had his first meeting in Dublin on 25

January 1922. Collins presided at the Commission and was authorised to draft the constitution of the Irish Free State. They plan to include the Treaty except the Oath. They were told by a lawyer that it was legal.

The split in the Dáil went hand in hand with the split in the Army. IRA men divided to “IRA Irregulars”, an anti-Treaty militia, and “Old IRA”, who supported the Treaty and soon transformed into the new Free State Army. The Irregulars made a proclamation and began to capture officers standing on Collins’s side. Both wings of the IRA wanted to protect Catholics in Ulster against Unionists and the first shooting was mentioned in April 1922. The anti-Treaty units attacked lorries and troops to get weapons. Collins and other pro-Treaty politicians had a difficulty to speak in public and people were discouraged. The epicentre of struggles was Dublin and its centre, where later more than 800 members of Free State Army lost their lives. The Free State government sent out the Special Constabulary to establish order. Although the soldiers killed many officers, policemen, politicians and even journalists, FSA was supported by the majority of the common people.

IRB called for election, Army unification and new government. They found no support but there occurred talks between the two disunite sides. Three anti-Treaty men Lynch, Mellows and Moylen met their opponents O’Duffy, O’Sullivan and MacEoin. They held regular meetings until June and presented an agreement that they should join together to get English troops out of the island.

It is obvious that de Valera had a large participation on the outbreak of the civil war because of his refusal to go to London to negotiate and subsequent disagreement with the Treaty. As the symbol of Ireland he was followed by many sympathisers. According to Tom Hales “If Dev had come back with a document that Collins didn’t like, there’d have been no civil war.” (Coogen 1992: 319)

De Valera established a new party Cumman na Poblachta (League of the Republic) on 15 March 1922 and won support within the Dáil and extremists. Collins and de Valera started on 17 May a three-day negotiation. They hoped to arrange free elections. Collins was also invited to London, where meetings about the possibility to avoid the civil war took place between 26 May and 15 June. The British parliament did not agree with the constitution Collins had enforced. The two houses of the Irish parliament would be subordinate to the Governor General (a King appointed representative) who was to sign all bills passed by the parliament. Above all the Oath was not removed from the constitution and every member of

the Irish parliament had to swear his allegiance to the King. The Irish election was announced on 7 June and the results were followed:

De Valera and anti-Treaty party	36 seats
Collins and Griffith party	58 seats
Labour Party (pro-Treaty)	17 seats
Farmers Party	7 seats
Independent	5 seats
Unionists	4 seats

The pro-Treaty oriented parties won the majority. The voting called out violence, which ended up in an assassination of Sir Henry Wilson on 22 June and kidnapping of J. J. O'Connell several days later. The two IRA men Dunne and O'Sullivan, who killed Wilson, were sentenced to death by hanging and executed on 16 August. In June there was a week of fights in Dublin. Brugha died after he was badly wounded. Collins was affected by the death but at the end of the month he lost another of his former friends Harry Boland, who was shot in a hotel room and he later succumbed his injuries in the hospital. Collins became Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The soldiers got many towns in the country under control.



On 12 August 1922 Arthur Griffith died. He was in bad condition for some time and even during the Treaty negotiations in 1921 he did not feel well. He was buried the same day on 16 August as Dunne and O'Sullivan were hanged. Collins was in bad psychical and mental state. He was depressed about the deaths and also the situation in Ireland. Regardless he went to Cork to continue in his inspection over the country and planned to make some peace agreements there. His convoy was ambushed and Collins was shot to death on 22 August 1922.

← *Michael Collins as Commander-in-Chief at Griffith's funeral.*

His death produced confusion in his comrades but the fights continued. The IRA and Volunteers began to lose and their situation did not look good. Seventy-seven Irregulars including Rory O'Connor and Erskine Childers were shot death during the winter and spring of 1922-23. More than 12.000 fighters were captured and the resistance grew weak. (cf Gray 1966) In April the IRA Chief of Staff Liam Lynch was killed and his office took up Frank Aiken who ordered a cease-fire on 30 April 1923. The next month on 24 May he published

another command of dumping arms. This eventually meant the end of the Civil War and subsequent peace.

4.2 Northern Ireland during the Civil War

When the Civil War broke out Northern Ireland was already an autonomy area that was created on 3 May 1921 after the Government of Ireland Act 1920 was passed. James Craig, who won the title Lord Craigavon, had discussed the possibilities for the six northern counties with English Prime Minister Churchill. They made a contract that the North will get its own autonomy After the Partition Craig became the first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. He was also the leader of the Ulster Unionist Party.

Collins also spoke to Craig later to organise the boundaries and other points. The Border Commission was set up on 16 February 1922 to secure peace in the border area. Northern Ireland did not generally fight in the War of Independence, but in 1920-1922 violence spread over the area. During the year 1922 several crimes were committed in Belfast. They were made by a group of officers and policemen. They were active during the Anglo-Irish War, at that time they murdered the Duffin brothers. Another horrible murder happened on 24 March 1922 when 5 members of MacMahon family were shot down; only two boys survived. The man responsible for this and other massacres was Detective Inspector Nixon. The gang of murdering policemen was caught and arrested.

Attacks on the Catholic minority were very common. IRA intervened in that moment when aggression appeared in workplaces. However IRA was considered to be a militant organization, so Unionists committed same violence and more Catholics than Protestants died. 455 people were killed and 1.766 people were injured in Belfast (cf Woody 2003). In February 1922 forty-two men were kidnapped by the IRA in Derry, Tyrone and Fermanagh and taken across the border to the South. Collins was asked for an investigation and to prevent other attacks. There was a reaction to the kidnapping and Commander Fitzpatrick was killed. His comrades shot four men from B-Specials and imprisoned the rest of them. In Belfast six Catholic children were killed by a bomb while playing in a schoolyard. There were some proposals how to calm and solve the situation. Craig came with an idea to control the area with a special police force composed half to half of Catholics and Protestants. The plan had opponents in Ulster Unionists so it was not realized. British forces and Northern Ireland's own police units helped to hold order.

A meeting was held on 30 March 1922 between England and Ireland. Churchill was so glad that he said they made peace, though the peace existed only on paper and the reality looked different. To revenge a death of a policeman, Nixon's units killed in a Catholic quarter four people including two children. One other child died in hospital some days later. In May sixty-three people were killed just in Belfast; forty of them were Catholics. Everywhere else in the country the situation was similar.

From June 1920 to June 1922 exactly 428 people were killed and 1.766 wounded in the North. 8.750 Catholics had to leave their jobs and about 23.000 lost their homes. The whole number of death people during the civil war varies from 1.000 to 4.000 lives and the damage was approximately 47 million pounds (cf Coogen 1992).

5. The Irish Free State and Northern Ireland in 1923-1932

5.1 The Irish Free State

In the years after the new Irish Free State was formed Ireland was still occupied with persisting matters as the Civil War, the Treaty, the IRA and Partition. This situation carried over until the late 1950s. The population was under 3 million in 1926. Emigration was big and not only the poor and desperate people but also the most intelligent and talented left the island. The Dáil was faced to rebuild Irish society and to bring new orders to the country. This was not an easy task because the men sitting in the Dáil were first of all fighters for freedom and independence and in second place politicians. They had no experience with policy and moreover they were of the same age so there was an absence of various structures. One generation was represented in all state bodies. The voters had a limited choice because only two parties existed there – one anti-Treaty and the other pro-Treaty oriented.

For the Free State a new chapter began. On one hand the Government was still engaged in the question of united Irish state but on the other hand it was necessary to administrate the public matters. In the euphoria of nationalism the cabinet planned to spread Irish language to schools. There arose a problem with a lack of qualified teachers. In spite of that, Irish became a necessary secondary school subject in examinations. In spite of this endeavour, the main language of the institution was English. The Church had a big influence in matters of education, health and welfare, in which it held uncompromising standpoint.

The prosperity of the new state depended on political stability. Thus the government had to ignore the permanent threat of military anarchy. The Garda Síochána (Civil Guard), an unarmed police force, was formed to keep order. They had quite good relations with the local people. National League Party was founded in 1926. They set targets to unite the island. They asked equality for Nationalists in Northern Ireland and pursued co-operation from all social and religious groups.

In August 1923 general election was announced in which de Valera with Sinn Féin and Cosgrave's new party Cumann na nGaedhail (League of the Gaels) competed. Cumann na nGaedhail celebrated victory and de Valera refused to communicate with Britain until the Oath of Allegiance was removed. He was arrested but after a year released. Cosgrave's government focused on new possibilities in the economy. They intended to produce sugar from beet and reduce the import from Britain. The state also probed if they could get energy from water of the Shannon River.

Later in this decade the government suffered defeat due to failure with Boundary Commission in 1924. In the twenties several new parties were established such as Fine Gael that assented with the Treaty. Smaller parties as the Labour Party were of not such significance. In 1925 de Valera embarked on adapting his position within the Free State. Since some of his followers from IRA still continued with attacks on policemen and police stations and murdered politicians and members of the government, in 1926 he founded a party Fianna Fáil (Soldiers of Destiny) to set out for a new way.

In 1927 elections were announced, in which de Valera's party won forty-four seats against Government Party that earned forty-seven seats. De Valera got into Dáil and went to opposition but refused to take the Oath. Cosgrave prepared a bill and made the Oath obligatory before a candidate could be nominated to the election. In the end, de Valera conformed and took the Oath because he wanted to be in the Dáil to have the possibility to change the Constitution (cf Gray 1966). In another election Cosgrave's party gained sixty-two votes and de Valera's fifty-seven so Fiann Fáil remained in opposition. They published their own newspaper The Irish Press because all newspapers in the country were anti-Republic oriented.

This can be seen as a beginning of new direction in Irish policy because in next election in 1932 Fianna Fáil gained 70 seats and, with support of Labour party, de Valera formed his first government and led the country for next 16 years. Another notable development was the election of Irish Free State to the League of Nations Council in 1930; two years later de Valera became its chairman.

Although the war was away, the violence did not stop. In March 1924 a group of British soldiers were fired on by guns – one soldier died, one officer and seventeen soldiers were injured. This attack claimed the lives of five civilians including two women. Another murder happened in July 1927 when the Minister for Justice Kevin O'Higgins was shot in front of his house in Dublin. Fortunately these attacks happened not so often a did not threaten the stability in the state.

5.2 The situation in Northern Ireland

In the North Protestants were preferred in jobs before Catholics. They had better services and nearly all offices were placed by Unionists and Loyalists. More than half of Northern Ireland labourers worked in the linen industry in 1924. The second important industry was shipbuilding. There were 20.000 jobs in this branch in Belfast. But by the year

1933 in consequence of a world depression the number decreased to just 2.000. Unemployment before World War Two reached 25 per cent; people died on tuberculosis and the infant mortality grew since the beginning of the century.

The parliament passed the Civil Authorities Act (also called Special Powers Act) in 1922. It gave the government the right to arrest people without any reasons and police could search their houses without permission. The act banned political organisations established on republican principles and it the censured newspapers, magazines and books. It also gave police the right to disperse any gathering of three and more people. The opponents of the state policy had to be quiet otherwise they were imprisoned. Very unfair was the order that the children living in a house with their parents were not allow to vote in local elections even if they were of voting age so a quarter of the population was deprived of voting. The persons of big property could have six votes (cf Golway 2000).

In the Northern Ireland, where one third of population was of Catholic faith, some attempts occurred to subvert the state with the help of force and violence. The IRA moved to the north and started violently attacks on British authority again. In the parliament election Nationalists refused to go into opposition and constitute a party. The attitude of Nationalists enabled Unionists to become stronger with practically unlimited power. The Nationalist enjoyed the support of Catholics which led Unionists to a position that they started to identify the Catholic community with unfriendly behaviour to Northern Ireland. Distribution of power after 1921 election was clear – 40 seats were occupied by Unionists, 6 by Nationalists and 6 by Republicans. In later years the structure of the parliament changed very slightly. In Westminster 13 seats were reserved for Unionists and other parties could get only 2 seats.

6. De Valera and the 1930s

The 1930s and 1940s can be seen as Eamon de Valera's era due to his big influence on policy. Ireland is bound to de Valera for his efforts to transform the Irish Free State to a Republic and free itself definitely from Britain. Together with his Fianna Fáil he won the election in 1932 and took charge of the rule in the State. The party promised to practise Republican politics and remove the oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The party called itself the "Republican Party".

At the beginning of the decade the government focused on the economy and agriculture. The situation in the country did not change very much; a large family was the basis of Irish life. People had to face poverty, diseases and emigration. A birth-rate was quite high in despite of late marriages. De Valera envisioned small agricultural areas for a self-sufficient family. Another Fianna Fáil plans were to reorient agricultural production away from cattle to tillage. The increased production did not bring more employment.

The state guaranteed fixed prices, support to farmers and controlled imports that caused a conflict of interests between Ireland and Britain. De Valera wanted to prove that payment made by the Free State to United Kingdom were not legitimate and refused to pay land taxes. Britain imposed duties on imported cattle from Ireland and the Irish Free State reacted with a duty on British goods. It was the beginning of Anglo-Irish Trade War also called Economic War that lasted 6 years and worsened the world economic crises for the Irish in the thirties. The damage for Britain was larger than the country was willing to recognize. Otherwise all sectors of the Irish economy were afflicted. British analysts predicted that this manoeuvre would cost de Valera his position and the opposition party Cumann na nGaedhail got to power. But they were wrong. The situation was solved in 1938, when Ireland persisted being oppressed for centuries and deserving some financial compensation, paid to Britain one-off sum of ten million pounds and in return got its ports back. De Valera himself considered the return of the Irish ports as an excellent success of his politics. John Bowman had another opinion: "de Valera primary concern was not Partition, which he believed intractable in the short term, but the return of the Treaty ports, thus facilitating Southern neutrality in a European war which he believed imminent."(Foster, 1988:554)

The proportion of state involvement in industry increased. It invested in the Irish Sugar Company (1933) and the Turf Development Board (1934) and subsequent years

followed Irish Airlines – Aer Lingus. The government supported not only industry but also culture and education. On St. Patrick's Day in 1935 de Valera had a speech on the radio:

Ireland remained a Catholic nation, and as such set the eternal destiny of man high above the 'isms' and idols of the day. Her people would accept no system that decried or imperilled that destiny. So long as that was their attitude none of the forms of state-worship now prevalent could flourish in their land; the state would be confined to its proper functions as guardian of the rights of the individual and the family, co-ordinator of the activities of its citizens. (Foster, 1988:547)

Economical crisis affected also Northern Ireland and its traditional industry as shipbuilding and linen. The Depression took its toll even in agriculture and the unemployment rate ranged at about 25 per cent, which caused new protests and religious violence. In 1936 the Irish Union Association in Belfast was established associating all minorities. This movement did not bring any changes or results. A manifestation of Orangists in 1931 attacked Republicans and the government drew repressive measures. The upcoming years came up to revolts in Belfast which culminated in 1935 with serious street rebellions, where several people were killed. The situation lasted with some pauses up to the 1940s.

Britain supported export in the North (contrary to Éire that waged economic war). After a treaty was made between Britain and Ireland in 1938 the Northern Ireland advantages were threatened (e.g. decrease of butter production). The social situation was not much different. People suffered from diseases, tuberculosis became nearly epidemic and infant mortality was high. The harsh living standards touched more Catholics than Protestants. One authority in Northern Ireland described the position of Catholics with these words:

Lack of senior positions in the civil service and the judiciary proportionate to their numbers simply highlighted the much broader range of discrimination in the patronage system of public bodies, high and low. Catholics were excluded from power, their political representatives were rendered impotent, their votes were nullified, their children were disadvantaged despite the extra financial sacrifices their parents were called upon to make for their education, and the community was then mocked for not having sufficient qualifications for positions of importance. (Foster, 1988:557)

In 1935 the Conditions of Employment bill was suggested that determined the proportion of working women in industry. As the society saw the place of women at home, which was also registered in constitution articles 40, 41 and 45, the minister banned them to be employed in industrial branches.

The watershed came in 1937 when de Valera created a new constitution. It proclaimed Ireland according to Article 5 a sovereign, independent and democratic state. The official name was Éire (in English Ireland) and they avoided to use the appellation Free State. Due to

king's Edward abdication, Éire practically became a republic. The constitution was approved by the Dáil and one year later dr. Douglas Hyde was elected the first president and Head of State (instead of an English King).

De Valera listed into the constitution the article that Éire concluded all thirty-two counties on the island. "It is the entitlement and birthright of every person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, to be part of the Irish Nation. That is also the entitlement of all persons otherwise qualified in accordance with law to be citizens of Ireland." (Article 2) It represented the right of Catholic Ireland and it was also valid for the whole country including Ulster Protestants (Article 3).

It is the firm will of the Irish Nation, in harmony and friendship, to unite all the people who share the territory of the island of Ireland, in all the diversity of their identities and traditions, recognising that a united Ireland shall be brought about only by peaceful means with the consent of a majority of the people, democratically expressed, in both jurisdictions in the island. Until then, the laws enacted by the Parliament established by this Constitution shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws enacted by the Parliament that existed immediately before the coming into operation of this Constitution.

The politicians accepted the current state; Northern Ireland would hold its status as long as the majority would wish it. The Irish Republic will not attack Northern Ireland though de Valera sometimes intimated the exact opposite. Michael Collins expressed it accurately before in June 1922: "There can be no question of forcing Ulster into union with the Twenty-Six Counties. I am absolutely against coercion of this kind. If Ulster is going to join it must be voluntary. Union is our final goal, that is all." (Foster 1988: 531) The future Free State and as well Irish Government continued in this sense.



De Valera stuck to Catholic principles and ethos that was, apart from other things, praised in the Eucharistic Congress of 1932 and later they were included in the new constitution of 1937. Five articles formulated Catholic and personal rights – divorces were forbidden, contraception and abortion were not allowed as "the State acknowledges the right to life of the unborn..." (Article 40.3.3) and the idea that women could go to work met with a lack of understanding. The Roman Catholic Church enjoyed an extra status within the state. Both the Catholic and

Protestant community avoided mixed marriages and lived separately. The constitution represented the rights of Catholic Ireland though it was valid for all thirty-two counties and included Northern Ireland Protestants.

Local organizations of Fianna Fáil guaranteed development. They were based upon the IRA basis. These groupings operated on wide areas so they could influence a large number of people. The party had remarkable social profile that provided votes from all social classes. De Valera needed to reach to unpopular programs such as to cut off the salaries of civil service. The strong resistance of teachers, policemen and army officers was finally accepted, however salary cuts continued to be one of the government's priorities.

During the thirties the IRA was tolerated despite the fact that it perpetrated some crimes and horrible murders hypocritically. De Valera was persecuting IRA members before military tribunals with the help of the Article 2A of the original constitution of the Free State. It provided power of arrest, detention and trial before military courts and took precedence over all regulations of the 1937 constitution he had instituted. In June 1936 IRA was adjudged an unlawful organization. That did not stop IRA elements and they remained active under Seán Russell, who arranged bombs attacks in Britain in 1938-1939. They turned to vengeance, street fights, bank robberies and even unproductive sympathy to German Nazis who shared the same enemy: the English government.

IRA armed and trained against Army Comrades Association, whose members wore blue uniforms after which they was nicknamed "Blueshirts". There can also be seen as a parallel to fascist units of Hitler's Brownshirts and Mussolini's Blackshirts. However ACA were not interested in fascist ideology. Their collective business was the opposition to the Irish Republican Army. Blueshirts were used against the IRA that caused only new violence because the IRA declared a war on England by the so-called "bombs in suitcases" campaign. In the twenty-six counties the IRA had about 30.000 members in 1932. In the 1940s IRA slowly reorganized and operated mainly in the Northern Ireland as an underground unit.

Fianna Fáil tried to attract the anti-Treaty IRA members. Opposition was consisted of small parties that represented interest groups like the farmers. 1932 National Centre Party, a middle class party supporting the membership in the Commonwealth, was founded. Its members formed a coalition with the National Guard and Cumann na nGaedhael. It produced the United Ireland Party which was consecutively reconstructed into Fine Gael. This party chose the way of representing Free State priorities.

The 1931 Statute of Westminster made possible to shift limits and tested how far Ireland could go without interference of Britain. The constitution had a far-reaching aspect on the political scene. The Governor-General and the Crown disappeared from Irish affairs, though Ireland still accepted English king as an external authority.

7. Second World War and the 1940s

The Free State and later the Republic of Ireland played a leading part in the League of Nations. De Valera held the office of President of the Council and consequently President of the General Assembly and was disenchanted with the direction the League had chosen. The organization was silent and did not intervene in growing German aggression. De Valera and other Irish politicians decided to keep Ireland neutral as well as Switzerland on the continent.

During the war the country had good deal of problems as unemployment and emigration that persisted in recent years. Many Irishmen from the Republic entered voluntarily British armed forces to fight against Nazism. On the other hand Northern Irish Catholics and Protestants were forced to fight in the British army.

In contrast to the Republic, which WW II did not touch in full blast, on Northern Ireland the warfare had a big influence. As part of Great Britain, which was involved in the war at its beginning in 1939, the inhabitants of the North had to fight side by side with Englishmen. By November 1941 about 23.000 recruits joined up. Moreover Northern Ireland played an important role in Britain's defences after returning the ports to Éire. The life of common people was limited by high taxes and restrictions. On the other hand the war industry experienced unprecedented prosperity. Production of warships, aircraft, bombers, tanks, weapons and ammunition revived the economy of Northern Ireland. Irish citizens looked for a job there but they needed permission and had to register at police stations. Also people living on the northern side of the boundary travelled to the Republic especially on holiday to take a rest from the war.

Germany planned to attack Northern Ireland on the 45th anniversary of Easter Rising in 1916. Germans had spies on the island that in some places co-operated with IRA. On 15 and 16 April 1941, 180 German aircraft dropped more than a hundred tons of bombs over Belfast. Over one night 745 people died. The Irish government rushed to help and sent to Belfast firemen from Dublin and Dún Laoghaire. The planes returned on 4 May and threw down 95.000 incendiaries on the Belfast harbour and shipyards, killing 150 people and destroying processing machines. 56.000 houses were damaged and 3.200 were levelled with the ground.

When the USA entered the war Ireland became less strategically important. During the war Éire had better relations with England than with America. There is controversy about the

number of Ireland's citizens serving in British troops – about 42.000 men. The only planned act that hit Ireland was a German air attack on May 1941 killing thirty-four Dubliners. Germans also bombed Dundalk in the Republic by mistake. Otherwise the land was affected by transport disruption, fuel shortage and some food and energy rationing. The end of the war was adumbrated by the death of Adolf Hitler. De Valera as a representative of neutral country condoled with the German diplomats that aroused discomfiture among others by Robert Fisk: “Morally, it was both senseless and deeply wounding to the millions who had suffered in the war; politically, it could have been disastrous. But symbolically, it could not be misunderstood: Éire had not accepted the values of the warring nations and did not intend to do so in the future.” (Foster, 1988: 563)

In politics a new party Clann na Poblachta appeared. It joined together old Republicans, anti-partition supporters, socialists and dissident members of Fianna Fáil. Powerful IRA separatists dominated their inner councils. In 1948 were announced general elections in which Fianna Fail, after sixteen years as leader party, lost and was replaced by a coalition of few smaller parties (Fine Gael, Clann na Poblachta, Labour Party, Clann na Talmhan and Independent). Next year External Relation Act was repealed and the Republic of Ireland Bill was passed. Westminster provided that Northern Ireland would never leave the UK except by agreement of its parliament, which was a shock for Ireland. This resulted in excluding Ireland from the Commonwealth. When we look back, it means that the Dominion status really gave space to achieve independence as some politicians like Michael Collins imagined in the twenties. De Valera did not manage two underlying things he had resolved: the restoration of Irish language and the end of partition.

The government continued to invest in companies as Córas Iompair Éireann that is responsible for infrastructure and transport and Bord na Móna (Peat Board) producing solid fuel. Both became state enterprises and the second named even one of the most successful.

In Irish schools should be taught Irish language, but it seemed to be a big mouthful for the government. Though in 1940 was founded Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies where international scientists worked.

8. Social and economical changes in the Republic

The course of events at the beginning of second half of the 20th century influenced in 1951 political changes. Costello's government fell apart and Fianna Fáil came to power again. In 1954 election the party lost and went to opposition. In 1957 de Valera achieved another success when he became president of Irish Republic after Seán T. O'Kelly. All parliamentary parties proposed suggestions for social and economical development. The problem lay still in the same things – emigration, poverty and a not very good system of education. In the period of 1951-1961 the population numbered 2.818.000, more than 400.000 people left the country and many of them found their new homes in England or Scotland (cf Foster 1988). However the state generally chalked up a great progress in a short period. Ireland had a significant position in United Nations.

During the 1950s Ireland was dependent on British markets. Irish government digressed from British economical model. An indispensable role played the Church, because clergy interfered into political matters. The state came up with a health program known as the “Mother and Child” scheme in 1951. The Church resolutely intervened in it because it wanted to control hospitals. Browne who worked up the plan came to conflict with the Church. They denounced the state health care. Fianna Fáil had propounded a similar act four years ago (the so-called Health Act) which later extended as social Welfare Act. It dealt with insurance, unemployment and widow's and orphan's support. Benefits were still lower than in Northern Ireland and England and accessible for a small group of people. More than 80 per cent of inhabitants trusted the Church and believed it was the best subject in the state.

In economical sphere the Irish Republic did well starting at the beginning of 1960s, it chalked up big growth and prosperity. Average growth stayed on four per cent during next two decades. Ireland entered European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973 which helped it to get grant for agriculture. The state invited big international firms and corporations to the Irish market, which brought industries as electronics, chemistry and electrical engineering. From 1960-1969 about 350 foreign companies were established in Ireland. The migration of foreigners to Ireland could help increase the industry. Less people emigrated and due to higher birth rate the population proliferated to 3.400.000 in 1981, whereby half of the population comprised younger than twenty-five years.

The Catholic Church shaped believers and maintained strict principles. They censured obscene books, birth control was illegal and divorces were prohibited. Abortions were

considered crimes though they were illegal in Protestant-dominated Northern Ireland too. The censorship mitigated in 1966 and the distribution of contraception was in certain circumstances allowed after 1979. Irish girls had to travel to Britain to undergo abortions. Non-political movement of Ecumenist belonged in 1970s to important factor on island. They organized regular gatherings of all Churches in the country and contributed to better relations. Also minorities as homosexuals started to appear in public and fought for their rights. No less important was the women's movement which did not improve their position in society. In the early 1960s mass media acquired significance and especially television became an important communication channel. Television and newspapers did not worry to deal with unpopular or awkward themes.

There was additionally a reorganisation in the school system. Experts analysed all three levels of education and drew up a new curriculum in primary and secondary schools in 1971. Since 1967 education was free that heightened a number and interest of students. The Catholic Church cancelled the ban of studying at Trinity College in Dublin for Catholic students. The land prospered more and more, but twenty per cent of the population still eked a living under the poverty limit.

In 1965 Seán Lemass was elected the head of parliament and in few months a meeting of prime ministers of Irish Republic and Northern Ireland (Terence O'Neill) took place. They concluded an Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. A year later Lemass announced his retirement and within Fianna Fáil broke out a fight for power. The leadership was entrusted to Jack Lynch, who strengthened his position during "Arms Crisis". It was a political affair with two cabinet ministers Neil Blaney and Charles Haughey. In March 1970 at Dublin airport weapons were detected for Republicans in the North. The two politicians were apprehended and arraigned of illegal gunrunning. Their guilt was not proved and they were acquitted. In February 1973 new elections were announced but this time Lynch lost. Haughey, who returned to government, led Finna Fáil since 1979 and promised to solve the Northern Ireland question.

Both parts of the island entered in 1973 the European Economic Community, the Irish Republic as individual state and Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom. When representatives were chosen to European Parliament, the two countries voted in the same elections. Deputies of divided land sat in one parliament and could check that they can lead a dialogue in many common interests except policy.

9. The Troubles in Northern Ireland

In the second half of the century the economical situation in Northern Ireland was much better than in the Irish Republic because local government could use financial resources from Britain that helped improved industry. New houses and flats were built in towns, so the market opened for foreign investors whereby new places and work occasions were originated. The country was also inspired with Britain's system of education, emergency and insurance. After thirty years of partition there were big differences between the two parts of the island.

In Northern Ireland broke out social disorders, political atmosphere changed and the state proposed economical and social reforms. The government focused on building of "infrastructure" as flats, roads and nets so in 1962 the first part of motorway was opened. During the years 1966 struck a crisis in the form of big unemployment, decrease of production in agriculture, textile and ship industry. Economical development did not stop completely due to spread of new industry branches. It was also positive that IRA activity lost on frequency in the middle of this decade while in the period from 1956 to 1962 they tried to subvert the state. Its last border campaign was in 1962, and practically it finished in 1957. In 1966 they symbolically destroyed Nelson's Pillar in Dublin.

In this time first remarkable attempts to establish co-operation between the south and the north occurred. An agreement was made about hydro-electric power plant in 1950 and next year both countries ruled over Great Northern Railway. In 1965 the meeting of Lemass and O'Neill opened a new way in interrelationship that appeared as necessary for next period.

The North was still strictly divided into a Protestant majority and a Catholic minority. These two communities had little common. They were separated from each other, did not intermarry, lived and were educated apart. Catholics complained of discrimination in jobs and allotting of flats. Prime Minister Terence O'Neill wanted to lay the foundations of tolerance and understanding between these two groups. The younger generation of Catholics was more open to dialogs than the older one. However any attempts of the rapprochement seemed to be hopeless also because of one man – Ian Paisley.

Ian Paisley, who was a Protestant preacher and renowned authority, influenced the opinion in Northern Ireland. He was avowed anti-Catholic which practically bordered on hatred. The atmosphere in that time was very electric and all Protestant society was against Catholics which confirmed the statement of the first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland James

Craig: "I have always said that I am an Orangeman first and policeman afterwards, all I boast is that we are a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant State." (Coogan 1996: 35)

The first disorders as riots and car burnings in the North were noticed in Belfast in 1964. Two years later in 1966 when the fiftieth anniversary of the Easter Rising of 1916 was celebrated, the first death occurred. In this year Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) underwent its renewal and was responsible for some murders. UVF threw petrol bombs on Catholic houses, schools and shops throughout the spring of 1966. On 7 May they killed a Protestant man who lived in a Catholic area. In Clonard Street a shooting was heard and UVF declared war on the IRA on 22 May. Only five days later they shot Republicans Leo Martin and John Seulion who died later in June of his wounds. Then they killed a barman in a pub and Ulster Unionist leader Terence O'Neill banned this organisation under the Special Power Act which shook Protestant community because they thought that this act was valid only for Catholics. One of UVF famous members was Gusty Spence who was arrested for this deed and sentenced for twenty years.

In 1967 the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was founded and next January it was presented officially. It changed attitude of Catholic community. They accepted existence of Northern Ireland, but desired for redress of old injustice. NICRA demanded the ending of the plural voting system – one man, one vote, an end to discrimination and gerrymandering, the machinery to deal with complaints against public authorities, the dissolution of the B-Specials, fair play in public housing allocation and an end to the Special Power Act.

From August 1968, numerous peaceful and non-violent demonstrations and marches were organised which were inspired by the Civil Right movement of Martin Luther King in the USA. The masses of people especially students went out to the streets. On 24 August 1968 four thousand people participated in the march from Coalisland to Dungannon. Police watched this rally attentively because Paisley organised a counterdemonstration. It was a peaceful protest and not mainly for civil rights but just Catholic. It could be thought as a reaction to Protestant marches and parades through Catholic areas, which were made during whole 1960s to show their power and superior. Another march was planned for the beginning of October in Derry but finally it was banned so on 5 October 1968 about four hundred people took part. They were stopped by police with water cannon and broke out tumult. An Irish cameraman filmed these scenes and broadcast them to the whole world.

On 9 October Bernadette Devlin formed People's Democracy, a university student movement in Belfast. They demonstrated against police brutality. Their aims were six basis

reforms similar to the NICRA's: one person, one vote, an end to gerrymandering, allocation of housing according to need, a ban on job discrimination, a right to freedom of speech and repeal of the Special Power Act. The protests took place in Belfast as well as in Derry where over 5.000 people made a peaceable march. In November 15.000 marching people clashed on police barricades, but after several minutes the police allowed them to pass through.

One of the most acute conflicts happened on 4 January 1969 in Burntollet. Police saw an attempt to undermine state authority in it and harshly intervened. For a very bold march from Belfast to Derry a group of Queen's University students set out on 1 January 1969. The journey was seventy-three miles long and hundreds of supporters joined them on the way. They were attacked several times by local people and B-Specials while the police did nothing. The crowd was welcomed by John Hume, a Catholic political leader, and other sympathisers. In the 1969 election Devlin was elected a member of parliament and became at the age of 21 the youngest woman ever elected to Westminster.

The violence culminated in the terrible "Battle of the Bogside" on 12 – 14 August 1969 in Derry and subsequent Protestants clashed with B-specials in Belfast. On 12 August 1969 a riot started between Protestants and Catholics in Derry in a locality called Bogside. London permitted the use of CS gas; it was for the first time in the UK history. Devlin was



one of the leading demonstrators. The Battle of the Bogside lasted forty-eight hours. Stones and bricks were thrown but no guns were used. The outrages left ten dead, 1.600 injured and the property damage of 8.000.000 pounds because many houses were burned. A fifteen-year-old boy who belonged to youth IRA wing was considered to be a first martyr of the Troubles for the IRA. 83 per cent of houses were occupied by Catholics, seven were killed and 750 injured from them (cf Coogan 1996).

Battle of the Bogside 1972 – picture on the wall

The government did cope with it and did not manage the situation so Britain was asked for military help. Catholics perceived it as a defeat of the police. The protests had for object accepting of large reforms as reorganization of police, electoral districts and solving of

housing. The riots spread out to all six counties of Northern Ireland. Between 1969 and 1973 about 60.000 people had to flee from their homes.

A Communiqué and Declaration between England and Northern Ireland was issued on 19 August 1969. It should secure equality to all citizens in the North and retain the status until the parliament changed it. This agreement is also known as Downing Street Declaration, which is used for another declaration from 1993.

Following eighteen months of peace extremists interrupted when they started to make attacks again. The right wing of Unionists criticized the politics and the IRA and planned to take initiative. Catholics established Social Democratic and Labour Party and wished to join Irish Republic. It came about other clashes with police and IRA went on the defensive. They killed policemen and soldiers and resorted to new stronger methods – bombs attacks. The government that was under pressure reached for hard measures. People suspected of working for IRA were imprisoned without any process. Such internment was successful in previous years 1922, 1939 and 1956, but this time it did not work. Police arrested about 300 Republicans; many of them had nothing in common with the IRA. No Protestants were apprehended even though they took part in disorders as well. The public got information that the prisoners were treated harshly. The internment led to bigger violence and even new followers joined the IRA. Catholics boycotted the payment of rent and taxes and another wave of demonstrations filled the streets.

Some members of Fianna Fáil tried to legitimize the activities of the IRA in spite of the fact that the organisation was illegal since 1936. The IRA avoided the use of force since 1949 in the Irish Republic and because of a lack of supporters; its members cancelled the planting of bomb attacks on the border in 1962. At the beginning of the 1970s the IRA split into the Official and the Provisional IRA and started a new age of this organisation. Official IRA set out for odyssey leftwards while Provisional IRA wanted to fight and behaved as defensive force protecting Catholic areas. It was financed by Irish immigrants in America and supported by local authorities.

Provisional IRA members tried to get some money to buy guns and arms. They arranged shipping of them to Ireland but it was not delivered. In 1970 the organiser John Kelly was arrested. On 6 February 1971 the IRA killed its first victim – a British soldier. In April a home-made bomb killed five people and on 27 June five Protestants died when the Provisional IRA defended the Catholic area in Belfast. Also one man of the IRA lost his life. In a pub in Belfast fifteen civilians were killed and other bomb placed in furniture store blew

up four people (including two children). During 1971 the two IRAs fought against each other because they were concurrent groups and every of them did not want to be connected with the other one. One of the leaders of Provisional Charles Hughes was killed until they negotiated a truce. In 1971 police arrested 450 people and no Protestants were among them.

In January 1972 the IRA laid another bomb attack in Belfast that injured more than sixty people, mostly women and children. The same month seven prisoners managed to escape from the Maidstone prison ship. In Belfast a march was organised on 22 January to Magillian prison. Near the camp the crowd was attacked by batons and rubber bullet guns.

The violence escalated in the most infamous event “Bloody Sunday” on 30 January 1972 that went down in history. A crowd demonstrated in Derry in a banned peaceful civil rights march. British soldiers and the police fired for 20 minutes at demonstrators, among them was also Bernadette Devlin, and the result was thirteen dead (one person died later in hospital) and seventeen wounded. There occurred speculations that the military troops only returned fire and that the demonstrators started first. There was also doubtfulness if the people did not shoot each other by misfortune. However later expertise showed that the crowd was unarmed and most of them were shot in the back, the official statement sounded that the troops

came under nail-bomb attack and a fusillade of fifty to eighty rounds ... Fire was returned at seen gunmen and nail-bombers. Subsequently, as troops deployed to get at the gunmen, the latter continued to fire. In all a total of well over 200 rounds was fired indiscriminately in the general direction of the soldiers. Fire continued to be returned only at identified targets. (Coogan 1996: 135)

As vengeance British embassy was burned down in Dublin on 2 February. The Official IRA attacked military headquarters and killed instead of soldiers five women, a gardener and a Catholic chaplain. Provisional IRA did not lag behind; they injured 130 people letting a bomb explode in a restaurant in Belfast on 4 March 1972. Three weeks later they struck again and caused death of six people, one hundred wounded with a car bomb in Donegal Street in Belfast. Before the end of the year fights left 474 casualties.

The Provisional IRA led dialogues in London but did not reach any positive conclusion. The British government dissolved on 24 March parliament in Northern Ireland and took the control of the Ulster government. William Whitelaw became the secretary for NI. In spring and summer the disturbances culminated and the IRA supported by the public doubled its attacks. Protestants created their own illegal organisations such as the Ulster Defence Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force and began to murder Catholics.

On 7 July 1972 the British Governor met with IRA representatives. IRA delegates were Sean MacStiofain, Seamus Twomey, Daithi O’Conaill, Ivor Bell, Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and Myles Shevlin as solicitor. William Whitelaw represented English side, who did not accept IRA demands. They negotiated truce that did not last very long. A short armistice brought nothing major and IRA hit again on 21 June 1972 on so-called “Bloody Friday”. The terrorists committed a series of bomb attacks in Belfast, killing nine civilians and injuring 130. After Bloody Friday, Britain sent to Northern Ireland about 12.000 troops including tanks and bulldozers to control no-go area in Belfast and Derry. IRA reacted with placing some bombs in cars in the county Derry which caused eight civilian victims. In 1972 the IRA set bombs to explode in city centres and most people were killed during the Troubles



(476) and 10.628 shootings happened and 1.900 bombs were planned. Most of the horrific killing had Protestant groups on their mind. No soldier was punished or arrested for the murders. The army returned to Catholic quarters and got the situation under control.

Bloody Friday: Rescue workers lift the remains of a body after an explosion in Belfast on 21 July 1972

The election to the new Northern Ireland assembly was won by Unionists and SDLP gathering most votes. They created a coalition and gave a base for renewed government. In December 1973 a conference was held in Sunningdale, where British and Irish representatives respected forming of Irish Council. In this council delegates from the North as well as from the South should be presented.

The stability of new executive was very fragile. IRA did not lay down arms and broke off the offensive. Ulster Workers Council announced general strike against the Sunningdale’s convention on 14 May 1974. They carried more supporters progressively and executive was cancelled eventually. British politicians stopped to administer Irish affairs and let free hand to local bodies. Hope for a treaty failed and under Ian Paisley Unionists put forward a plan for the rule of the majority as it had worked before 1972. SDLP and moderate Unionists refused to sign it and also English government did not recognize it.

In February 1974 IRA blew up a coach on the British motorway; nine soldiers and three civilians died. By the end of May, 214 British soldiers were killed; fifty-two RUC members and forty-five UDR were shot dead. The Loyalists began to destroy Catholic pubs and churches, assassinate working people and also managed to drive them from their jobs. Attacks were order of the day in the North but in the Republic they occurred very rarely. One of the most brutal attacks happened on 17 May 1974 when thirty-four people were killed by a car bomb in Dublin and Monaghan. Another explosion went off in Guildford on 5 October, killing five and injuring fifty-four persons. Even Britain was not spared; on 21 November a bomb caused nineteen casualties and nearly two hundred had to be treated.

In 1975 were annulled internments, which public demanded. Violence was still presented in people's everyday life; however it was not so often. All negotiations were in deadlock, no side was willing to compromises.

On 12 August 1976 a women's Peace Movement was formed as a reaction of an event when three children of the Maguire family died. This organisation combined Catholic and Protestant women together who marched through Belfast. Its heads were Mairead Corrigan (the children's aunt) and Betty Williams who later received the Nobel Peace Prize.

Pope John Paul II was invited to Ireland in 1979. He got a letter from Paisley to refrain from coming to Northern Ireland. Meanwhile on 27 August a bomb killed eighteen soldiers and above all Lord Mountbatten, his grandson, a friend and a crew member died during an explosion on a fishing boat. The Pope landed on the Irish Republic on 29 September and sent word to politicians as well as terrorists: "On my knees I beg of you to turn away from the paths of violence." (Coogan 1996: 194)

After 1977 when Seamus Twomey was imprisoned and important documents were found with him, the IRA was reorganised in cells containing four people. Women played a very relevant role because they were military activists and made publicity and propaganda. The organisation had a so-called Green Book. It encompassed instructions about the work for IRA, what new members could expect as killing people or to be killed, torture, interrogation and psychical stress.

IRA prisoners had a Special Category status – they could wear their own clothes, move in reserved parts of the prison, take visitors and many other advantages. This status was abolished from 1 March 1976. Now the convicts had to wear prison clothes and Kieran Nugent was the first who refused it on 17 September 1976 in Long Kesh prison known as H

Blocks and began to wear a blanket. Other prisoners followed him and they became known as “Blanket men”. In 1978 as a repressive mean the furniture was removed. This strengthened the men’s resolution and they stopped to wash, the “Dirty Protest” took place. They had only a little publicity until Cardinal O’Fioich visit on 1 August 1978. He called the conditions inhumane and lobbied for their improvement.

On 1 March 1981 Bobby Sands, a young Catholic who was arrested when a gun was found in his car, went on a hunger-strike to protest and win the special status back. Still on hunger-strike and in prison he was nominated for election and a month later he won a seat in parliament. Subsequently other men joined the strike. This did not change British attitude, British government was unyielding and did not comply with their requests. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said that she will not compromise with murderers. Sand eventually died on 5 May after sixty- six days on hunger-strike and new riots filled the streets. The funeral of Sands visited 100.000 people and news reported it to the world. During the summer ten other men died. The strike ended on 3 October 1981. The voluntary death caused a wave of sympathy in the general public.

After elections in 1982 James Prior became secretary and called upon all parties to communicate. Both the SDLP and Republicans refused to take their functions and situation seemed to be unsolvable. SDLP later focused on unification of Ireland but could not find means to reach its aims. Except for this Catholic party, IRA also still tried to create one island one republic, but through the way of violence rather than through democratic means. Since the organization was so powerful, it could not succeeded.

At the turn of 1970s and 1980s policy stagnated but the society experienced some economical and social changes. The economy increased to 1973, but then slowly declined. We can find several reasons for this process as political instability. The worry by foreign investors and above all Britain not providing Northern Ireland pecuniary aid stagnated the NI economy. The set out of labour moved from industry to services. The Catholic population grew to 40 per cent in 1981 and they had a better approach to education.

10. The peace negotiations

In 1982 Margaret Thatcher became English Prime Minister and opened new series of negotiations. In October 1982 elections were held in Northern Ireland – 18, 8 per cent got SDLP and Sinn Féin gained 10, 1 per cent of votes that caused worries in political circles in London and Dublin. Sinn Féin was associated with military IRA organization and radical opinions. These worries were stronger a year later when Gerry Adams (the leader of Sinn Féin) became a politician for West Belfast and his party won 13, 4 per cent and SDLP only 17, 9 per cent of votes. All this meant bigger power for Republicans. The politician came to the discussion about the situation in Northern Ireland and funded New Ireland Forum that met in May 1983 for the first time. Deputies from all main parties were presented such as SDLP, which represented Northern Ireland and Finna Fáil, Fine Gael and Labour Party promoted interests of the Republic. They came to a united plan: Northern Ireland would become a part of Irish state, the state would have federal or confederate polity and it would be ruled together in London and Dublin. It should guarantee an equivalent effectuality and both Irish and British Prime Ministers would adhere to it.

Irish taoiseach (in English Prime Minister) FitzGerald met M. Thatcher and they recognized that majorities as well as minorities must be respected. In 1985 they concluded another Anglo-Irish Agreement that provide co-operation between the Republic of Ireland and United Kingdom. Both sides persisted in approval of the majority to change the status of NI. At that time the preponderance of people who were Protestant wished to stay under the British Crown. They divided government authority to the welfare of all inhabitants. Thatcher and FitzGerald were disappointed that the treaty did not arouse enthusiasm. It was obvious that Unionist would never agree with such a document.

In the next election in 1987 Sinn Féin in Northern Ireland weakened its position according to SDLP just like IRA that got a hard strike when eight of its members were killed at the RUC station in Loughgall. In November of the same year IRA murdered eleven people on Armistice Day in Enniskillen and a huge public critique followed. Violence did not stop that showed an action in 1988; British soldiers killed three IRA men who were unarmed which triggered a debate.

Before the end of the decade the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act was adopted that should give Catholics the same opportunities in jobs. A commission properly supervise the observance of rights.

At the beginning of the 1990s the negotiations seemed move forwards. In a congress the British proposed that if IRA abandons its attacks, Britain would be ready to discuss with Sinn Féin. Gerry Adams had to leave his office after a 1992 election defeat but he still remained the leader of the party. IRA committed two bombs explosions on 10 April 1992. In this year Republicans killed thirty-six people and the Loyalist Protestants killed thirty-nine people. The terror grew on strength. Unsuccessful dialogs were led, although Irish government was in contact with Republicans, the British government with Sinn Féin and John Hume spoke to Adams. Finally on 24 April 1993 an official announcement about a treaty was made, which was followed by another one on 25 September. Meanwhile IRA did not slacken and on 23 October 1993 a bomb exploded in Belfast and killed nine people and fifty-seven wounded. Afterward another person died in a hospital. A week later on 30 October two members of Ulster Freedom Fighters shot seven guests in a bar in Greysteel as vengeance. Before the end of the year on 15 December 1993 the Downing Street Declaration disposed IRA of reasons for its struggle because British politicians said that it did not have strategic positions in Ireland and did not hinder reunion of the island.

Making peace in Northern Ireland became a main political aim of the Irish, British and American government. Taoiseach Albert Reynolds, British Prime Minister John Major and American President Bill Clinton held the same opinion that they can reach peace through negotiations. Northern Ireland secretary Mo Mowlam had merit in the mitigation of the situation; she was later replaced by controversial Peter Mandelson.

The fact that American President Bill Clinton showed a big effort to improve the Anglo-Irish relationship could be surprising. Clinton's interest sprang partly from his studies in Oxford. When he stood as a candidate for president, he said he would send an envoy to NI and give the leader of Sinn Féin Gerry Adams a visa to the USA. Adams got a forty-eight hour visa in January 1994 and departed to America. Many local authorities reminded him the importance of ending the violence.

It came to positive results in the area of negotiation with terrorist. At midnight on 31 August 1994 IRA published a proclamation of total cessation of military operations. In October called truce also Combined Loyalist Military Command (associating UDA – Ulster Defence Association, UFF – Ulster Freedom Fighters, UVF – Ulster Volunteer Force and Red Hand Commandos together). Adams was enabled to travel to America, where he tried to persuade local politicians how important it is to exchange fights for negotiations. It held up hopes to all people for the end to violence.

British and Irish government published in February 1995 a New Framework for Agreement, which suggested constitutional and institutional compensation. It described how to reach compromise within different traditions. It included the content of the Downing Street Declaration and advanced changes of constitution. New relations were born in Northern Ireland, between the South and North and not least between Great Britain and Ireland. Both sides promised to respect human rights and announced elections in Éire and Northern Ireland. British government signalled that it was ready to negotiate with Sinn Féin. England had only one requirement – IRA had to lay down arms and accepted truce. Surprisingly, Sinn Féin let Britain know that they were not prepared to negotiate.

America wanted to invest in Northern Ireland in the middle of 1990s to increase its economy. Senator George Mitchell was delegated as secretary for NI. When he first visited the country, he was deeply confronted with the Peace Line, a thirty feet high wall with barbed wire in some sectors, dividing Catholic and Protestant quarters in Belfast. People told him about straight connection between violence and unemployment so Mitchell decided to solve this problem and send money.

The forum for Peace and Reconciliation met at Dublin Castle on 28 October 1994. Unionist boycotted it but all political parties were included. The Forum deepened the dialogue between rival groups and worked up many useful studies.

Bill Clinton visited Ireland and Britain between 29 November and 1 December 1995. Irish and American governments warned off IRA to take up arms again. Nevertheless, IRA violated armistice on 9 February 1996 when its members committed a bomb attack at the London docks. The charge killed two workers and caused damages of millions of pounds. IRA published a statement and wanted a universally acceptable agreement. They proved the seriousness of their words on 15 June with a bomb explosion in a van in Manchester and they perpetrated other attacks during summer in Drumcree and two explosions in British embassy in Northern Ireland in October. In 1997 IRA changed its tactics and announced fictive bombs telephonically, first on a motorway and then during a horse racing in England.

In 1996 election Sinn Féin got 15, 5 per cent of votes but did not take part in dialogues which made a chance for success difficult. The Labour Party won British elections and powers in Northern Ireland altered. Despite all efforts to put an end to violence, in 1997 twenty-one innocent persons died as in Lurgan, where two policemen were killed.

A big attention commanded the IRA proclamation of restoration of peace on 20 July 1997 and Sinn Féin was presented by peace negotiations on 9 September. Both governments (Irish and British) published on 12 January next year a treaty proposal. George Mitchell set the end of the treaty to 9 April 1998. On Good Friday an agreement was signed and both sides



promised to keep its regulations. People of Irish Republic as well as Northern Ireland ratified the treaty in a referendum on 28 May 1998. For the first time since 1918 the inhabitants of the island voted together. The agreement (sometimes called the Belfast Treaty) had eleven articles. It was introduced by commitments to respect and promote many principles including no violence, partnership and equality. It was set up a legislative committee in Northern Ireland, North-South Ministerial Council and British-Irish Council.

Good Friday Agreement – Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern shaking hands

Howsoever the situation could seem optimistically, IRA and other militant groups did not say the last word. Fifty-five people died in 1998 in Northern Ireland. On 12 July three brothers of a Catholic family (8-10 years old) were killed. This act was committed by Loyalists when they threw an incendiary bomb to their house. Another more awful attack happened on 15 August when Catholics celebrated Assumption of the Virgin Mary. In Omagh an explosion killed twenty-eight people with one victim dying several days later. IRA placed its bomb in a car parking in a rush street. It was the most tragic event in the thirty years. To this attack the Real IRA claimed responsibility. Bill Clinton with his wife and daughter together with Tony Blair and his wife met the injured and mourners. They unveiled a memorial plaque in the town to show their participation and make people sure that they will not give up the peace process.

11. The Irish Republic at the turn of the millennium

Whereas the North stagnated with violence, in the Republic started to prosper in the 1990s. The Irish economy realised a huge flowering and was called “Celtic tiger”. The most significant factors that affected the increase were restoration of political stability, good prosperity and high employment, the support of European Union and return of some Irish emigrants to their homeland. The market was open for foreign workers and investors, many international firms established their seats in Ireland and new branches as information technology, electro technology and computer industry developed. Last but not least the Roman Catholic Church lost part of its influence because of some scandals being disclosed.

Mary Robinson became the head of the Irish Republic in 1993, the first woman elected president. She was put up by Labour party and supported by Worker’s Party. Though Robinson was not reconsidering to be so big personality or to do great things, she symbolized the progress of people’s thinking and woman emancipation. This process went along during the whole 1990s when women fought for equality with men. They were more frequently presented in government and offices, studied at universities and worked as teachers, doctors, lawyers and even businesswomen. The Church was only institution where patriarchy dominated and females were forbidden to become priests.

People pronounced in referendum on 24 November 1995 with narrow majority for enactment of divorces. During three years of July 2000 were 26.472 pairs divorced. Society discussed also the problem of abortion but they were not allowed. In 1990s annually 5.000 girls and women travelled to Britain to interruption. Generally people lost trust in Church and interest to visit masses because the many scandals damaged its reputation.

Coalition of Fianna Fáil and Labour Party should have been a historical alliance but Labourites stayed in the shadow of Fianna Fáil and lost a large number of voters and adherents. The only success of the coalition (and it is necessary to say a very important one) was final by solving of the situation in Northern Ireland. After the scandal with Father Brendan Smyth of child abuse was uncovered, the government fell. The election did not take place and a new coalition of Labour Party, Fine Gael and Democratic Left was created. It turned out that this co-operation brought some prosperity to the land. The progress was not so noticeable so Fianna Fáil got again to power. Bertie Ahern (Fianna Fáil) was elected taoiseach in 1997 and the presidency was dominated by another woman Mary McAlleese. Mary

Robinson did not candidate again and went to Geneva to work as a UN Commissioner for Human Rights. McAlleese revived Irish politics and represented the state excellently.

People in the Republic of Ireland rejoiced in new course of Northern Ireland policy. Better future without violence seemed to be in sight. The Irish politicians wished to have a possibility to intervene in political affairs in the North. In the referendum Irish Republic voted 71 per cent “yes” to the Good Friday Agreement and 29 per cent “no”.

The general elections were announced in May 2002 and Fiannn Fáil won 81 seats despite the fact that many corruption scandals were uncovered during its last electoral term. The new and old Prime Minister was elected Bertie Ahern who was the first PM in three decade to win the office for the second time consecutively. In 2008 he was involved in a corruption again and this time he resigned on 2 April. He was replaced by former Minister of Finance Brian Cowen. The same year Irish people refused in referendum on 13 June the Lisbon Treaty. They were afraid of the consequences for the internal politics of the state.

The economy of the state still prospered and in recent years the growth has reached 10 per cent. The present economic crisis struck Ireland as well as other countries and world powers. In February 2009 over 100.000 people protested in Dublin to compel the government to take quick measures and reduce the impact of the crisis.

12. Northern Ireland after Good Friday Accords

In June 1999 the IRA leadership refused to lay down arms until a new government was formed but Unionists made reservations that the IRA had to disarm first. This finished up in a Unionist's boycott of the Assembly meeting that originated a new government throughout July. The parliament looked for a solution how to come to an agreement and to put an end to London administration but they did not come to any conclusion. David Trimble, who was the leader of the Ulster Unionists, took the first step and agreed to constitute the government heretofore. He determined condition that the IRA had to start disposing of weapons by 31 January 2000 otherwise the Unionists will not stick by the government. There was a unity and on 2 December 1999 the British government handed over the control of the state to Northern Irish parliament. David Trimble was elected the first minister and also Gerry Adams and McGuinness were seated in the new parliament. The IRA made default given by Trimble so London government dissolved the parliament on 2 February 2000 and set direct rule again. Trimble announced his resignation the next year in July after unsuccessful negotiations with Sinn Féin. Adams then suggested another plan and informed on 23 October that the IRA had just begun with disarmament so Trimble returned to the office.

At the end of the year 2000 Trimble banned Sinn Féiners to become ministers but the court judged it as illegal. In 2002 international experts came to Northern Ireland to oversee the IRA and control how the disarmament continued. The Protestant groups were also called upon to get rid of their weapons. They respected the truce as well as the IRA however they did not surrender the armament. Moreover the IRA members apologised for killing civilians during the last decades. They said in a statement released on 16 July 2002:

We offer our sincere apologies and condolences to their families. While it was not our intention to injure or kill noncombatants, the reality is that on this and on a number of other occasions, that was the consequence of our actions. It is therefore appropriate on the anniversary of this tragic event that we address all of the deaths and injuries of noncombatants caused by us.”¹

On 4 March 2001 the Real IRA was accused in a bomb explosion near the headquarters of the BBC². The violence started to strengthen and especially Catholic children became the targets. A school in Belfast was shut down for a day after a conflict between Protestants and Catholics in January 2002. Other attacks on teachers and students occurred

¹ <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/northernireland/timeline.html>

² <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/northernireland/timeline.html>

during the month. Only four days after the apology of IRA a young Catholic boy was shot dead. The public and press appealed to the IRA and Sinn Féin to raise the ante and complete full disarming. A suspicion occurred that Sinn Féin had stolen some British document. The police raided houses and offices of the members and eventually Denis Donaldson was accused of having these documents. The first minister Trimble urged that Sinn Féin should leave the parliament because this behaviour was inadmissible. British government put back into it once more and for the fourth time during last three years they broke up the coalition in October.

The next February Protestant groups announced stopping attacks on Catholics for one year. On 26 November 2003 elections were held in which radical parties Democratic Unionist Party headed by Paisley and Sinn Féin defeated moderate parties like the Ulster Unionists. All parties took place on a meeting to review the Good Friday Agreement. Other talks followed between Northern Irish parliament and British government but they did not find a way from the difficult situation. A great bank robbery in December 2004 was imputed to the IRA which destroyed the reputation to Sinn Féin. The IRA then killed in 2005 a Catholic man Robert McCartney. His five sisters started a campaign to get the IRA before the court so the sympathy with the organisation fell away even among Catholic people.

Sinn Féin did not want to give up its efforts and the IRA agreed to eliminate the violence and to change it for peaceful means. In September 2005 the international controllers could affirm that the IRA put away all weapons, but not every Protestant believed it. The Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) further watched the progress and was satisfied however the commissioners remarked that some splinter groups of the IRA were still committed to violence. On 15 May 2005 the political parties in Northern Ireland “were given six months (to Nov. 24) to come up with a power-sharing government or else sovereignty would revert indefinitely to the British government.”³ New elections were held in March 2007 and the winning parties PUD and Sinn Féin met for the first time to arrange a power-sharing government. In May Paisley became the first minister and McGuinness its deputy of executive parliament. In 2008 Paisley stood down and was replaced by Peter Robinson (DUP) who just in January 2010 announced resignation for six weeks because of a scandal of his wife. Temporarily, his role took over Arlene Foster. On 3 February Robinson returned to the office of First Minister. In May 2010 election will be held in the United Kingdom which will affect the affairs in Northern Ireland. The best preferences has the Labour Party however especially unemployed young Catholics and Protestant support radical parties.

³ <http://www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0108101.html?pageno=5>

Religions	1961	1991	2001
Roman Catholic	34.9%	38.4%	40.3%
Presbyterian (Protestant)	29.0%	21.4%	20.7%
Church of Ireland (Protestant)	24.2%	17.7%	15.3%
Other Religions (including other Protestant)	9.3%	11.5%	9.9%
Not Stated	2.0%	7.3%	9.0%
None	0.0%	3.8%	5.0%

atheism can be seen in Northern Ireland as in other countries. Young generation also experiments with “exotic” religions from the East. Religion seems to lose on importance a little bit and very important is the fact that the two main communities lead a dialog and learn to respect each other.

The situation in Northern Ireland is also influenced by increasing number of Catholics. This community has a higher birth rate than Protestants however the trust in the Roman Catholic Church lessened in the previous years. In 2001 Catholics comprised over 40 per cent of the population in contrast to 1961 when 35 per cent professed the Catholic faith. More people do not belong to any Church. Modern trend of

13. Consequences of the Agreement

The Good Friday Agreement of 1998 determined the executive authority such as creating of a 108-member Assembly of Northern Ireland and the office of First Minister and Deputy First Minister. The system is based on power-sharing between Unionists and Nationalists. It also uses a cross-community basis that means if the First Minister is a Unionist the Deputy First Minister must be a Nationalist, conversely. The ministers have to pledge to non-violence and peaceful means and to treat all citizens of Northern Ireland equally.

Very important is the definition of human rights. The parties affirm for example the right to freedom and expression of religion, the right to free political thought and the right to equal opportunity. Not least the women are included in the politics.

The document declared support within Northern Ireland, which meant centrally Catholics and Protestant, and between Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic. The document also reminded that the tragedies, suffering of people and all dead and injured cannot be forgotten. Their remembrance should be honour with peace and co-operation in the future.

For common people the Agreement meant not only the peace process and the shift in the relationship between the Irish Republic and Northern Ireland but also a definitely and official partition. The Republic of Ireland pledged to change the Articles 2 and 3 in the 1937 constitution which included Northern Ireland. The current version of the constitution gives every person the right to be a part of the Irish Nation (see Appendix 3). The inhabitants of Northern Ireland can choose if they want to have Irish or British, or both, citizenship. It was also presented that united Ireland can be reached only by peaceful way and with consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.

It was perceived as a positive move to mutual respect and understanding, however for the freedom fighters of the Anglo-Irish War it would be a step back. They did not want to permit the partition because they wished, except freedom, the united Ireland. Some people who voted “no” in the 1999 referendum could see it likewise. Instead of creating one island one republic the politicians of the Irish Republic, Northern Ireland and Britain recognised the island as a divided country. Regardless, both parts of the island are connected to each other more tightly than in the past. They run several projects together and co-operate in many areas such as agriculture, education, tourism, environment and social welfare. The Republic can influence matters dealing with Catholics in the North.

The present situation should satisfy all sides because the negotiators tried to meet any need of each community so that everyone could have equal rights and opportunities and could live a full-value life. Nationalist can stand in hope being a part of united Ireland some day and on the other hand Unionists are in of the running to remain under the protection of Great Britain.

Epilogue

The Troubles in Northern Ireland seemed to be a never ending story by looking back at the countless killings and secretary murders. The hatred between Catholics and Protestant could be considered as a part of their nature over time. In spite of this there were people who were not contented with the conditions and hung in their endeavour to exchange violence for peace. Many of them were only figures in the background as priests, human right organisations or individuals. The second and most significant group was represented by politicians, activists and leaders. However they could not find a common dialog for a long time.

Perhaps the pressure of public and exhaustion of unremitting fights forced politicians to start negotiations and finally led to cease-fire of the IRA and peace process. The co-operation between Sinn Féin and Unionists originated very slowly and was often interrupted. Both parties required guaranties that the other side would keep promises. The IRA pledged to destroy its armament. They postponed it several times but in 2005 the Independent Commission announced that the IRA put all weapons beyond use.

Although some disturbances in the streets occur mostly during traditional Protestant marches, the situation looks more positively nowadays. It is a question if Northern Ireland will maintain the peace in future. There is a fair assumption because a new generation comes into power and substitutes the old one. Ian Paisley is now in his eighties and he announced to bow out from politics.

Young generation did not experienced the events as Bloody Sunday and know them only as stories telling by their parents or teachers. In resent years also increased the number of “mixed” school where Catholic and Protestant children learn together. They try to live, study and work side by side without intolerance, discrimination and hate.

It is hard to say if the peace will last in the future and if Northern Ireland will become a part of united Ireland. That will show the coming decades though there is a possibility because the Catholic community grow larger. In last forty years their population increased from 35 to 40 per cent. The efforts of unification will continue because the Irish Catholics are relentless and will not give up their dream.

Resumé (Summary)

Ve své diplomové práci se zabývám politikou Irské republikánské armády a jejím vlivem na Irsko. IRA je považována za teroristickou skupinu, která se na začátku 20. století snažila získat nezávislost na Velké Británii a později dosáhnout sjednocení ostrova. V první řadě je třeba říci, že IRA vznikla z odbojové skupiny Irští dobrovolníci, kteří v letech 1919 až 1921 bojovali za osamostatnění Irska. Teprve až později během občanské války, která následovala, změnila IRA svoji strategii a začala vést útoky proti různým osobám.

Irsko má za sebou pestrou minulost, která formovala jeho vývoj. Původní obyvatelé ostrova Keltové s sebou přinesli bohatou kulturu tak typickou pro Irsko. Z jejich původního jazyka se během staletí vyvinula irština, jíž se v některých oblastech Irska mluví dodnes. Vedle angličtiny je druhým oficiální jazykem. Keltové byli dobří obchodníci a řemeslníci a vyznávali náboženství založené na přírodních principech. Toto náboženství bylo v 5. století vytlačeno křesťanstvím, které v zemi rozšířil svatý Patrik. Po celém ostrově vznikaly kláštery, kde se soustřeďovali učenci a jež se staly středisky vzdělanosti. V 8. století do Irska vtrhli první severští nájezdníci a začali plenit kláštery. Vikingové byli především bojovníci, ale postupně se na ostrově usadili a založili nové osady jako například Dublin. Během následujících staletí splynuli s původními obyvateli a převzali od nich některé tradice a zvyky.

Zlom nastal v roce 1169, kdy do Irska vtrhli Normané. Ti připluli z Anglie a zabrali téměř celé území. Anglický král Jindřich II. rozdělil půdu mezi své poddané, kteří brzy utvořili vládnoucí vrstvou. Odolávala jim jen některá irská království. Normané se stejně jako Vikingové před nimi postupně přizpůsobovali, což se nelíbilo Anglii a tak vydala Kilkennské zákony, které zakazovali smíšená manželství, irský jazyk a kulturu.

Další těžkou zkouškou byl nástup Jindřicha VIII. na anglický trůn. Ten se rozhodl, že Irsko pro něho představuje hrozbu, pokud by se spojilo se Španělskem, a nechal se korunovat irským králem. Poté, co se nepohodl s papežem, založil vlastní anglikánskou protestantskou církev, kterou zavedl i v Irsku. To se ovšem setkalo s velkou vlnou odporu. Většina obyvatel se hlásila ke katolické víře, proto Jindřich nechal Irsko kolonizovat protestanty z Anglie. Ti, co odmítli přestoupit na novou víru, přišli o svou půdu. V této době se začal utvářet rozpor mezi katolíky a protestanty. Vpád Olivera Cromwella, velkého zastávce republiky, v roce 1649 umocnil útlak katolíků a kruté zacházení s nimi. Po jeho smrti se k vládě znovu dostal katolický panovník. Jakub II. byl však poražen v bitvě u Boyne v roce 1690 Vilémem

Oranžským, který završil krutovládu nad ostrovem. Irové byli prakticky zbaveni všech práv a svobod. Jejich kultura a jazyk byli zakázány, přesto se jich obyvatelé nevzdali a tak přežili.

Až v 18. století se objevili významnější pokusy o změnu a získání nezávislosti na Anglii. V roce 1782 získalo Irsko formální nezávislost, která však trvala pouhých 18 let. Irové se nevzdali a po celé zemi se začaly konat obrovská shromáždění, které měla pozvednout irského ducha. Na začátku 19. století se do čela odboje postavil Daniel O'Connell, který založil Katolickou společnost a zasloužil se o zrovnoprávnění katolíků. Poté se zaměřil na zrušení unie s Anglií, tohoto cíle už ale nedosáhl.

V polovině 19. století Irsko zasáhl velký hladomor, který způsobila neúroda brambor. Milion lidí zemřelo a další milion jich emigrovalo, převážně do Ameriky, Kanady a Británie. Tito emigranti sehráli důležitou roli při pozdějším boji za nezávislost, protože poskytovali Irsku zbraně a peníze. V Americe také vzniklo Feniánské bratrstvo, které bylo sesterskou organizací Irského republikánského bratrstva založeného v Irsku. To se připravovala na vhodnou příležitost, kdy se znovu postavit Británii. Mezitím vznikla Pozemková liga vedená Charlesem Stewartem Parnellem, která si kladla za cíl vrácení půdy katolíkům. Pozemková válka v letech 1879-82 opravdu přinesla úspěch a katoličtí rolníci posílili svou pozici.

V Irech se začalo probouzet i národní cítění, což vedlo k založení Gaelské ligy. Toho hnutí propagovalo irštinu a tradiční irskou kulturu a sport a přineslo velký rozkvět. Propukly i přípravy na nové povstání. Anglie byla oslabena boji v první světové válce a Irové toho využili. V roce 1916 uskutečnili tzv. Velikonoční povstání, kdy skupina mladých vlastenců obsadila hlavní dublinskou poštu a vyhlásila republiku. Ačkoli bylo povstání krutě potlačeno a hlavní představitelé popraveni, následné události vedoucí k válce za nezávislost už se nedaly zastavit. V této době také můžeme zaznamenat první útoky Irské republikánské armády.

Anglo-irská válka vypukla v roce 1919, typické pro ni bylo partyzánský způsob boje a přepadáváním ze zálohy. Jedním z hlavních organizátorů byl Michael Collins, který vedl IRA a plánoval různé akce, špionáže a v neposlední řadě vraždy britských vojáků. Anglie později začala vyjednávat s irskými delegáty a navrhla jim status britského dominia. To rozdělilo zemi na dva tábory, pro jedny byla tato dohoda nepřijatelná a zatímco druzí ji považovali za krok směrem k získání samostatnosti. Mezi zastánce patřil i Collins, zapřísáhlým odpůrcem se stal Eamon de Valera. Anglo-irská dohoda z roku 1921 vytvořila Svobodný irský stát, ale zároveň také Severní Irsko, které se odmítlo zdát unie s Velkou Británií. Unionisté na severu chtěli, aby Severní Irsko zahrnovalo celou oblast zvanou Ulster, kterou tvořilo devět hrabství, nakonec ale získali jen šest převážně protestantských hrabství.

Odpůrci se nehodlali smířit se situací, přestože veřejnost dohodu podporovala, a uvrhli zemi do občanské války. Během té zemřel i Collins. Irský parlament hlasoval, zda přijmout nebo zamítnout dohodu. Těsná většina ji schválila a poté, co skupiny bojující na straně de Valery začali ztrácet, bylo v dubnu 1923 vyhlášeno příměří.

Od této chvíle se začaly psát samostatné dějiny obou částí ostrova. Svobodný irský stát se potýkal s mnoho problémy a ani Severní Irsko na to nebylo o moc lépe. Ke všemu katolíci na severu byli diskriminováni a celou oblast ovládali Protestanti a to i tam, kde převažovala katolická komunita. V roce 1937 Eamon de Valera vytvořil novou ústavu, odstranil z ní přísahu věrnosti anglickému panovníkovi a prohlásil Irsko samostatnou a demokratickou republikou. Do ústavy zahrnul i Severní Irsko, což mezi tamními lidmi způsobilo vlnu nevole.

Během druhé světové války bylo Irsko neutrální na rozdíl od Severního Irska, které bojovalo po boku Anglie. Ačkoli byl sever ostrova několikrát bombardován, obecně válka přispěla k rozvoji průmyslu a odvětví s ní spjatých. Válka také paradoxně sblížila obě země. Po jejím skončení se Irské republice začalo dařit, prosadila několik sociálních a hospodářských reforem a životní úroveň se pomalu zvyšovala.

V Severním Irsku vypukly v 60. letech nepokoje, vznikaly organizace na podporu občanských práv a katolíci protestovali v ulicích. Policejní jednotky několikrát tvrdě zasáhli. Jednou z nejhorších událostí byla tzv. Krvavá neděle v roce 1972, kdy policie zastřelila 13 neozbrojených demonstrantů. Násilí pokračovalo i v dalších letech, IRA se zaměřila na pumové útoky, při kterých během tří desítek let zahynuly stovky lidí, převážně civilistů.

V 80. letech se všechny strany (Irsko, Severní Irsko, Anglie a USA) dohodly na spolupráci. Jednání trvala s různými přerušeními až do poloviny devadesátých let, kdy IRA oznámila příměří a posléze i odzbrojení. Dohoda z Velkého pátku z roku 1998 položila nový základ pro vztahy v Severním Irsku a mezi ním a Irskou republikou. Irská republika uznala Severní Irsko jako část Spojeného království a slíbila respektovat, že sjednocené Irsko bude moct vzniknout jen tehdy, bude-li s tím souhlasit většina obyvatel Severního Irska.

V současné době se situace vyvíjí slibně, katolíci i protestanti spolu zasedají v parlamentu a usilují o společné řízení státu. Ačkoli tato spolupráce ne vždy funguje, přesto udělalo Severní Irsko velký krok v před k řešení problémů, vzájemné toleranci a respektu. Budoucnost ukáže, zda tento trend vydrží a jestli se katolíci na severu někdy dočkají sjednoceného ostrova a jedné republiky.

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Appendix 1

Proclamation of the Irish Republic

**Poblacht na h Éireann.
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 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 MacDiarmada, Thomas MacDonagh,
P. H. Pearse, Eamonn Ceannt, James Connolly, Joseph Plunkett.

Appendix 2

Articles of Agreement for a Treaty Between Great Britain and Ireland

Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.

The oath to be taken by Members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form:

I ... do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H. M. King George V, his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of war pensions as existing at that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial Forces. But this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the Revenue or the Fisheries.

The foregoing provisions of this Article shall be reviewed at a Conference of Representatives of the British and Irish Governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence.

The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to his Majesty's Imperial Forces:

(a) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State; and

(b) In time of war or of strained relations with a Foreign Power such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.

With a view to securing the observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force, the establishments thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of Police Forces and other Public Servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of Government effected in pursuance hereof.

Provided that this agreement shall not apply to members of the Auxiliary Police Force or to persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British Government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, shall so far as they relate to Northern Ireland remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland, unless a resolution is passed by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding of such election before the end of the said month.

If before the expiration of the said month, an address is presented to His Majesty by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect subject to the necessary modifications.

Provided that if such an address is so presented a Commission consisting of three persons, one to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State, one to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland and one who shall be Chairman to be appointed by the British Government shall

determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission.

13. For the purpose of the last foregoing article, the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland shall after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted be exercised by that Parliament.

After the expiration of the said month, if no such address as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, but the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not power to make laws under that Act (including matters which under the said Act are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland) the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed in manner hereinafter appearing.

At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the provisional Government of Southern Ireland hereinafter constituted may meet for the purpose of discussing the provisions subject to which the last foregoing article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented and those provisions may include:

1 (a) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland:

2 (b) Safeguards with with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland:

3 (c) Safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade or industry of Northern Ireland:

4 (d) Safeguards for minorities in Northern Ireland:

5 (e) The settlement of the financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State:

6 (f) The establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the Defence Forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland respectively:

and if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included amongst the provisions subject to which the Powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article 14 hereof.

Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious

status or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school or make any discrimination as respects state aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a provisional Government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by His Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and if approved shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

On behalf of the British Delegation Signed
D. LLOYD GEORGE
AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN
BIRKENHEAD
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS
HAMAR GREENWOOD
GORDON HEWART

On behalf of the Irish Delegation Signed
ART Ó GRÍOBHTA (ARTHUR GRIFFITH)
MICHEÁL Ó COILEÁIN
RÍOBÁRD BARTÚN
EUDHMONN S. Ó DÚGÁIN
SEÓRSA GHABHÁIN UÍ DHUBHTHAIGH
December 6th, 1921

ANNEX

1

The following are the specific facilities required:

Dockyard Port at Berehaven (a)

1. Admiralty property and rights to be retained as at the rate hereof. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

Queenstown (b)

2. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties. Certain mooring buoys to be retained for use of His Majesty's ships.

Belfast Lough (c)

3. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

Lough Swilly (d)

4. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

Aviation (e)

5. Facilities in the neighbourhood of the above Ports for coastal defence by air.

Oil Fuel Storage (f)

6. Haulbowline Rathmullen: To be offered for sale to commercial companies under guarantee that purchasers shall maintain a certain minimum stock for Admiralty purposes.

2

A Convention shall be made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State to give effect to the following conditions:

(a) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communications with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government; that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government; and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland.

(b) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and any navigational marks or navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of the Irish Free State as at the date hereof and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.

(c) That war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes subject to Admiralty inspection, and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

3

A Convention shall be made between the same Governments for the regulation of Civil Communication by Air.

Appendix 3

Substitution of the Article 2 and 3 of the constitution of the Irish Republic according to the Good Friday Agreement 1998

The text of the 1937 constitution

Article 2

The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.

Article 3

Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the parliament and government established by this constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole territory, the laws enacted by the parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann^[31] and the like extra-territorial effect.

The current text of the constitution

Article 2

It is the entitlement and birthright of every person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, to be part of the Irish Nation. That is also the entitlement of all persons otherwise qualified in accordance with law to be citizens of Ireland. Furthermore, the Irish nation cherishes its special affinity with people of Irish ancestry living abroad who share its cultural identity and heritage.

Article 3

1. It is the firm will of the Irish Nation, in harmony and friendship, to unite all the people who share the territory of the island of Ireland, in all the diversity of their identities and traditions, recognising that a united Ireland shall be brought about only by peaceful means with the consent of a majority of the people, democratically expressed, in both jurisdictions in the island. Until then, the laws enacted by the Parliament established by this Constitution shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws enacted by the Parliament^[21] that existed immediately before the coming into operation of this Constitution.
2. Institutions with executive powers and functions that are shared between those jurisdictions may be established by their respective responsible authorities for stated purposes and may exercise powers and functions in respect of all or any part of the island.

The Nineteenth Amendment of the constitution in 1999

Article 29.7

1. The State may consent to be bound by the British-Irish Agreement done at Belfast on the 10th day of April, 1998, hereinafter called the Agreement.
2. Any institution established by or under the Agreement may exercise the powers and functions thereby conferred on it in respect of all or any part of the island of Ireland notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution conferring a like power or function on any person or any organ of State appointed under or created or established by or under this Constitution. Any power or function conferred on such an institution in relation to the settlement or resolution of disputes or controversies may be in addition to or in substitution for any like power or function conferred by this Constitution on any such person or organ of State as aforesaid.