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The Troubles (Northern Ireland conflict 1969-1998)

Plan

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Introduction

Northern Ireland conflict, called “the Troubles” was the most durable conflict in the Europe since WW2. Before War in Donbass (2014-present), which lead to 9,371 death up to June 3, 2016¹ it also can be called the bloodiest conflict, but unfortunately The Donbass War snatched from The Troubles “the victory palm” of this dreadful competition.

The importance of this issue, however, is still essential and vital because of challenges Europe experience now. Both proxy war on Donbass and recent terrorist attacks had strained significantly the political atmosphere in Europe, showing that Europe is not safe anymore. In this conditions, it is necessary for us to try to assume, how far this insecurity and tensions might go and will the circumstances and the challenges of a international relations ignite the conflict in Northern Ireland again. It also makes sense for us to recognize that the Troubles was also a proxy war to a certain degree²³

Sources, used in this essay are mostly mass-media articles, human rights observers’ and international organizations reports, and surveys made by political scientists on this issue. Most of the sources had provided their info after the peace agreement of 1998 and, therefore, after the relative peace was established.

The goal of this essay is a review The Troubles from the perspective of chosen theoretical approach\level of analysis and also to give some arguments in favor of hypothesis which will be described below.

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- 1 The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR). «Ukraine: after two years of conflict, situation in east remains “grim” – UN report» <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=20056&LangID=E> Last access 14.06.2016
 - 2 Belfast Telegraph. Britain's Secret Terror Deals: 'Truly disturbing' BBC Panorama allegations of collusion must be fully investigated, says Amnesty International. <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/britains-secret-terror-deals-truly-disturbing-bbc-panorama-allegations-of-collusion-must-be-fully-investigated-says-amnesty-international-31261593.html>. Last access 14.06.2016.
 - 3 The Guardian. Brian Nelson <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2003/apr/17/guardianobituaries.northernireland> Last access 14.06.2016.

1. General outline of a conflict.

The conflict began, during the 'Battle of the Bogside' in Derry town on 12 August 1969 - a massive riot of Catholic inhabitants of the town, which ended with the deployment of British troops of August, 14. The further tensions and violence between Irish nationalists (mostly Catholics) from the one side and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), British troops and the loyalist paramilitary organizations – from the other, lasted for 30 years. It included mass shootings, shellings, terrorist attacks, military operations etc and took 3 532 deaths⁴. The key issue of the whole conflict was the constitutional status of Northern Ireland. The conflict ended, or, at least, essentially reduced its intensity after Good Friday Agreement – the peace treaty between British government, Republic of Ireland government and Northern Ireland political parties which represented, in a certain extent, Irish nationalist paramilitary organizations.

4 CAIN Web Service. An Index Of Deaths From The Conflict In Ireland
http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/tables/Status_Summary.html Last access 14.06.2016.

2. Approach, level of analysis (providing framework). Providing the hypothesis

For this case study I am going to use a historical institutionalist approach. The reason is, that on my opinion, it is the best approach to understand the whole entity of causal relationships. Every event or process must be discussed and viewed in their context, and the historical institutionalist approach appears to be relevant enough to provide this context by looking at the roots of an event, and helps us to see the whole range of circumstances which are responsible for the shape of current situation. Through this approach we are more likely to understand, which particular actions, happenings, deeds, processes and tendencies lead to a particular state of affairs.

The level of analysis chosen is a unit level, within which we usually review such actors as states. This choice might seem contradictory, because, officially, the Troubles were not an inter-state conflict but an in-state conflict. Actually, British Republic never waged war against Irish Republic between 1969 and 1998. So here's the question: even if we consider Great Britain as a one side of a conflict, who is going to be the other? I assume that we can take the whole set of Northern Irish paramilitary nationalist organizations, who fought for unification with Irish Republic as another side, because they, and their political wings, obviously, represented a will of a profound part of Northern Ireland Catholic Irish population⁵, which lets us speak about certain level of their legitimacy as an authority within this particular population. Moreover, in some cases Northern Ireland republican paramilitaries established their own authority in a quite big areas for a long period of time⁶, those behaving themselves as a state authority.

My hypothesis is that the end of The Troubles is, strictly speaking, not the end of a conflict between protestants and Catholics, Unionists and the Republicans, pro-British and Pro-Irish paramilitaries in Northern Ireland, but it's decline. Whilst the roots of the conflicts (which will be described later) were not pulled out neither in 1998 when the Good Friday Agreement established, nor later, so in the certain circumstances the emergence of violence in a form of riots, guerrilla war or even civilian war is highly possible.

5 BBC News. Northern Ireland elections.

http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/election2011/constituency/html/northern_ireland.stm Last access 25.06.2016

6 Philly.com Beatings And Arson Serve As Street Justice Despite Northern Ireland's Cease-fire, IRA Vigilantes Still Practice Violence. http://articles.philly.com/1994-11-04/news/25869282_1_cease-fire-provos-ira Last access 25.06.2016

Mail online. Beatings and shootings by Republican vigilantes force hundreds of young men out of Britain's new City of Culture <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2144058/Beatings-shootings-Republican-vigilantes-force-hundreds-young-men-Britain-s-new-City-Culture.html> Last access 25.06.2016

Lodi News-Sentinel In Belfast, IRA vigilantes are the law. <https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2245&dat=19960329&id=Nd4zAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=RCEGAAAAIIBAJ&pg=5579,3729528&hl=en> Last access 25.06.2016

3. Major actors involved and definition of their priorities, preferences and interests

Now let us list the major actors of the conflict. They all can be divided into two major parts: pro-British (Loyalist) and pro-Irish (Republican).

Pro-British actors were: Ulster Protestant Volunteers (UPV), Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), Red Hand Commando (RHC), Ulster Defence Association (UDA), Ulster Resistance (UR), Loyalist volunteer force (LVR) and The Great Britain, represented by Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), state Army, Navy, Intelligent service and other armed and non-armed repressive structures.

Pro-Irish actors were Saor Éire (SÉ), Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), Official Irish Republican Army (OIRA), Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), Irish People's Liberation Organisation (IPLA), Continuity Irish Republican Army (CIRA), and the most influential part of Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement – The Northern Irish Civil Rights Association (NICRA). The latter was not a paramilitary organization, but the broad involvement of the republican activists in its activity and the involvement of its members in “Battle of the Bogside” permits us to say that this organization was to a certain extent a part of the military – not only the political – conflict.

It is interesting that there is no Republic of Ireland in this list – though it seems to be logical for Ireland to support republicans by warfare or by other means possible it has not happened, and the general Republic of Ireland involvement in the conflict was very low.

When describing the interests and preferences of the loyalist paramilitary groups, let us refer to their program statements. We will not overview to those of all loyalist militants, but only the UVF, which is the primary one and the best known⁷. This organization had not a political wing and had not implemented an institutionalized activity in a mass-media sphere, and looks like it has not program paper or official manifesto. But at May 1965, four years before The troubles “officially” started, it issued the statement which claimed that *“From this day, we declare war against the Irish Republican Army and its splinter groups. Known IRA men will be executed mercilessly and without hesitation. Less extreme measures will be taken against anyone sheltering or helping them, but if they persist in giving them aid, then more extreme methods will be adopted. We solemnly warn the authorities to make no more speeches of appeasement. We are heavily armed Protestants dedicated to this cause.”*⁸

This statement appears to be the earliest official “manifesto” of the group. From the intentions proclaimed we can derive the spoken aims of the UVF:

- Destroying the IRA
- Shrinking its support in the Northern Ireland society

If we take into account the further actions of the UVF and the activity IRA conducted, we can conclude that, more broadly, the aims of the UVF were also:

- Preservation of the “Britishness” of the Protestant Northern Ireland population
- Keeping the Northern Ireland in the body of the UK.

⁷ Alphahistory.com. Loyalist paramilitaries: the UVF and UDA. <http://alphahistory.com/northernireland/loyalist-paramilitaries/> Last access 14.06.2016.

⁸ Aaron Edwards. Abandoning Armed Resistance? The Ulster Volunteer Force as a Case Study of Strategic Terrorism in Northern Ireland. Online Publication Date: 01 February 2009

If we speak about the Great Britain aims in this conflict so they were obvious: while treating The Troubles as the internal British conflict⁹, the UK looked to maintain the constitutional order and keep the Northern Ireland as a part of the UK. We can also speculate about more broad and not such superficial aims as keeping at least part of the Irish island as an important outpost in the Atlantic or as preventing the further partition of the UK (assuming that Scotland or Wales may also try to claim independence if the Northern Ireland case will end successfully for IRA) and so on, but these speculations align more to a global level of analysis, and why I have chosen the unit level, I try to stay within it.

“we ought to ask Parliament for further powers to control those elements which are seeking to hold the entire community to ransom” - Statement by Terence O'Neill, 5 January 1969¹⁰

“Northern Ireland should now be declared a proper operational area, or even war zone, in which would-be murderers caught carrying or using arms would be subject to summary trial and execution.” - General Sir Walter Walker, the British Army commander¹¹

“The British Government has sent troops into Northern Ireland in what it says is a “limited operation” to restore law and order. “ - BBC¹²

So as we can see, both the protestant unionists and the British government pursued at least one common aim – to preserve the current constitutional status of the Northern Ireland. We can assume that this laid a profound basis for further collusion of British troops and Protestant paramilitaries during the operation Banner (1969-2007).

Now let's speak about pro-Irish actors, or Republicans and if we choose, as in the previous case, the biggest and the most active paramilitary group from this list, It would be the PIRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army)¹³.

Its primary goals were:

- Establishment of the republican rule
- Complete British forces withdrawal from Northern Ireland
- Complete political independence from the Great Britain
- Reunification of Northern Ireland and The Irish Republic¹⁴

So, according to this long-term aims the interests of PIRA and the similar republican paramilitaries were to weaken British administration apparatus, to intimidate British military in order to paralyze it's ability to act effectively, to draw support from local communities – which were, actually the source of newcomers for PIRA and the source of operative information, and, more broadly – the basis for movement itself, because no guerrilla movement can exist without more or less broad support of local residents.

The important notion we have to make is that this conflict was evidently asymmetric. The powers of belligerents were unequal. On a “pro-British” side there were not only local authorities

9 Jonatan Tonge. Northern Ireland. Cambridge, 2006. p. 33

10 CAIN Web service. <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/politics/docs/ton5169.htm> Last access 14.06.2016

11 The Telegraph. General Sir Walter Walker. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/military-obituaries/gurkha-obituaries/1337219/General-Sir-Walter-Walker.html> Last access 24.06.2016

12 BBC News. 1969: British troops sent into Northern Ireland. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/14/newsid_4075000/4075437.stm Last access 14.06.2016

13 Frontline. Uncovering the Irish Republican Army by Sean Boyne. http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/august/14/newsid_4075000/4075437.stm Last access 14.06.2016

14 Terrorist organization profiles. Irish Republican Army. http://www.start.umd.edu/tops/terrorist_organization_profile.asp?id=55 Last access 14.06.2016.

(RUC), but paramilitary organizations and – more important, the whole state system (the British state). On a “pro-Irish” side we observe only a few number of paramilitary organizations, supported by the minority of population.¹⁵ So the resource inequality is clear.

15 Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs. Northern Ireland Religious map. Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs. http://www.passia.org/seminars/2004/Ireland-Seminar_clip_image002.gif) Last Access 14.06.2016

4. Origins of the conflict (historical perspective), major actions timeline

As long as we have chosen the historical institutionalism perspective, we have to examine how past events, historical institutions and social patterns affected the current stance of an issue.

John Coakley stresses two major factors which lead to a partition of Ireland and, therefore, to a chain of conflicts, with the latest one to be the subject of our study: *“The first is the long-term legacy of Ireland’s relationship with Great Britain : the slow and frequently bloody process by which the larger island asserted its control over the smaller. The second is the set of ethno-demographic realities with which political leaders were confronted by the late nineteenth century, when popular political mobilisation took off. The third is the set of institutional compromises that emerged from the confrontation between [...] Irish nationalism and conservative British imperial interest—in the early twentieth century.”*¹⁶

If we try to trace back the very origin of a conflict we may find it as far as in 12-th century, when *“...the first waves of settlement that reached Ireland [...] spearheaded by Norman barons who quickly managed to conquer most of the country. Only the northern province of Ulster and more isolated regions in the rest of the country remained under indigenous Gaelic control. Politically, this new relationship was expressed in a formal claim to English sovereignty over Ireland.”*¹⁷

But the more common opinion is that general roots of the conflict stem from the late 15-th – 16-th century, when the Protestant immigrants were moving to an area, considered to be “unplanted” - the Ulster, which led to a conflict between the native Catholic population and the settlers.

Establishing this settlements was not spontaneous. According to John Coakley *“English rulers managed to translate their claim of sovereignty into de facto control of the island of Ireland , through a mixture of bargaining with local elites and military intervention. In Ulster [...]this policy was underwritten by an ambitious colonisation strategy, as thousands of Scottish and English settlers were encouraged to move to lands confiscated from the native Irish. [...] The new settlers were not just loyal subjects of the monarchy; they were also Protestants, a feature that distinguished them from the mainly Catholic Gaelic Irish.”*¹⁸

From this we can derive that the origins of the conflict stem from colonial institutions (settlements), established by the Crown’s subjects and the type of relationships with locals which they promoted during settling and taking the Ulster under their control – instead of assimilation or even peaceful infiltration they confiscated the lands from natives, in the same time stressing their “Britishness” and the “Protestantness”, which, obviously, had poor odds not to cause a conflict,

The number of conflicts after these events succeeded, the major of which were the Irish Confederate Wars (1641–53), the Williamite war (1689–91) (both resulted to a Protestant victories), the Irish rebellion of 1798, the number of unrests in 1800s, and the Easter rising in 1916 and the Irish war on independence (1919-1921), which eventually resulted to a creation of a free Irish State in 1922 (it took 29 more years for it to become de-jure independent from the UK) in the 26 of 32 Irish counties.

16 John Coakley. ETHNIC CONFLICT AND THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION: THE IRISH EXPERIENCE OF PARTITION <http://www.passia.org/seminars/2004/John-Coakley-Ireland-Seminar.htm> Last access 24.06.2016

17 J. Coakley. ETHNIC CONFLICT.

18 CNN. Out of trouble: How diplomacy brought peace to Northern Ireland by Brigit Delaney. <http://edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/europe/03/12/northern.ireland/index.html> Last access 24.06.2016.

Eight counties, inhabited mostly by the Protestants, however, had not accepted The Home Rule, which 47 years later had gave a basic to a further conflict, called The Troubles.

Now let us look at the list of a major events and actions during The Troubles (1969-1998).

Though the whole timeline would be enormously long, I have chosen only the most significant events, such as:

- Attacks, terroristic acts and clashes which caused more than 5 deaths.
- Crucial political issues, such as establishing the agreements, politician's speeches etc.
- Ceasefire dates
- Other significant events which made a turn to an other stage of a conflict (deployment of troops, first British soldiers killed, armed operations against "no-go areas", hunger strikes, prison escapes etc)

1969

14–17 August Northern Ireland riots of August 1969 – in response to events in Derry, Irish nationalists held protests throughout Northern Ireland. Some of these became violent. In Belfast, loyalists responded by attacking nationalist districts. Rioting also erupted in Newry, Armagh, Crossmaglen, Dungannon, Coalisland and Dungiven. Six Catholics and two Protestants were shot dead and at least 133 were treated for gunshot wounds. Scores of houses and businesses were burnt out, most of them owned by Catholics. Thousands of families, mostly Catholics, were forced to flee their homes and refugee camps were set up in the Republic.

The British Army was deployed on the streets of Northern Ireland, which marked the beginning of Operation Banner.

11 October Three people were shot dead during street violence in the loyalist Shankill area of Belfast. Two were Protestant civilians shot by the British Army and one was an RUC officer shot by the UVF. Arbuckle was the first RUC officer to be killed in the Troubles.

December A split formed in the Irish Republican Army, creating what was to become the Official IRA and Provisional IRA.

1970

27-28 June Following the arrest of Bernadette Devlin, intense riots erupted in parts of Derry and Belfast. Further violence erupted in Belfast following Orange marches past Catholic neighbourhoods. This led to gun battles between republicans and loyalists. Seven people were killed.

3–5 July Falls Curfew – a British Army raid in the Falls district of Belfast developed into a riot between soldiers and residents and then gun battles between soldiers and the 'Official' IRA. The British Army sealed off the area, imposed a 36-hour curfew and raided hundreds of homes under the cover of CS gas. Four Catholic civilians were killed by the British Army, sixty were injured and 300 were arrested. Fifteen soldiers were shot by the OIRA.

1971

August Operation Demetrius: internment was introduced. Armed soldiers launched dawn raids throughout Northern Ireland, arresting 342 people suspected of being involved with the

IRA. Most of those arrested were Catholics who had no links with republican paramilitaries, and many reported that they and their families were beaten and threatened by soldiers. This sparked four days of violence in which 20 civilians, two IRA members and two British soldiers were killed. Fourteen of the civilians, including a Catholic priest, were killed by British soldiers; 11 of them in the Ballymurphy massacre. Winston Donnell became the first Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) soldier to die in 'the Troubles' when he was shot by the IRA near Clady, County Tyrone. An estimated 7,000 people, mostly Catholics, were forced to flee their homes. The introduction of internment caused a major, long-term increase in violence.

- September Loyalists formed the Ulster Defence Association (UDA). The group would quickly become the largest loyalist group in Northern Ireland.
- 4 December McGurk's Bar bombing – the UVF exploded a bomb at a Catholic-owned pub in Belfast, killing fifteen Catholic civilians (including two children) and wounding seventeen others. This was the highest death toll from a single incident in Belfast during the Troubles.
- 11 December Balmoral Showroom bombing – a bomb exploded outside a furniture showroom on the mainly-Protestant and loyalist Shankill Road, Belfast. Four civilians, two adults, and two babies, were killed. The babies both died instantly when part of the wall crashed down upon the pram they were sharing. The adult employees were killed and nineteen people were wounded. The IRA was blamed.

1972

- 30 January Bloody Sunday – 26 unarmed civilians were shot (of whom 13 were killed and one fatally wounded) by the British Army during a massive anti-internment demonstration in Derry.

This was the highest death toll from a single shooting incident during the Troubles.

- 2 February Funerals of eleven of those killed on Bloody Sunday. Prayer services held across Ireland. In Dublin, over 30,000 marched to the British Embassy, carrying thirteen replica coffins and black flags. They attacked the Embassy with stones and bottles, then petrol bombs. The building was eventually burnt to the ground.
- 22 February Aldershot bombing – seven people were killed by an Official IRA car bomb at Aldershot Barracks in England. It was thought to be in retaliation for Bloody Sunday.
- 20 March 1972 Donegall Street bombing – the PIRA detonated its first car bomb, on Donegall Street in Belfast. Allegedly due to inadequate warnings, four civilians, two RUC officers, and a UDR soldier were killed while 148 people were wounded.
- 30 March Northern Ireland's Government and Parliament were dissolved by the British Government. Direct rule from Westminster was introduced.
- 13–14 May Battle at Springmartin – following a loyalist car bombing of a Catholic-owned pub in the Ballymurphy area of Belfast, clashes erupted between the PIRA, UVF and British Army. Seven people were killed.
- 29 May The Official IRA announced a ceasefire. This marked the end of the Official IRA's military campaign.

- 9 July Springhill Massacre – British snipers shot dead five Catholics and wounded two others in Springhill, Belfast.
- 13 July There was a series of gun-battles and shootings across Belfast. The PIRA shot dead three British Army soldiers, and the British Army shot dead two civilians.
- 14 July There was a series of gun-battles and shootings across Belfast. The PIRA shot dead three British Army soldiers . The British Army shot dead a PIRA volunteer (Louis Scullion) and an OIRA volunteer, while a Protestant civilian was shot dead in crossfire.
- 21 July Bloody Friday – within the space of 75 minutes, the PIRA exploded twenty-two bombs in Belfast, killing nine people, while 130 were injured.
- 31 July Operation Motorman – the British Army used 12,000 soldiers supported by tanks and bulldozers to re-take the "no-go areas" controlled by the PIRA.
- 31 July Claudy bombing – nine civilians (five Catholics and four Protestants) were killed when three car bombs exploded in Claudy, County Londonderry. No group has since claimed responsibility.
- 20 Dec. Five civilians, four Catholics and one Protestant, were killed in gun attack on the Top of the Hill Bar, Strabane Old Road, Waterside, Derry. It is believed the UDA was responsible.

1973

- 4 February British Army snipers shot dead a PIRA volunteer and three civilians at the junction of Edlingham Street and New Lodge Road, Belfast.
- 8 March 1973 Old Bailey Bombing – The PIRA undertook its first operation in England, when it planted four car bombs in London.
- 17 May Five British Army soldiers were killed by a PIRA booby-trap bomb outside Knock-na-Moe Castle Hotel, Omagh, County Tyrone.
- 12 June 1973 Coleraine bombings – six Protestant pensioners, were killed and 33 other people wounded by a PIRA car bomb on Railway Road, Coleraine, County Londonderry.
- 31 October Mountjoy Prison escape – three PIRA volunteers escaped from Mountjoy Prison in Dublin using a hijacked helicopter.
- December The Sunningdale Agreement was signed.

1974

- 4 February M62 coach bombing – eight British Army soldiers and three civilians are killed when a PIRA bomb exploded on a bus as it was travelling along the M62 motorway in West Yorkshire, England.
- 2 May Six Catholic civilians were killed and eighteen wounded when the UVF exploded a bomb at Rose & Crown Bar on Ormeau Road, Belfast.
- 15 May Beginning of the Ulster Workers' Council strike.
- 17 May Dublin and Monaghan bombings – the UVF exploded four bombs (three in Dublin, one in Monaghan) in the Republic of Ireland. They killed thirty-three civilians and wounded a further 300.
- 28 May The Northern Ireland Executive collapsed. As a result, direct rule was re-introduced.

- 5 October Guildford pub bombings – four British soldiers and one civilian were killed by PIRA bombs at two pubs in Guildford, England.
- 21 Birmingham pub bombings – twenty-one civilians were killed when bombs exploded
- November at two pubs in Birmingham, England.
- 10 The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) and its political wing the Irish Republican
- December Socialist Party (IRSP) was founded at the Spa Hotel in the village of Lucan near Dublin.
- 22 The PIRA announced a Christmas ceasefire.
- December

1975

- 10 The PIRA agreed to a truce and ceasefire with the British government and the Northern
- February Ireland Office.
- 20 A feud began between the Official IRA (OIRA) and the Irish National Liberation Army
- February (INLA). The two groups assassinated a number of each other's volunteers until the feud ended in June 1975.
- March A feud began between the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) and Ulster Defence Association (UDA), resulting in a number of assassinations.
- 12 April Six Catholic civilians were killed in a UVF gun and grenade attack on the Strand Bar in Belfast.
- 31 July Miami Showband massacre – UVF volunteers shot dead three musicians. Two UDR soldiers killed as a result of time bomb premature explosion.
- 13 August Bayardo Bar attack – PIRA volunteers carried out a gun and bomb attack on the Bayardo Bar, a pub in Belfast frequented by UVF commanders. Four Protestant civilians and one UVF member were killed.
- 1 Five Protestant civilians were killed and seven were wounded in a gun attack on
- September Tullyvallen Orange Hall near Newtownhamilton, County Armagh.
- 2 October The UVF killed seven civilians in a series of attacks across Northern Ireland.
- 19 The Red Hand Commandos the "Glenanne gang killed 5 civilians (both Catholics and
- December Protestants) during attacks in Dundalk.

1976

- 4–5 Reavey and O'Dowd killings – the UVF shot dead six Catholic civilians
- January Kingsmill massacre – in retaliation, the South Armagh Republican Action Force shot eleven Protestant men after stopping their minibus at Kingsmill, County Armagh.
- 23 January The PIRA truce of February 1975 was officially brought to an end.
- March End of Special Category Status for prisoners convicted of terrorist crimes.
- 15 May The UVF launched gun and bomb attacks on two pubs in Charlemont, County Armagh, killing four Catholic civilians. A British Army UDR soldier was later convicted for taking part in the attacks.
- The PIRA killed three RUC officers in County Fermanagh and one RUC officer in

County Down.

- 5 June Nine civilians were killed during separate attacks in and around Belfast.
- 2 July Ramble Inn attack – the UVF killed six civilians in a gun attack at a pub near Antrim. The pub was targeted because it was owned by Catholics.
- September Blanket protests began in the Maze prison, in protest at the end of special category status. The term ‘blanket protest’ comes from the protesters refusal to wear prison uniforms, instead wrapping blankets around themselves.

1977

None

1978

- 17 February La Mon restaurant bombing – eleven civilians and an RUC officer were killed and thirty wounded by a PIRA incendiary bomb at the La Mon Restaurant near Belfast.
- 21 September The PIRA exploded bombs at the RAF airfield near Eglinton, County Londonderry. The terminal building, two aircraft hangars and four planes were destroyed.[68]

1979

- 22 March The PIRA assassinated Richard Sykes, the British ambassador to the Netherlands, along with his valet, Karel Straub, in Den Haag.
- 30 March The INLA assassinated Airey Neave, Conservative MP and advisor to Margaret Thatcher.
- 27 August Warrenpoint ambush – eighteen British Army soldiers were killed when the PIRA exploded two roadside bombs as a British convoy passed Narrow Water Castle near Warrenpoint.
- 16 December Four British Army soldiers were killed by a PIRA landmine near Dungannon, County Tyrone. Another British Army soldier was killed by a PIRA landmine near Forkill, County Armagh, and an ex-UDR soldier (James Fowler) was shot dead in Omagh.

1980

- 10 June Eight PIRA prisoners escaped from Crumlin Road Gaol in Belfast. Using handguns that had been smuggled into the prison, they took prison officers hostage and shot their way out of the building.
- October Republican prisoners in the Maze began a hunger strike in protest against the end of special category status.
- December First Republican hunger strike called off.

1981

- 1 March Republican prisoners in the Maze began a second hunger strike.
- 5 May After 66 days on hunger strike, Sands died in the Maze. Nine further hunger strikers

- died in the following 3 months.
- 19 May Five British Army soldiers were killed when their Saracen APC was ripped apart by a PIRA roadside bomb at Chancellor's Road, Altnaveigh, near Bessbrook, County Armagh.
- 1 September Northern Ireland's first religiously integrated secondary school opened.
- 3 October Republican hunger strike ended.

1982

- 20 July Hyde Park and Regent's Park bombings – eleven British soldiers and seven military horses died in PIRA bomb attacks during military ceremonies in Regent's Park and Hyde Park, London. Many spectators were badly injured.
- 6 December Droppin Well bombing – eleven British soldiers and six civilians were killed by an INLA time bomb at the Droppin' Well Bar in Ballykelly, County Londonderry.

1983

- 25 September Maze Prison escape – thirty-eight republican prisoners staged an elaborate escape from the Maze Prison in County Antrim. One prison officer died of a heart attack as a result of the escape and twenty others were injured, including two who were shot with guns that had been smuggled into the prison.
- 17 December Harrods bombing – a PIRA car bomb outside a department store in London killed six people, three civilians and three police officers.

1984

- 18 May Three British soldiers were killed by a PIRA landmine in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh. Two RUC officers were killed by a PIRA landmine near Camlough, South Armagh.
- 12 October Brighton hotel bombing – the PIRA carried out a bomb attack on the Grand Hotel, Brighton, which was being used as a base for the Conservative Party Conference. Five people, including MP Sir Anthony Berry, were killed.

1985

- 28 February Newry mortar attack – a PIRA mortar attack on an RUC base in Newry killed nine officers and wounded thirty-seven. This was the RUC's highest death toll from a single attack during the Troubles.
- 15 November Margaret Thatcher and Garret FitzGerald signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- December All fifteen Unionist MPs at Westminster resigned in protest against the Anglo-Irish agreement.

1986

- June Northern Ireland Assembly was officially dissolved.
- August The PIRA issued a warning that anyone working with the security forces in Northern Ireland would be considered "part of the war machine" and would be "treated as collaborators".
- 10 November Loyalists held a closed meeting at the Ulster Hall in Belfast. During the meeting a new organisation, Ulster Resistance, was formed to "take direct action as and when required" to end the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

1987

- 8 May Loughgall Ambush – eight PIRA volunteers and one civilian were killed by the Special Air Service (SAS) in Loughgall, County Armagh. The eight-strong PIRA unit had just exploded a bomb at the RUC base when it was ambushed by the 24-strong SAS unit.
- 8 November Remembrance Day bombing – eleven civilians and an RUC officer were killed and sixty-three others were wounded by a PIRA bomb during a Remembrance Day service in Enniskillen, County Fermanagh.

1988

- 15 June 1988 Lisburn van bombing – six off-duty British Army soldiers were killed by a PIRA bomb attached to their van in Lisburn.
- 20 August Ballygawley bus bombing – eight British Army soldiers were killed and twenty-eight wounded when the PIRA attacked their bus with a roadside bomb near Ballygawley, County Tyrone.
- 19 October The British Government introduced the broadcasting ban on organisations believed to support terrorism – including 11 Loyalist and Republican groups and Gerry Adams' voice.

1989

- 22 September Deal barracks bombing – eleven British military bandsmen were killed by a PIRA bomb at Deal Barracks in Kent, England.
- October Twenty-eight members of the British Army (Ulster Defence Regiment) were arrested on suspicion of leaking security force documents to loyalist paramilitaries.

1990

- 30 July Conservative MP for Eastbourne, Ian Gow, was assassinated by a PIRA bomb planted in his car.
- 24 October Proxy bomb attacks – the PIRA launched three "proxy bombs" or "human bombs" at British Army checkpoints. Three men were tied into cars loaded with explosives and

ordered to drive to each checkpoint. Each bomb was detonated by remote control. The first exploded at a checkpoint in Coshquin, killing the driver and five soldiers. The second exploded at a checkpoint in Killeen, County Armagh; the driver, James McAvoy, narrowly escaped, albeit suffered a broken leg but one soldier was killed and 23 other soldiers were wounded. The third failed to detonate.

1991

- 29 April The Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) (acting on behalf of all loyalist paramilitaries) announced a ceasefire lasting until 4 July. This was to coincide with political talks between the four main parties (the Brooke-Mayhew talks).
- 31 May Glenanne barracks bombing – the PIRA launched a large truck bomb attack on a British Army (Ulster Defence Regiment) base in County Armagh. Three soldiers were killed; ten soldiers and four civilians were wounded.

1992

- 17 January Teebane bombing – a PIRA landmine killed eight Protestant men and wounded six others at Teebane Crossroads near Cookstown, County Tyrone.
- 5 February Sean Graham bookmakers' shooting – the UDA, using the covername "Ulster Freedom Fighters" (UFF), claimed responsibility for a gun attack on a bookmaker's shop on Lower Ormeau Road, Belfast. Five Catholic men and boys were killed. Nine others were wounded, one critically.
- 17 May Coalisland riots – after a PIRA bomb attack on a British Army patrol near Cappagh, County Tyrone, in which a soldier lost his legs, British soldiers raided two public houses in Coalisland and caused considerable damage. This led to a fist-fight between the soldiers and locals. Shortly thereafter, another group of British soldiers arrived and fired on a crowd of civilians, wounding seven.
- 23 September The PIRA exploded a 2000 lb bomb at the Northern Ireland Forensic Science Laboratory in South Belfast. The laboratory was obliterated, seven hundred houses were damaged, and 20 people were injured. The explosion could be heard from over 16 km away. It was one of the largest bombs to be detonated during the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

1993

- 23 October Shankill Road bombing – eight civilians, one UDA volunteer and one PIRA volunteer were killed when a PIRA bomb prematurely exploded at a fish shop on Shankill Road, Belfast. The PIRA's intended target was a meeting of loyalist paramilitary leaders, which was scheduled to take place in a room above the shop.
- 30 October Greysteel massacre – the UDA, using the covername "Ulster Freedom Fighters" (UFF), claimed responsibility for a gun attack on the Rising Sun Bar in Greysteel, County Londonderry. Eight civilians (six Catholic, two Protestant) were killed and twelve wounded.

1994

- 18 June Loughinisland massacre – the UVF shot dead six Catholic civilians.
- 31 August The Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) issued a statement which announced a complete cessation of military activities. This ceasefire was broken less than two years later.
- 13 October The Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) issued a statement which announced a ceasefire on behalf of all loyalist paramilitaries. The statement noted that "The permanence of our cease-fire will be completely dependent upon the continued cessation of all nationalist/republican violence".

1995

- January A delegation from Sinn Féin met with officials from the Northern Ireland Office.
- February The British and Irish governments released the Joint Framework document.
- March Gerry Adams attended a reception held by Bill Clinton at the White House.

1996

- 15 June Manchester bombing – after a telephoned warning, the PIRA exploded a bomb in Manchester, England. It destroyed a large part of the city centre and injured over 200 people. To date, it is the largest bomb to be detonated on the British mainland since the Second World War. There were no fatalities.

1997

- June Sinn Féin won its first ever seats in Dáil Éireann (Irish Parliament)
- 6–9 July Drumcree conflict – to ensure the Orange Order march could continue, the security forces sealed-off the nationalist Garvaghy area of Portadown. This sparked serious rioting in Portadown and across nationalist areas in Northern Ireland. After four days, the RUC released figures which showed that there had been 60 RUC officers injured; 56 civilians injured; 117 people arrested; 2,500 plastic bullets fired; 815 attacks on the security forces; 1,506 petrol bombs thrown; and 402 hijackings.
- 27 INLA prisoners shot dead Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) leader and fellow prisoner
December Billy Wright inside the maximum-security Maze Prison. The LVF launched a number of revenge attacks over the following weeks.

1998

- 15 May The Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) declared an "unequivocal ceasefire". The group hoped this would encourage people to vote against the Belfast Agreement.
- 22 May Two referendums were held on the Belfast Agreement, one in Northern Ireland and one in the Republic of Ireland. In Northern Ireland the vote was 71.2% in favour, in the Republic of Ireland the vote was 94.39% in favour.
- 5–12 July Drumcree conflict – the annual Orange Order march was prevented from marching

through the nationalist Garvaghy area of Portadown. Security forces and about 10,000 loyalists began a standoff at Drumcree church. During this time, loyalists launched 550 attacks on the security forces and numerous attacks on Catholic civilians. On 12 July, three children were burnt to death in a loyalist petrol bomb attack. This incident brought an end to the standoff.

15 August Omagh bombing – a dissident republican group calling itself the Real IRA exploded a bomb in Omagh, County Tyrone. It killed twenty-nine civilians (one of whom was pregnant with twins), making it the worst single bombing of the Troubles, in terms of civilian life lost.

22 August The Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) declared a ceasefire.

16 October John Hume and David Trimble jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.[115]

1998 Considered by many as the end of the troubles. Violence nonetheless continues on a small-scale basis.¹⁹

5. Models of conflicts, explanations of its reasons

¹⁹ Wikipedia. The free encyclopedia. Timeline of the Northern Ireland Troubles and peace process. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timeline_of_the_Northern_Ireland_Troubles_and_peace_process Last access 24.06.2016

While listing the models of conflict I would like to refer to Johnatan Tonge. and his views of conflict²⁰.

He offers four models which are more or less acceptable to explanation of the conflict:

- Ethno-national. According to it, The Troubles was “*a contest between two peoples who want their state to be ruled to their nation*”.

- Colonial: “*Ireland was colonized by Britain [...] and this colonization involved a series of crimes against the Irish people, who were denied nationhood: discrimination, evidenced by series of anti-Catholic laws during the nineteenth century, maltreatment and neglect, demonstrated by the Irish famine, and subordination, epitomized by the brutal quelling of rebellions and execution of rebels...*” - so the response in the form of an armed struggle on such a pressure is quite natural.

- Structural: the conflict was a “*nationalist response to a disadvantaged economic position, exacerbated by second-class political status*”. As example of such a mistreatment Tonge states that “*Catholics were underrepresented in political institutions, the police and civil service, also suffering economically in the “Orange state from 1921 to 1972 [...] the unemployment rate of Catholics was more than double that of Protestants*”

- The ethno-religious. According to Tonge who, in turn, refers to Bruce, “*the competing populations in Northern Ireland adhere and still adhere to competing religious traditions, which has given the conflict its enduring and intractable quality*”. Really it is obvious, that the overwhelming majority of Loyalist paramilitary were Protestants and the overwhelming majority of Republican paramilitaries were Catholics (see timeline and the religious map of Ireland above), and that the conflict had at least some religious implications.

I would like to add one more possible explanation – historical institutionalist one. It implies that the emergence of the conflict became a relatively inevitable result of the institutions and relations, established during the previous centuries – from 17th century, when first Protestant settlements in Ireland were established, or even from 12th century when the Normans started to spread the English influence in Irish island. The conflicts, uprisings and riots, succeeded, predetermined the shape of social-political institutions in Northern Ireland of 1960s. Unemployment among Catholic working class, high level of police violence, underdevelopment or rule-of-law mechanisms, lack of civil rights for Catholic all in all led to creation of institutions of radical nationalist traditions and paramilitary organizations. More simply – the institutions and traditions of direct action had displaced the institutions of law, state, judiciary etc. It was expressed very brightly in an emergence of a so-called “no-go-areas” and vigilantism in Catholic areas, where PIRA members de-facto took functions of a state on themselves. In turn, differences of political preferences and, maybe, the mentality, caused to emergence of a hostile relations between Protestant and Catholic community in form of mutual hatred, aggression, superstitions and prejudices.

This approach is partly expressed in the following John Coakley’s quotation: “*For nationalists, there were two problems with partition. The first was the very concept: the people of the island of Ireland, nationalists argued, constituted a historic unit, and although a minority dissented, a collective decision to pursue autonomy had been taken. Resistance to the majority will was therefore seen as undemocratic. The second problem was that, even if the principle of partition were to be accepted, the British proposal did not seek to implement it fairly. Instead, it proposed to allocate two predominantly nationalist counties to Northern Ireland, with a view to increasing the territory and population of that state to the maximum level that could comfortably be controlled by*

20 Jonatan Tonge. Northern Ireland. Cambridge, 2006. p. 12-26

the unionist majority (the settlement thus left an overall Catholic minority of 34.4% within Northern Ireland). The unionist perspective [...] [used] a counterclaim that Irish autonomy violated the historic unity of the two islands that made up the United Kingdom , and argued that, in any case, if nationalists wished to leave the United Kingdom they should not be allowed to coerce unionists into leaving too. This argument served to justify [...] also the shape that the border finally took, on the grounds that it sought to safeguard the interests of the maximum number of “loyal” citizens.²¹»

So, as we can see, the emergence of The Troubles can also be seen as a consequence of set of institutions, relations, beliefs and attitudes, shaped historically. This approach, at the same time, looks like a specific combination of both structuralist and colonial ones.

6. Proving the hypothesis

21 J. Coakley. ETHNIC CONFLICT.

According to my hypothesis, the revival of ethno-political (sectarial, social etc.) conflict in Northern Ireland is theoretically highly possible, especially in a certain circumstances.

Let us first review the signs which show that the conflict was most probably, frozen, not completely ended.

1. The paramilitary organizations still exist, and they are not disarmed.²²
2. The violence continues, though less intensively than during the troubles. And, which is very important, it comes from both Loyalists and Republicans.²³
3. The political, non-violent groups opposing to a Good Friday Agreement are also exist,²⁴ which evidences the certain level of a support of an idea of united Ireland in Northern Ireland society. How high is the level of this support is quite hard to evaluate, but, at least it seems that paramilitary groups are far from being a totally isolated marginals with no political support.
4. The physical sectarian partition between the Catholics and the Protestants still exist (109 so-called "peace walls" throughout the Northern Ireland²⁵). That prevents cultural sharing and

22 International Buiseness Times. IRA Still Exists? Provisional Irish Republican Army Goals Have Changed, Radical Faction Lives On, Report Says by Jess Mchugh. <http://www.ibtimes.com/ira-still-exists-provisional-irish-republican-army-goals-have-changed-radical-faction-2148582> Last access 24.06.2016

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23 BBC News. Tommy Crossan: Paramilitary funeral for murdered dissident republican <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-27137733> Last access 24.06.2016

The New York Times. Prison Officer Wounded in Northern Ireland Attack Dies by Douglas Dalby. http://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/16/world/europe/prison-officer-bombing-northern-ireland.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FIrish%20Republican%20Army&action=click&contentCollection=timestopics®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection&r=0 Last access 24.06.2016

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24 <http://www.32csm.net/>
<https://republicansinnfein.org/>

25 Belfast Telegraph. One peace wall down, 109 across Northern Ireland still to go

communication between sectarian groups, and contributes to suspicion and further development of separate cultural, political and informal institutions.

5. The mutual hostility between these ethnic-religious groups still takes place.²⁶

My assumption is that the conflict is easy to be restored in case of some external or internal reasons. One of such a reasons may become the Brexit which has just occurred. Some analysts argue that Brexit will be followed by economic crisis. So the highly possible consequence of this crisis should be the decline of prosperity all over the UK. And it may profoundly contribute to unemployment, high crime rate, the growing gap between rich and poor, especially if the UK budget will be divided unwisely and the Northern Ireland population will allegedly suffer more than other parts of UK. All of these factors had contributed to an eruption of the Troubles (see models of conflict above). And so, they are likely to do the same in the future.

The other possible scenario is linked to future referendums of exit from the UK – like the Scotland referendum occurred in 2014. If referendums are successful in some parts of the UK, such as Scotland or Wales, it may inspire Northern Ireland nationalist to activate both political and military campaign for united Ireland and, in turn, the anti-Republican campaign from Loyalists, which would be the revival of The Troubles.

7. Conclusion

Since the EU survives both moral and migrant crisis, significantly reinforced by Brexit occurred,

<http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/one-peace-wall-down-109-across-northern-ireland-still-to-go34486822.html> Last access 24.06.2016

26 Belfast Telegraph. Sectarian gang clashes in east Belfast arranged via social media by Deborah McAleese. <http://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/sectarian-gang-clashes-in-east-belfast-arranged-via-social-media-30533205.html> Last access 26.06.2016

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studying of a previous conflicts and tensions is vital for attempts to solve the present crisis. During my case study I tried to prove that The Troubles was a multidimensional and complex conflict, predetermined historically and fueled not by a single factors, but by a number of factors. Until the institutions and relations, created by decades and even centuries of a conflict, exist, we can not be quiet and calm about the the fragile peace. Peace agreements and the political will of leadership are important in ending any conflict, but they can not instantly disband something which was constituted during a long period of time. While understanding that we would have more instruments for maintaining peace processes in future and establishing more sustainable political and cultural institutions for preventing this conflicts from revival.

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