

Simulation on Northern Ireland: One Step at a Time - The Derry March and Prospects for Peace

This simulation focuses on a very specific concern in the Northern Ireland conflict: the issue of the marches, which serve as a microcosm of the larger conflict between Catholics and Protestants and are, perhaps the most dramatic symbol of the religious and cultural divide that characterizes the conflict. The simulation's focus on the Parade Commission's decision whether or not to allow a march on a particular route in Derry helps to crystallize the many issues and concerns that inevitably arise when a response to the Northern Ireland conflict is being studied and debated.

In playing the roles of representatives of the various political parties, associations, and government authorities involved in negotiating the conflict, participants are provided an opportunity to learn about the deep roots of this longstanding divide, to consider the profound feelings that the marches elicit on both sides, and to fashion new proposals to deal with this challenging situation.



Simulation on Northern Ireland: One Step at a Time - The Derry March and Prospects for Peace¹

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Materials	4
Scenario	5
Background	7
The Recent Violence The Marching Season Issues of Conflict	8
Roles	10
Ulster Unionist Party (6) Democratic Unionist Party (4) Alliance Party (2) Social Democratic and Labor Party (6) Representatives of Sinn Fein (3) Representatives of the Orange Order (3) Representatives of the Derry Boys (4) Bogside Neighborhood Residence Association (4) Representatives of the Catholic Church (2) Police Chief and Deputy Police Chief (2) Commander and Deputy Commander of local British Forces (2) Representatives of British Government (3) Representatives of the Government of the Republic of Ireland (2) Chairman of the Parades' Commission (1) and Members of the Parades' Co (8)	
Related Web Links	25

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ Simulation developed by Jeffrey W. Helsing, United States Institute of Peace.



Introduction

Session One:

- All participants read simulation materials.
- Questions and problems to be clarified by staff.

Session Two:

- The members of each party meet together and prepare a presentation for the commission.
- Members of the Commission meet together to begin discussion of issues and anticipate presentation of issues as well as discuss how they wish to conduct the formal sessions.
- Members of each party can, if they choose, meet informally with those of other parties to discuss common interests and strategies regarding the marching issue.

Session Three:

- The Parades Commission convenes and formal presentation of parties to the Commission begins.
- The order of presentations and the rules of conduct for the meeting will be determined by the commission.
- After the presentations, the commission members will question the parties as they see fit.
- There will also be, if time permits, a lobbying/negotiation period and informal discussion of issues raised during the presentations.

Session Four:

- The Commission issues and explains its ruling.
- Each party has an opportunity to make an oral statement stating its opinion of and response to the ruling.
- This is followed by a debriefing of the simulation exercise.



Materials

Each participant should receive the following materials:

- The Scenario and Background Documents (pages 5 9.)
- A simulation role

Teachers may wish to provide the following items for this simulation:

- A classroom or conference room and sufficient breakout rooms or additional space for any needed teamwork
- An overhead projector or multimedia data projector and an overhead screen.
- Flip charts (one per team) and flip chart paper (or white boards) and markers
- 1 pad and pen per student
- Several computers with printers
- Internet access for additional research or access to a library.



Scenario

On August 10th, in Northern Ireland's second largest city, Derry,* another large Protestant parade is scheduled to take a route which goes from Urban Park to the Anglican (Protestant) Cathedral where a service will be held to celebrate the victory of Protestants over Catholics 300 years ago. From there the march winds through the Catholic neighborhood of Bogside to the Diamond within the old City walls and finally to a Protestant war memorial in Victoria Park . The parade is sponsored by the Apprentice Boys of Derry and the largest Protestant fraternal organization, the Orange Order.

The police have in the past, with the backing of the British government, made the decision about whether a parade can occur and then have had to enforce that decision. Now the British government has persuaded the Northern Irish authorities to have a newly-established temporary Parade Commission make the decision as to whether or not the parade can take place on the route in question. This commission is chaired by a Protestant and made up of eight additional members, four Protestant and four Catholic. Catholics were not happy with the make-up of the commission but the establishment of any commission was viewed as a positive step by Catholics. The British government, which has empowered the commission, has gotten the Royal Ulster Constabulary to agree to enforce, albeit reluctantly, the commission's decision.

All this is occurring at a time when for two years there had been considerable optimism over the prospect of peace between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. Peace talks had been initiated, although they progressed very slowly. The optimism and hope for peace that was once fairly strong has faded in the past year, first when the Irish Republican Army, impatient with the progress of the talks and the peace process, resumed its terrorist operations (including a bombing in England and the assassination of two policemen) and then was further dashed with the violence over the Orange marches in Portadown.

For some, there was hope that with a new British government under Labor Prime Minister Tony Blair, the peace process could be reestablished and a different and less provocative approach to the marching issue would emerge. However, the British government appears to have agreed weeks in advance to allow the Portadown march to take place, while at the same time continuing to negotiate with the parties. The British left the decision secret in order to keep Catholics calm until the last minute. Both the British authorities and the police forces are anxious to avoid a repeat of the previous violence regarding the parades and hope the case of the August 10th Derry parade can serve as a precedent for future controversial marches.

We have chosen the issue of the marches in Northern Ireland as the focus of this simulation because it serves as a microcosm of the larger conflict between Catholics and Protestants there. These marches are probably the most dramatic symbol of the religious and cultural issues which divide the two communities. The "marches" issue has made many in Northern Ireland - Catholics and Protestants - pessimistic despite the announced IRA cease-fire.

For this exercise, we will simulate the debate over the march request as well as the decision of the Parades Commission either to approve the request, deny the request, or modify the request. The march organizers, representatives of the affected Catholic neighborhood, and various outside representatives and political parties will have the opportunity to present their respective cases before the commission and the commission members will have the opportunity to question these outside representatives.

^{*} Note: Even the name of this city is controversial. Derry is the name preferred by most Catholics; Londonderry is the name used by most Protestants. The British government and other outside parties have gone so far as to develop a less-than-satisfactory compromise in which the city is referred to as Derry and the county is called Londonderry. Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland continue to use the town name of their choice.



The Commission will open the hearing on the August 10th parade by asking each group to have one of its representatives make an opening statement as to what it feels are the most important factors that the commission should take into consideration in making its decision. After the opening statements, there will be moderated debate, at which point the members of the commission may wish to question the various representatives. During any breaks or recesses in the proceedings the groups may lobby the commission members or work together to fashion new and alternative proposals that they then present to the assembled commission for consideration.



Background

The Recent Violence

Widespread violence erupted in Northern Ireland at the beginning of July because of the issue of the "marching season," a time of year when thousands of parades (predominantly Protestant) are held throughout Northern Ireland. On July 6th, the decision by the British government and the local police force (the Royal Ulster Constabulary) to allow a Protestant parade through a Catholic neighborhood on the edge of the predominantly Protestant city of Portadown led to the outbreak of violence. Thousands of heavily armed British soldiers and police moved into the Catholic neighborhood along Garvaghy Road in the pre-dawn hours and essentially penned in the inhabitants for over ten hours until the parade had passed by, in one of the largest military operations in the 30 years of violent conflict in Northern Ireland between Protestants (also referred to as Loyalists or Unionists) and Catholics (also referred to as either Nationalists or Republicans). There were clashes between the security forces and the Catholic populace and the violence then spread to much of the rest of Northern Ireland.

The previous year in Portadown, the authorities had prohibited the same parade and thus provoked four days of Protestant rioting that caused an estimated \$50 million in property damage and left two dead. The British government subsequently reversed its decision and allowed the parade to take place which then led to widespread Catholic rioting. For the past year, tensions between Catholics and Protestants have been very high as a result of the marching issue.

The clashes in Portadown this past month seemingly ended what many had felt was an improved climate and relationship between Catholics and the British government as a result of the recent election of British Labor Prime Minister Tony Blair. The violence was also seen as a great blow for any hopes of convening broad-based peace talks which would help settle the conflict between Catholics and Protestants and end the violence as well as determine the political future of Northern Ireland.

A week after the Portadown march, however, four Protestant parades scheduled to pass through Catholic neighborhoods in different Northern Irish communities on July 12th, were either canceled or re-routed by leaders of the Protestant groups. The inescapable escalation of violence that almost certainly would have occurred had the parades continued unchanged was the reason. Death threats had been made against the marchers and serious doubts existed as to whether the marchers could be protected by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (local police) or British soldiers.

Unfortunately, the actions of July 12th do not signal a stronger prospect for peace or even an end to the violence. Shortly after the Protestants backed down, as it were, three British soldiers were wounded by gunmen who belong to the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Within the Protestant community, there are many people who strongly disagreed with the decisions to alter the parades and some who claim that their leaders betrayed them. Most Protestants also feel that the IRA violence was a slap at Protestants throughout Northern Ireland and provided further proof that most Catholics are not interested in peace. The Protestant leaders feel that they were pressured and even blackmailed by the British government and the local police to give in and got nothing in return. In fact, many feel that giving in simply legitimized the Catholic violence of the previous week.

The political wing of the IRA stated that the Protestant actions will not make them change their course or make their political positions any more conciliatory. However, on July 19th, the IRA declared a cease-fire, paving the way for a resumption of peace talks between Catholics and Protestants, including the possible participation of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA. The issue of the parades and how they are handled over the course of the next two months will go a long way to determining whether peace talks are viable and any long-term solution is ultimately possible.



The Marching Season

There are three Protestant associations which organize the marches. These are the Orange Order, the Royal Black Preceptory, and the Apprentice Boys of Derry. Many working-class Protestants are members although these organizations are predominantly middle-class. All three groups are exclusively Protestant and exclusively male. Their ostensible purpose is to celebrate Ulster Protestant culture affirmatively and to strengthen community cohesion and voluntarism - much like the Masons, the Elks, or the Kiwanis Clubs.

But the three groups were founded over 200 years ago in the spirit of Protestant territorial triumphalism. The original "apprentice boys" numbered thirteen Presbyterian lads who slammed the gates of Derry on the besieging forces of the catholic King James II in 1689, crying "No surrender!" The Orange Order was formed in 1795 to consolidate rural Protestant landowners against Catholic rivals after Protestant vigilantes defeated their Catholic counterparts in "the battle of the Diamond."

The stated aims of the Protestant associations are to uphold the Protestant religion and the preservation of the ties of Northern Ireland to Great Britain. Opposition to Catholicism and to Irish nationalism is a principal tenet of the associations. There are over 1500 Orange Lodges or branches in Northern Ireland.

The Protestant groups believe the marches are an affirmation of Northern Ireland's Protestant community, its traditions and history as well as a means to reiterate the ties of Northern Ireland to Great Britain. Ulster Protestants have a strong social and political conservatism and prefer to keep things the way they have been. They emphasize duty and honor to long-standing institutions and pay considerable attention to tradition and ceremony. The marches are a cornerstone in that conservative tradition. They revere the British monarchy and those Ulstermen who died in Her Majesty's service. Many believe that their fierce loyalty will and should be rewarded by unwavering British support.

To deny the Protestant groups the right to march along routes that date back over 200 years is viewed by them as a denial of the democratic right of free speech and the right to assemble freely as well as the right to walk the "queen's highways." To prohibit the marches, which are seen as a sacred act and part of their worship rites, is also viewed as a means of undermining Protestant traditions and solidarity.

The parades themselves predate the associations and have been a feature of the Protestant community for almost 300 years - the ritual marching re-enacts a "public banding" tradition that began in the seventeenth century. The parades are very colorful, loud and often boisterous affairs. There is considerable pageantry, with hundreds of colorful banners, and men dressed in dark suits, bowler hats and bright Orange sashes accompanied by loud, martial music that includes huge, booming bass drums. The banners the marchers carry have significant religious and political symbolism as they depict biblical scenes and historical events.

The marches are institutionalized, repetitive and highly ritualized. Clothing, banners, music, routes and venues are closely regulated and "traditional." The music, banners, slogans, names of the lodges and bands as well as the speeches affirm the validity of the Protestant faith, the victory over Catholics, and loyalty to the British Crown and the British empire. Very large numbers of the Protestant community are involved, at least as spectators. While the marchers have a respectable appearance, some of the bandsmen and crowd will have some rougher elements, particularly because the marches are occasions for lots of public drinking. The "Blood and Thunder" bands, which are particularly loud and raucous, are considered one of the most provocative elements of the parades (they are often known by the provocative name of "kick the Pope" bands).

The marching season is at once a communal celebration and a symbolic assertion of power over Catholics. There may be ritualized baiting of Catholics in the selection of march routes through Catholic areas and the loud drumming outside churches or Catholic neighborhoods. Catholics



who live along a "traditional route" may be confined for hours in their houses or streets (by police or simply from fear) up to a dozen times each summer. In some areas the struggle to maintain march routes against nationalist pressure for change is now a yearly test of Protestant loyalism's power and influence. In the past few years the most disputed march routes have been in Portadown, Derry and along the lower Ormeau Road in Belfast.

Issues of Conflict

Most of the 3,000 parades (a little over 200 are actually Catholic) during the marching season go on without incident. The problematic ones are exclusively those Protestant marches which pass through Catholic neighborhoods. Last year, there were 15 parades which sparked violence.

When permission for Protestant marches has been denied in the past, there has usually been major outbreaks of violence by members of the Protestant community. That violence has usually been directed at the police forces or the British soldiers, but it has also spilled over against the Catholic community.

Catholics argue that the Protestant marches are deliberately provocative and particularly so when they purposefully march through Catholic neighborhoods celebrating Protestant victories over Catholics. They are viewed as an insulting reminder of the minority status of Catholics in Northern Ireland. For them the message of the marches seems to be, "we won, we still rule, and just in case you've forgotten that, we will ram it down your throat."

While the Orange Order has never used violence, some members of the "blood and thunder" bands and other hangers-on have engaged in violent activity with either the police or Catholic bystanders.

In statements leading up to the decision on the parade in Derry, both the IRA and Loyalist paramilitary forces have threatened violence if the decision is not the right one in their view. As they did before the Portadown march, the Loyalist Volunteer Force, a violent breakaway paramilitary group threatened to start killing civilians in the Republic of Ireland if the parade was not allowed to go forward as planned.

Finally, it is important to note that, despite their numbers, Protestants also feel like a minority. Northern Irish Protestants are both a minority within the United Kingdom (which includes England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) and within the island of Ireland as a whole. They feel, collectively, as much like a minority as Northern Catholics do. So, neither community in Northern Ireland feels secure. And, Protestants increasingly feel isolated and alone in face of Britain's growing apathy for a province whose turmoil seems terminal.



Roles

The simulation includes the following roles (the preferred number of participants for each role is indicated in parentheses):

Ulster Unionist Party (6)

Democratic Unionist Party (4)

Alliance Party (2)

Social Democratic and Labor Party (6)

Representatives of Sinn Fein (3)

Representatives of the Orange Order (3)

Representatives of the Derry Boys (4)

Bogside Neighborhood Residence Association (4)

Representatives of the Catholic Church (2)

Police Chief and Deputy Police Chief (2)

Commander and Deputy Commander of local British Forces (2)

Representatives of British Government (3)

Representatives of the Government of the Republic of Ireland (2)

Chairman of the Parades' Commission (1) and Members of the Parades' Commission (8)



Ulster Unionist Party (6)

This is the largest of the Unionist parties, and enjoys the support of most Protestants. It emphasizes non-violence, is very pro-British and works to ensure the right of self-determination of Northern Ireland's citizens while working against any claim by the Republic of Ireland on the North.

The Ulster Unionist Party is more inclined to compromise on the parade issue than the Democratic Unionist Party. They will not accept any prohibition of parades but might allow for the modification of some of the parade routes. However, at this point, they feel that the Protestants have compromised a lot already, having canceled some marches and reduced or rerouted others.

The UUP has stated that any opposition to Orange parades will lead to confrontation and violence, a message that is viewed as a threat by some. Those few leaders of the UUP who met with the leaders of the Catholic community prior to the Portadown march, were subject to considerable criticism from many within the larger Protestant community.

One of the most critical issues for the UUP is that in many cases the specific parade routes have been the same for over 200 years. They take the same exact path as their fathers and grandfathers before them (one of the most popular Orange songs is: "The Sash My Father Wore"). That tradition and history is very important. What has occurred in the 200-year history of the parades is that the populations have shifted over the centuries, so that what was once a Protestant neighborhood may now be predominantly Catholic. But most Loyalists, despite the demographic changes, do not want to give up their traditional routes. The changes in neighborhoods in the past 50 years or so also reflects the changing demographics of Northern Ireland, which is slowly becoming more Catholic because the Catholic population has a somewhat higher birth rate and many Protestants have migrated to England. Many Protestants feel threatened by that fact.



Democratic Unionist Party (4)

This is the most conservative, uncompromising Protestant party - founded and led by the fundamentalist minister and demagogue, Ian Paisley. The DUP broke away from the Ulster Unionist Party because the UUP was believed to be too moderate. It is a predominantly working class party. One of the core beliefs of the DUP is that any modification of the right of Protestants to march is the beginning of a slippery slope down to the destruction of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland. The DUP claims that the Provisional IRA - whom they consider to be, along with Sinn Fein, terrorists and criminals - is behind the attack on the traditional parades. They claim that IRA supporters and hooligans come from outside into Catholic neighborhoods where there is a march for the sole reason of stirring up violence. The DUP believes that the IRA agenda is to stir up enough violence so that the rights of Protestants are reduced and their political power weakened.

The DUP feels that it is being besieged by misplaced sympathy for the Catholics, who simply want to destroy Northern Ireland so that they can join the South and then as the dominant group marginalize if not annihilate the Protestant community. They believe that the Catholics want to attack and undermine every aspect of the Protestant and British way of life.

To require that the loyalists gain the permission of nationalists every time they march through a neighborhood where there are nationalist residents is to give them an effective veto over any and all marches because one can find the odd Catholic in even the most Protestant of neighborhoods. Some DUP supporters have gone so far as to argue that Catholics who move into Protestant neighborhoods are part of a program of ethnic cleansing which tries to dilute Protestant solidarity and that the IRA extends and strengthens its control over the Catholic community through the neighborhood residents' associations.



Alliance Party (2)

This moderate and small party made up of both Catholics and Protestants believes that Northern Ireland needs to have decisions made jointly by authorities that are based on power-sharing. Its goals are to establish equality of citizenship and human dignity and rooting out discrimination and injustice. Toward this end, the Alliance Party believes strongly that a decision which involves any parade that is viewed as a threat by either community must be resolved by a joint body of Catholics and Protestants. The Alliance Party believes that such a body can serve as a model of cooperation which can hopefully inspire cooperation on other political and security issues and, ultimately, lead to a mutually agreeable solution to Northern Ireland's political future.



Social Democratic and Labor Party (6)

This moderate Catholic party is the largest nationalist party in Northern Ireland. It seeks to achieve equality and change by non-violent means and works to create a united Ireland by consent of all Irish citizens. The SDLP has worked to get the IRA to end its violent activities.

The SDLP believes that keeping the Protestant marchers out of Catholic neighborhoods is a critical first step to long-term peace in Northern Ireland. Its leaders have tried to meet with the Derry Boys and the Orange Order to work out a compromise on parade routes, but has been unsuccessful in arranging a meeting between the loyalist groups and the residents of Bogside. There have been meetings with some leaders of the Ulster Unionist Party but those Loyalists are reluctant to go against the Orange Order and Derry Boys because of the power of the fraternal organizations.

Ultimately, the SDLP wants to prevent any Protestant parades from passing through Catholic neighborhoods, but wants to focus on the Derry parade in order to establish a strong precedent. It would support the establishment of an independent commission to decide on parade routes and permission but only if it was made up equally of Catholic and Protestant representatives.



Representatives of Sinn Fein (3)

Sinn Fein functions as the political wing of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). Essentially, Sinn Fein works to sustain the IRA's public image as the IRA participates in formal political diplomacy through Sinn Fein. The hard-liners in Sinn Fein want immediate results, particularly Loyalist and British concessions, in their desire for an independent and unified Ireland. Sinn Fein does not believe that Northern Ireland should be able to veto unification if a majority of the people of the whole of Ireland vote for unification. It also wants complete British withdrawal from Northern Ireland

Sinn Fein is split somewhat on its response to the marches. All oppose the marches through Catholic neighborhoods. However, Gerry Adams and his backers want to keep a lid on the violence and have asked for calm. Martin McGuiness and his backers have called on nationalists to take to the streets in protest. He has urged the Catholic community to get up off its knees and fight back for justice, equality and peace. Sinn Fein wants to keep all Protestant marches out of Catholic neighborhoods but would not be willing to renounce violence as a response to any marches that are forced through Catholic territories.

Sinn Fein has referred to the march in Portadown as an "invasion" given the number of soldiers and policemen used to keep Catholics inside and off the streets, and the methods used to quell the protests, including the use of rubber bullets and tear gas.



Representatives of the Orange Order (3)

The local leaders of the Orange Order have been very firm in their stance. They have refused to meet with members of the Bogside residents association. First, they don't feel that their right to march is a topic for debate and second, claim that the residents association is dominated by strong supporters of Sinn Fein, and also receives monetary support from the IRA and acts as a front for IRA activities.

The Orange Order claims that the march is a birthright and that the road belongs to the Queen, not the residents who live beside it, and that to give in to the residents' wishes insults their religion, traditions, civil rights and loyalties to the British crown. The Orange Order has stated that "the way to improve community relations cannot be achieved through a repression of a legitimate expression of a culture." They add that the "threat of violence by one group should never be used as an excuse to stop a legitimate parade by law-abiding people."

The Orange Order is willing to limit the bands which accompany the parade marchers. In the past, they have twice only had a drum corps, and have on occasion kept the "blood and thunder" bands away from the marches. However, they feel that they have compromised enough on any further restrictions on the marching and feel they have received nothing in return.

The Orange Order has requested that special parades be called off as a way to quell the disorder. Such special parades are often loosely organized, non-traditional parades which are either protest in nature - for example, marching for the "right to march" - or are smaller marches of Protestants from local neighborhoods to the assembly areas for the big traditional parades. Limiting these kinds of marches voluntarily does not infringe on the democratic right of free assembly as any restrictions on the traditional marches would do.



Representatives of the Derry Boys (4)

The local leaders of the Derry Boys have been very firm in their stance. They have refused to meet with members of the Bogside residents association. First, they don't feel that their right to march is a topic for debate and, second, claim that the residents association is dominated by strong supporters of Sinn Fein, and also receives monetary support from the IRA and acts as a front for IRA activities.

As with the Orange Order, the Derry Boys claim that the march is a birthright and that the road belongs to the Queen, not the residents who live beside it, and that to give in to the residents' wishes insults their religion, traditions, civil rights and loyalties to the British crown. They are also adamant about including all bands in the parades, including the "blood and thunder" bands.



Bogside Neighborhood Residence Association (4)

The clear-cut agenda of the residents is to keep the parade out of the neighborhood in any form. A shortened parade, or one without bands or music or banners, are unacceptable compromises. The residents will not agree to any marchers at all and demand that the parade be re-routed away from their neighborhood.



Representatives of the Catholic Church (2)

The church strongly supports modifying the approved marches so that they do not pass through the neighborhoods of the other community. It supports setting up an independent commission made up of Catholics and Protestants who will approve, disapprove or modify the most contentious parade requests. The Church believes that the police force has simply capitulated to the loyalists and the threats of violence from Protestants who refuse to compromise on any aspect of the marching season. One Catholic Cardinal asked whether any of the members of the Orange Order were asking themselves if it was worth it to put the prospect of peace at risk for the sake of forcing a march they knew would humiliate their fellow citizens.



Police Chief and Deputy Police Chief (2)

The police chief, supported by most of the police force as well as the British government, believes that to prohibit or restrict Protestant marches would risk greater violence than allowing the marches and keeping Catholics away from the parades. There is a feeling that the minority Catholics would be easier to control than the majority community of Protestants. In addition, most of the police are Protestant and do not want to risk alienating themselves from the majority community.

Whatever decision is taken, the police are usually the first, and primary, targets of violence. However, most of the police are not happy that some other body could make the decision about marches. They would like to make the decision so that they can plan in advance a timely and forceful response.

The police do not support an independent commission making the decisions about parades because the police will have to enforce that decision whatever it is. If such a commission were established over police objections then at a minimum the police would demand representation on that commission.



Commander and Deputy Commander of local British Forces (2)

The British military wants primarily to reduce the violence and lessen the attacks to which its soldiers are subjected. To that end, it has supported the police position on the marches. The British commander believes that any decision that is perceived by the loyalist community as anti-Protestant will lead to significant violence. In such cases the British military fear that the predominantly Protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary might be less inclined to confront the loyalists, thus increasing the responsibility of the British soldiers for policing. On the other hand, any decision that appears to be forced by the British government would make the British soldiers increasingly potential targets of violence from either the loyalist or nationalist communities.



Representatives of British Government (3)

Allowing the marches to continue unrestricted is viewed as the lesser of two evils. Ultimately, the British want to set up an independent commission so that the decision on the parades does not lie with it or the police forces. The soldiers can then help enforce whatever decision is made without shouldering all the blame.

The British government does not want to antagonize the Irish government, its partner in trying to find peace in Northern Ireland and would clearly do so if it once again allowed a march through Catholic neighborhoods in such a heavy-handed way. On the other hand, the British believe that comments by the Irish prime minister that the marches should not be forced through the Catholic neighborhoods have simply made the loyalists even more intransigent because they see the Irish government and the IRA behind any decision that in any way favors Catholics.

The negotiating strategy of the British government is to get both sides to think of what compromise they will accept, not whether they will accept compromise at all. The British continue to try to find modifications which would make the parade acceptable to the residents. The British really want the Parades Commission to work and be accepted.

The British in the long run believe that the only way they can get the Loyalists to make any compromises, whether on parades or on a long-term political settlement, is to continue to maintain the strong ties between the British and Protestant communities. The more isolated the loyalists feel, the more insecure they seem, the less likely they will be to work for peace and the more likely that some elements will resort to violence, not only against Catholics but against the British.



Representatives of the Government of the Republic of Ireland (2)

The Irish government has consistently tried to get the British government to pressure the loyalists to compromise on the parade routes. The Irish want the British to use its leverage with the Protestant community to get them to accept compromise because no solution to the broader conflict will ever be achieved without the loyalists compromising and ultimately accepting the Catholics as equals.

The Irish government is particularly interested in events in Derry because it is effectively a border city near County Donegal in the Republic of Ireland, and at time the violence has spilled over the border.



Chairman of the Parades' Commission (1) and Members of the Parades' Commission (8)

This newly-appointed commission was established to find a long-term solution between Protestants and Catholics on the issue of marches. While trying to move the entrenched positions of each side will be difficult, both sides must feel they have gained something even when they have compromised on their positions. The first case the commission faces is the August 10th march in Derry.

The commission must try to balance the interests of each community with the security interests of the whole community of Derry; it must work to ensure that each side is treated equally and fairly.

The ultimate goal of the commission is to make decisions that will avoid violence, ensure the security, rights and confidence of each of the parties and enhance the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland. The chairman will chair the debate and be responsible for ensuring a smooth and orderly meeting and give each of the parties and representatives an opportunity to make their respective cases.



Related Web Links

USIP Peace Agreements Digital Collection:

Northern Ireland

http://www.usip.org/library/pa/ni/nitoc.html

USIP: Peace in Northern Ireland?

http://www.usip.org/pubs/PW/898/ireland.html

CAIN Web Service: The Northern Ireland

Conflict (1968 to the Present)

http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/

Amnesty International: Reports on United Kingdom - Great Britain & Northern Ireland http://web.amnesty.org/ai.nsf/countries/uk?Open View&Start=1& Count=30&Expandall

Report of The International Body on Arms Decommissioning, January 22nd, 1996 -

"The Mitchell Report"

http://www2.nio.gov.uk/mitchrpt.htm