

This Pre-Mediation Briefing Report (PMBR) for the U.S. Government was originally written on February 28, 1996. The Appendix (News Chronology) was updated as of October 28, 1996 for teaching purposes.

**To: Warren Christopher, Secretary of State**  
**Department of State, Washington D.C.**  
**From: Samuel Passow, John F. Kennedy School of Government**  
**Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.**

**Re: Northern Ireland Pre-Mediation Briefing Report**

As the U.S. government considers any possible role it might play in assisting its long time allies Britain and Ireland to help overcome the current impasse in the Northern Ireland peace process, I feel it is important to start from the premise that the current process is merely stalled, it has not come to a halt. Even by the Byzantine standards and the painfully erratic process of British and Irish politics, dramatic developments and steady progress have taken place since 1992 to move the peace process along to its present point. Many of the ideas now being presented were virtually unthought of through over two and a half decades of violence and death in Ulster, not to mention six centuries of fear and mistrust between British Protestant rulers and Catholic Ireland.

Even as this report is being written, parties in the dispute are devising strategies and processes, some of which are outlined below, which have the potential to move the conflict from seemingly intransigent position posturing, which demands capitulation by and humiliation of the opposing side, to the arena of compromise gained through brainstorming ideas and exploring mutual interests.

Today (28-2-96), the Prime Ministers of Britain and Ireland met to work out a new initiative aimed at persuading the I.R.A. to resume its cease-fire and get all-party talks back on track. While the plan still awaits the response of Sinn Fein, the I.R.A., and the Unionists, it calls for all-party talks to be held on June 10th, following elections in Northern Ireland to determine representatives for the talks. No firm date has been set for the elections, but it believed that they will be held in May. From March 4th -13th, all parties will hold proximity talks based on the Dayton model drawing up the logistics for the election and considering the issue of holding a simultaneous referendum in the Republic of Ireland. The two governments agreed that all-party talks will go ahead with or without Sinn Fein, who will be invited to the talks only if the I.R.A. resume their

cease-fire. No other precondition for talks were made. Details to the background leading to this latest initiative can be found in the body of this report.

*Note: For the purpose of compiling this report, I have used an analytic mediation model designed by Dr. Howard Raiffa, Professor of Managerial Economics at Harvard University.*

## **1. History of the conflict**

### **Historical Perspective**

For more than six centuries, Ireland lived under British domination. Then in 1921, the Irish Republican Army (which was formed following the Easter Rising of 1916 to lead the fight against the British for a united Irish Independence), under pressure from Ulster's Unionist leaders, negotiated independence from the British government.

The agreement divided Ireland into two self-governing but mutually hostile regimes. The Irish Free State (called the Republic of Ireland after 1948) ruled 26 Roman Catholic counties from Dublin. The predominantly Protestant sub-state of Northern Ireland consisting of six northeastern counties, or two thirds of the old province of Ulster, was ruled from Belfast. Despite the agreed division, the Irish Free State included a provision in its constitution to seek Irish reunification.

It is important to note, that the 1921 agreement was never put to a vote by the Irish people. It was an example of the colonial "gerrymandering" which followed the end of World War I. A similar situation at that time occurred in the Middle East, the impact of which is still being sorted out.

In August 1969, in response to years of growing civil strife in the province, the British government sent in soldiers to help the under-manned and ill-trained local police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), to maintain order in the main cities of Belfast and Londonderry.

In December 1969, the "Provisional" Irish Republican Army (P.I.R.A.) was formed to carry out an "armed struggle" against the British Army and Protestant paramilitary organizations. The political wing and public face of the P.I.R.A. were represented by the Sinn Fein Party. (The Dublin government banned the "original" I.R.A. in 1937 following a resurgence of violence, effectively removing it from Irish political life. The Catholic Church condemned I.R.A. membership by declaring it a mortal sin.)

In August 1970, the Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) was formed to offer nationalists in the province a political party which stood for the reunification of Ireland, but renounced the use of violence.

In March 1972, following over 300 deaths in three years of civil disorder, nearly 100 of which were of British soldiers, the British government dissolved the Protestant controlled Northern Ireland legislative assembly known as Stormont, and imposed direct rule on the province from Westminster, the British Parliament.

From then on, the situation in Northern Ireland deteriorated into a tit-for-tat cycle of violence and terrorism which resulted in 3,173 deaths and over 30,000 injuries in the 25 year period which ended in the Fall of 1994, when first the I.R.A., and then Unionist para-military organizations agreed to a cease fire. That cease fire lasted for 17 months, until February 9, 1996, when the I.R.A. set off a massive bomb in London's Docklands killing two and wounding more than 100 people. Further attacks continued.

Despite this tragic human toll, the road to seeking a peaceful settlement to the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland began in earnest over a decade ago. Below is a brief description of the peace initiatives over the last 10 years, and the groundbreaking concepts each produced to further along the process. In order to understand the evolving nature of the process, it might help to view each concept outlined as a new step going up a long spiral staircase.

1. **Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985**: A joint declaration signed by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Irish Taoiseach Garreth Fitzgerald.

- The Irish Republic would have a consultative role in Northern Ireland's affairs.
- A pledge by both governments that Ireland would be united only if a majority in the province approved.

2. **The Brooke Initiative 1990-1992**: A British initiative by Northern Ireland Minister Peter Brooke to bring together Unionist and Nationalist (but not Sinn Fein) in talks with Irish and British governments.

- Britain will never militarily defeat the Irish Republican Army.
- Britain has no strategic or economic interest in Ireland
- If violence were renounced by the IRA, the British response would be "flexible".

- The “three-strand” process was established.
  - 1) Northern Ireland self-rule
  - 2) Irish - Northern Ireland consultation
  - 3) British- Irish consultation
- Set the precedent of “banking” options. Negotiations operate on the understanding that “nothing is agreed until everything is agreed.”

3. **Downing Street Declaration 1993**: A joint British-Irish initiative signed by British Prime Minister John Major and Irish Taoiseach Albert Reynolds

- If violence were renounced by the I.R.A., the Sinn Fein would be admitted into negotiations about Northern Ireland’s future.
- Both the British and Irish governments would support whatever decision was made by the voters of Northern Ireland.
- The Irish government agreed, that if an overall agreement was reached, it would revoke the call for reunification from its constitution.
- The Irish government agreed to examine, and move to change, laws in the Irish Republic inspired by religious principles which are inconsistent with a pluralistic society, such as bans on divorce, abortion and birth control.

4. **Hume-Adams Agreement 1994**: SDLP leader John Hume and Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams agree to work together for all-party talks.

- The full spectrum of nationalist political thought in Northern Ireland agrees to work with the Dublin government on a twin track approach to peace talks.

5. **The Cease Fires 1994**: Complete cessation of military operations.

- August 1994 - Irish Republican Army (broken February 9, 1996)
- October 1994 - Unionist para-military organizations
- January 1995 - British troops end day-time patrols and check-points in NI cities.  
(resumed 2/9/96)

6. **The Mitchell Commission 1996:** A three-man international fact finding commission on the decommissioning of arms, headed by former US Senator George Mitchell, and agreed to by the British and Irish governments. The commission came up with set of six principles to which they recommended that all parties to the negotiations affirm their total and absolute commitment. So far the British and Irish Governments, as well as the SDLP, the Alliance Party, and the Ulster Unionist Parties (in total, these three political groupings account for 90 percent of the electorate in Northern Ireland), have publicly given their absolute commitment:

- To democratic and exclusively peaceful means of resolving political issues.
- To the total disarmament of all paramilitary organizations.
- To agree that such disarmament must be verifiable to the satisfaction of an independent commission.
- To renounce for themselves, and to oppose any effort by others, to use force, to influence the course or the outcome of all-party negotiations.
- To agree to abide by the terms of any agreement reached in all-party negotiations, and to resort to democratic and exclusively peaceful methods in trying to alter any aspect of that outcome with which they may disagree.
- To urge that "punishment" killings and beatings stop, and to take effective steps to prevent such actions.

## 2. Parties

- **Britain** - Prime Minister John Major, Northern Ireland Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew, Northern Ireland Junior Minister Michael Ancram.
- **Ulster Unionist Party** - David Trimble, John Taylor and Ken Maginnis
- **Progressive Unionist Parties** - Bill Hutchinson, David Irvine
- **Democratic Unionist Party** - Rev. Ian Paisley
- **Alliance Party** - John Alderdice
- **Ireland** - Taoiseach John Bruton, Foreign Minister Dick Spring
- **Social Democratic Labor Party** - John Hume, Seamus Mallon
- **Sinn Fein** - Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness, Mitchell McLaughlin
- **I.R.A.** - The Army Council (believed to seven members - names have not been made public)

## 3. Internal political structures

- The February 9th bombing exposed a major rift between the IRA/Sinn Fein position. Following the bombing, both the I.R.A. and Gerry Adams publicly declared "Sinn

Fein is not the I.R.A.” It is apparent that while Adams may have been aware of the intention of the I.R.A. army council to call off the cease-fire, he was caught off guard by the actual timing of the resumption of violence. This principle/agent tension is now being felt by the other parties to the negotiations who are beginning to question the legitimacy of Sinn Fein to represent the view of, and bargain on behalf of, the military wing of the Republican movement. Nevertheless, while Sinn Fein may not officially speak for the I.R.A., Adams is still, probably, the only viable go-between for those who seek a peaceful solution and the Republican terrorists. On its own, Sinn Fein is a legitimate political force democratically chosen by 10% of electorate of Northern Ireland, and who claim to be committed to the peace process, even though they have refused to date to endorse the six principles of the Mitchell Commission.

- Another principle/agent tension which became further exposed is the hold the Unionist parties in the British Parliament have over Prime Minister John Major. While a pact between them dates back to the no-confidence vote on Maastricht in 1994, when Major elicited their support to counter rebels within his own party, it has become even more evident now that the government's majority has been reduced to two. The government's continued need for Unionist support was apparent in the January 25th debate in Parliament, when the Prime Minister rejected the Mitchell Commission's proposal to allow for the decommission of arms to start in tandem with all-party talks, and announced that the British government will hold elections in Northern Ireland for an assembly to provide a mandate for the peace process. This was a modified version of a plan put forward by Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble a few months earlier. It also was in contrast to the Mitchell Commission, which called for an Assembly in Northern Ireland as a confidence building measure, only after all sides had agreed to participate in an election, and only if the mandate of the new Assembly conformed to the three-strand approach, which included input from Dublin and London. This tension between the Conservative government and the Unionists was further exacerbated by a split in the Unionist support of the Major government in defeating of an anti-motion on February 26th on the findings of the Scott Commission. The government won the vote 320-319, but only because it reached an agreement with three MP's from the Progressive Unionist Parties to abstain from the

voting. The nine MP's from the Ulster Unionist Party voted against the government for the first time in two years. Questions now remain:

- How committed are the Unionists in keeping the Major government in power?
- How much maneuvering room does John Major have to bring the Unionists to the table before a May 1997 election?

#### **4. Interest and values**

- The British and Irish governments equally recognize that over the past 10 years they have made substantial compromises in their positions in an effort to end decades of dispute and mistrust.
- It is in both governments' interests, both politically and economically, internally and regionally, to end this dispute.
- Both governments are committed to seeing the process through, no matter how long it takes.
- Both governments face principle/agent conflicts. - Britain and the Unionists. Ireland and Sinn Fein/I.R.A.

#### **5. Visions of the future with agreement**

- Civil peace in a democratic society.
- Economic investment and prosperity in a region no longer plagued by civil disorder.

#### **6. Alternatives to mediated negotiation scenarios if no agreement is reached**

In calling off its cease-fire, the I.R.A. appears to have decided that, for the moment, a resumption of terror activities could force a break in the 17 month stalemate to start all-party talks without any preconditions. They claim to have originally called their cease-fire on August 31, 1994 in return for a promise by the British and Irish governments of all-party talks within three months of that date.

- It appears that the February 9th bombing (and subsequent incidents) in London is part of a "push-pause" strategy of shocking the British public to see if it has any influence on the government's negotiation policy. The I.R.A. is hoping that these latest attacks will have the same effect, of increasing its political leverage, that its attacks on Heathrow Airport had in the Spring of 1994.

- It might also be interpreted as sending a signal to the British government that either the I.R.A. does not want the "radical nationalists" to be marginalized from the process by the status quo of peace, or that there is a major internal split in the command of the I.R.A. and in its relationship with Sinn Fein.
- Given the strong public consensus (as evidenced by a series of massive peace rallies) for maintaining peace in the province, which is the I.R.A.'s constituent as well as operational base, it appears more than likely that the I.R.A. will confine its terror campaign to the British mainland. As one of their operatives has noted: "One bomb in London is worth 10 in Belfast."
- As long as there is a cease-fire in Ulster, it will be more difficult for the Loyalist paramilitary groups to justify breaking their cease-fire as well. Although there is a danger that they too will adopt a two-track approach and attack targets in the Republic of Ireland to apply pressure on the Dublin Government.

#### **7. Template for mediated negotiations.**

- It is too early in the process to draw a template of issues to be discussed. Mediation efforts at this point should concentrate on determining a process to facilitate the democratic self-determination by the people of Northern Ireland of their future government, and a simultaneous decommissioning of arms by para-military forces.

#### **8. Objective standards of fairness**

- No other negotiated conflict has ever required participants to turn over weapons prior to talks. The usual maximum requirement has been a cease-fire.
- In the Bosnia talks in Dayton (1995), the PLO-Israel talks in Norway (1993), the Rhodesia talks in London (1977) and the Paris Peace Talks on Vietnam (1968), the political representatives of "terrorist organizations" continued to negotiate without the renunciation of violence.

#### **9. Trade-off analysis**

##### **Elections v. Negotiations**

Would produce winners and losers v. A consensus which could be accepted by all

##### **Preconditions v. Parallel Process**

Would result in humiliation of I.R.A. and Unionist Para-militaries v. Allow all parties to feel that they cooperated instead of surrendered.



**Accountability v. Amnesty**

Would encourage parties to protect positions v. Allow parties to share information which can lead to an examination of interests.

**NGO v. Government**

Would allow for all parties to be invited to talks on an unofficial basis v. Allow parties to publicly maintain their positions.

**10. Possible appealing agreements**

- **British Government** - Northern Ireland elections to mandate who would sit in negotiations. The elections would not be used to elect a parliament, nor would the assembly have any legislative powers.

*The idea behind this proposal is that the British government believes that it is the most realistic way to get Unionists to meet Nationalists, including Sinn Fein. I believe that this proposal is motivated by two other considerations: 1) It is the political payoff to the Unionist MP's for their support of Major's government in Parliament since the Maastricht vote. Any vote in Northern Ireland will give the Unionists an absolute majority in terms of both ballots and elected representatives. They will be able to campaign on the promise never to talk to Sinn Fein, making the idea of all-parties talks moot, while formally justifying their "legal" position as the majority will in a democratic framework that all-parties, with the exception of Sinn Fein, have agreed to accept. On February 21st, Ulster Unionists further complicated Major's proposal by publishing their own proposals which envision, as they always have, an Assembly with legislative powers that would invariably be dominated by them. 2) Major is aware that his government put itself in an even worse light in the eyes of world opinion by rejecting the recommendation of the Mitchell Commission to start all-party talks in tandem with the decommissioning of arms. He is also aware that the more Mitchell's proposal is examined, the more it will be backed up by historical precedent. As a bargaining tactic, a Northern Ireland vote, in any form, is a more easily defensible pre-condition to all-party talks.*

- **Irish Government** - Proximity talks, similar to the Bosnia talks in Dayton. All parties would meet for two days, based in separate rooms at Stormont Castle in Belfast. Each party would retain the option to choose with whom to speak and on what subject. There would be no official agenda for the talks.
- *The idea behind this proposal is to diffuse the tension that has been created by the I.R.A. bombing and offer the I.R.A., and its political wing, Sinn Fein, a face saving opportunity to re-establish the cease fire and engage in a dialogue without making any prior commitments. It is also a concession to the Ulster Unionists to hold the talks in their "historic stronghold," to give them a greater sense of security.*

- **SDLP** - Simultaneous referendum in the Republic of Ireland and in Ulster on the questions:

- 1) Whether people support the continued use of violence?
- 2) Whether people want all party talks to proceed without preconditions?

*The idea behind this proposal is to convince the I.R.A. that they do not have a mandate to continue their violent campaign, while producing a mandate to the British to drop their demand that the I.R.A. begin turning in its weapons before Sinn Fein is allowed at the talks. The I.R.A. says that turning in its weapons as a precondition to peace talks amounts to surrender. If such a referendum were held, it would mark the first time any vote on Ireland was jointly held in both the Republic of Ireland and Ulster.*

- **The United States/European Community** - Former U.S. Senator George Mitchell has held recent talks with the British and Irish governments. He is now in Europe as chairman of a non-profit organization supported by several Western governments and foundations to explore setting up a new international crisis group that will send observers to Bosnia-Herzegovina. While he has not been officially asked to mediate the Northern Ireland talks, the possibility does exist for him or his NGO to take an "active/passive" role in helping to convene proximity talks.

*The idea behind this proposal is that it offers both the British and Irish governments a face saving way of not negotiating with Sinn Fein or the I.R.A. while the terrorist campaign continues, but allows for a representative that both Sinn Fein and the*

*I.R.A. trust in seeking a dialogue to determine what concessions need to be made to restore the cease-fire and put the talks back on track.*

- On February 26th, British government official, Quentin Thomas, head of the political directorate in Britain's Northern Ireland Office met publicly with Sinn Fein's senior negotiator Martin McGuinness to explore ways of restoring the cease-fire and getting all-party talks back on track. This was a clear fudge of the British position following the February 9th I.R.A. bombing in London when both the British and Irish Prime Ministers told their respective parliaments that their governments would not meet with Sinn Fein at senior ministerial level until the I.R.A. cease fire is restored or Sinn Fein formally distances itself from the I.R.A. and accepts the six principles of the Mitchell Commission.

#### **11. Benefits to external parties**

- Not applicable in this situation.

#### **12. Barriers to negotiations. (parties concerns about neutrality, mediator's interests, loss of control and flexibility and pressures to accept compromise worse than the status quo.)**

- No side has a monopoly on its lack of faith in the other.
- The I.R.A. claim they want a firm date for all-party talks with no preconditions by both the British and Irish governments before they will resume their cease-fire.
- Both the British and Irish governments officially claim that they will not meet with Sinn Fein on a ministerial level until the I.R.A. cease-fire is reinstated.
- If the I.R.A. are to be brought into the process to speak for themselves rather than through Sinn Fein, a legally binding agreement by both the British and Irish governments would have to be made granting total immunity for all past crimes before any member of the seven man army council will make his/her identity known and join the negotiation process.
- The British and Irish governments refuse to give the I.R.A. assurances that even if the precondition that arms are surrendered prior to talks is acceded to, that the

governments will not use information gathered from the weapons to prosecute members of the I.R.A. for past crimes.

- The Clinton administration is currently deciding whether to give Gerry Adams a visa to attend St. Patrick Day celebrations (March 17th) and fund raising events in the U.S. Since the travel ban on Adams was lifted in 1994, Sinn Fein has legally raised \$1.6 million in America. Options include granting a visa but barring Adams from contact with White House officials and/or revoking permission to raise money.

### **False Assumptions**

It would be wrong to assume a false sense of "an urgent need to act now" based on the calculation that both British Prime Minister John Major and U.S. President Bill Clinton face upcoming general elections (UK by May 1997 and the US in November 1996) and that both or either one could go down in defeat, resulting in a major alteration in the negotiating positions in the conflict resolution process.

In the case of Britain, even if the present Conservative government were to lose its mandate between now and May 1997, it would immediately be replaced by a Labour government, which in its current role as the leading opposition party in Parliament, is in full public support of the present government's policies, and whose shadow ministers are briefed on a daily basis by the present government ministers determining that policy. Britain's role in Northern Ireland is not a partisan political issue among the three main political parties (Conservatives, Labour, Liberal-Democrats).

No British government will be able to act unilaterally and force the hand of the Unionists unless it has a commanding majority in Parliament.

In the case of the United States, a Clinton defeat would not have a substantial effect on the negotiations, as the current administration is merely acting as a facilitator in getting the peace process started. At this point in time, there is no suggestion that the Clinton Administration has decided, or has been asked by any of the parties involved in the dispute, to act as mediator in this process.

It is true that the Clinton initiative in May 1994 to engage in talks with Sinn Fein did:

- Prompt the I.R.A. cease fire from August 1994 until February 1996;

- Lead to direct public talks between Sinn Fein and the British Government;
- Result in the dropping of the British broadcast ban of I.R.A. views in the UK;
- Trigger British acceptance of an international arms commission;
- Prompt offers of US private sector economic investment in Ulster; and,
- Create the Mitchell Commission report in January 1996, outlining the six principles which have been accepted by both the British and Irish governments as the framework for future talks.

But a change in U.S. administration would not have any substantial effect on US relations with either Britain or Ireland, as both are historical as well as strategic allies and have always enjoyed a "special relationship" with this country. Over the past 25 years, six US presidents have accepted that the Northern Ireland "Troubles" are an internal UK problem, and have supported the official positions of successive British governments. Despite any sentimental involvement on the part of the US, there is clear recognition, by all parties to this dispute, that this is not a US fight.

For the above reasons, I disagree with the view that, if the current stalemate in the peace process continues, it will be viewed as a "foreign policy failure" and, as such, an electoral liability for President Clinton in the upcoming US elections. President Clinton's Northern Ireland initiative is not a major US foreign policy commitment like Somali, Haiti or Bosnia, which involved the deployment of US troops and massive amounts of foreign aid and seem to have had little effect on saving these failed states.

Neither Britain nor Ireland are warring nations or failed states. The situation in Ulster is tragic, but it is a viable and sustainable democratic society, and in no way comparable to any other flash point around the world. The only commitment of US resources has been the intellectual efforts of a handful of executive branch officials. Even the US State Department has been only marginally involved. There will be no images of body bags and funerals of US soldiers on the local news. The public perception of this problem is limited to the relatively small constituency of Irish-Americans in the electorally important states of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Illinois. While these perceptions may well be divided along the same sectarian divide that is at the heart of this conflict, few would deny the valiant efforts of President Clinton who placed

his prestige on the line by visiting Belfast, in an effort to effect a fair outcome for all parties in the dispute by stimulating ideas intended to move the peace process along.

### Conclusion

It is apparent, that if the political will is there, then the British and Irish governments can negotiate this problem directly without the need for mediation. However, there may arise times in the process that third party assistance may be required to either overcome principal/agent tensions, or act as an independent guarantor as a confidence building measure. In such cases, if the U.S. government wants to continue its indirect involvement in the Northern Ireland peace process, the opportunity exists for George Mitchell, if invited by the British and Irish governments, to use his status as head of an international crisis Non-Government Organization (NGO) for example, to meet with Sinn Fein without implicitly acting as a representative of a government (Britain, Ireland or the United States) who refuse to have official ministerial contact with Sinn Fein while the I.R.A. continue their campaign of terror.

While Mitchell is officially an independent agent, all parties in the conflict clearly understand that the Clinton administration not only shares his views, but is in direct contact with him.

If the latest British and Irish government initiative to hold all party talks on June 10th fail, the this new NGO also offer a face saving opportunity of convening proximity talks with other non-governmental officials from all sides, which in effect will keep the peace process going until official all-party talks can be convened. The NGO talks could provide the I.R.A. with the show of good faith by the British and Unionists that they have been seeking to justify permanently restoring the cease-fire and formally renounce the use of violence.

There is speculation that the British and Irish governments are considering a combination of the various proposals on the table: proximity talks to agree the terms of the election, the election, followed by the SDLP referendum. Such a face saving compromise could well be brokered by a "non-participant" such as Mr. Mitchell.

If proximity talks are to be held, it is imperative that they be convened outside the area at a neutral site and subject to a media blackout. These were two of the essential qualities which contributed to the success of the Dayton talks.

Another role the Mitchell NGO could play further down the road in the peace process, is to act as the monitor for the decommissioning of arms and ensuring that they are destroyed before British and Irish officials can examine the weapons for evidence in prosecuting I.R.A. members. Such a role would confirm the "honest broker" status of the U.S. government in drawn out peace process.

Some might argue that this face saving approach implies that the parties in this conflict are only concerned with superficial appearances rather than substance. I disagree. Appearances are often important, and limiting the scope of precedent is not superficial. Nor are the many other variables which can be changed to make a proposed decision less painful and more appealing to the other side. Arranging matters to minimize political costs to an adversary is not window dressing to be put on after the adversary has been persuaded. It is part of the process of persuasion.

**Appendix: Background to the Northern Ireland Peace Process****1968****August** : First march of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) protesting against anti-Catholic discrimination.**October** : Second NICRA march, in Londonderry, attacked by counter-demonstrators and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).**November-December** : Marches by NICRA and Bernadette Devlin's People's Democracy come under attack. Northern Ireland Prime Minister Terence O'Neill promises reform.**1969****April**: Protestants attack civil rights sit-in; 165 hurt, one killed in subsequent riots.**August**: British soldiers enter Belfast and Londonderry. Six killed in Belfast riots.**December**: Provisional Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) formed. (Official I.R.A. is concerned mainly with protecting Catholics, the Provisional I.R.A. with "armed struggle" against the British Army.)**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 13, Bombs planted: 8.****1970****February**: First bombs used against British soldiers.**June**: Ian Paisley elected to Parliament, Bernadette Devlin jailed.**August**: Social and Democratic Labor Party (SDLP) formed.**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 25, Shootings: 213, Bombs planted: 170.****1971****February**: First British Soldier killed. (By the end of the year, 48 soldiers have been killed)**August**: Internment is introduced.**December**: Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) a Protestant paramilitary organization kills 15 Catholics in McGurk's Bar bombing in Belfast.**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 174, Shootings: 1,756, Bombs planted: 1,515.****1972****January**: "Bloody Sunday". British troops kill 13 Catholic protesters in Londonderry.**February**: Aldershot bomb. I.R.A. kills seven- 5 women, a gardener and a priest who are working at the British army barracks.**March**: The British Government imposes direct rule from Westminster. The Northern Ireland Assembly (Stormont) is dissolved.**June**: 100th British soldier killed. New special category status for "political" prisoners introduced.**July**: "Bloody Friday". I.R.A. set off 26 bombs in Belfast in one day killing 11 and injuring 130. The Ulster Defense Force (UDA) a Protestant paramilitary organization is formed. The biggest British military operation since Suez (12,000 troops) ends no-go areas in Belfast and Londonderry.**December**: The Diplock Report by the British Government recommends juryless courts.**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 467, Shootings: 10,628, Bombs planted: 1,853****1973****March**: British Government reveals plans for new power-sharing in Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive.**December**: Sunningdale Agreement: Northern Ireland Executive, British and Irish governments agree to form a Council of Ireland. The Northern Ireland Assembly is sworn in.**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 250, Shootings: 5,018, Bombs planted: 1,520**



**1974**

**February:** I.R.A. bomb the M62 motorway in England killing 11..

**May:** Protestants strike against plans for Council. State of emergency is declared. The Northern Ireland Assembly resigns. Direct rule from Westminster is imposed.

**October:** I.R.A. bomb a pub in Guilford, England, 5 are killed, 54 injured.

**November:** I.R.A. set off bombs in Woolwich and Birmingham, 20 killed, 200 injured.

**December:** The Prevention of Terrorism Act passed by the British Parliament makes the I.R.A. illegal.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 216, Shootings: 3,206, Bombs planted: 1,113**

**1975**

**February:** Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) formed.

**October:** UVF made illegal.

**December:** Internment ends. Balcombe Street siege in London.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 247, Shootings: 1,805, Bombs planted: 635**

**1976**

**March:** Special category status abolished.

**August:** Women's Peace Movement founded.

**September:** First I.R.A. prisoners go to H-blocks in Maze prison, Belfast.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 297, Shootings: 1,908, Bombs planted: 1,192**

**1977**

**December:** Women's Peace Movement wins Nobel Peace Prize.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 112, Shootings: 1,081, Bombs planted: 535**

**1978**

**February:** I.R.A. bomb kills 20 at La Mon House Hotel in Belfast.

**March:** I.R.A. prisoners revolt in H-blocks at Maze prison..

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 81, Shootings: 755, Bombs planted: 633**

**1979**

**March:** INLA kills British MP Airey Neave with car bomb at Westminster.

**August:** I.R.A. kills Lord Mountbatten and 18 soldiers at Warrenpoint.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 113, Shootings: 728, Bombs planted: 564**

**1980**

**January:** British NI Secretary Humphrey Atkins calls constitutional conference.

**March:** conference collapses.

**October:** I.R.A. prisoners go on hunger strike at Maze prison.

**December:** British PM Margaret Thatcher- Irish PM Charles Haughey summit in Dublin

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 760. Shootings: 645, Bombs planted: 400**

**1981**

**March:** I.R.A. activist Bobby Sands starts hunger strike at Maze prison.

**April:** Bobby Sands is elected to the British Parliament in a by-election.

**May:** Bobby Sands dies.

**October:** I.R.A. hunger strikes called off after 10th prisoner dies. I.R.A. bomb Chelsea Barracks in London, 2 killed, 40 injured including 23 soldiers.

**November:** The first "supergrass" (British paid informer) gives evidence against I.R.A. in court.  
**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 101, Shootings: 1,141, Bombs planted: 530**

#### 1982

**February:** British NI Secretary James Prior announces plans for new Assmebly.

**March:** Several "supergrasses" withdraw evidence following I.R.A. threats.

**July:** I.R.A. bombs Hyde Park and Regent's Park in London, 8 killed, 41 injured.

**October:** Elections are held for new Assembly

**December:** INLA Ballykelly disco bomb, 17 killed, 11 of them soldiers.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 97, Shootings: 547, Bombs planted: 332**

#### 1983

**June:** Gerry Adams elected to British Parliament in General Election as an Independent.

**September:** Mass I.R.A. break-out from Maze Prison.

**December:** I.R.A. bomb Harrods department store in London, six killed, 90 injured.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 77, Shootings: 424, Bombs planted: 367**

#### 1984

**October:** I.R.A. bomb Conservative Party conference in Brighton, England. Margaret Thatcher narrowly escapes, 30 injured.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 64, Shootings: 334, Bombs planted: 248**

#### 1985

**November:** Anglo-Irish Agreement

**December:** All 15 Unionist MP's resign in protest, to provoke "referendum" of by-elections.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 54, Shootings: 237, Bombs planted: 215**

#### 1986

**January:** 14 Unionist MP's returned by voters.

**June:** Northern Ireland Assembly dissolved.

**July:** 18 convictions from the first "supergrass" trial are overturned on appeal.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 61, Shootings: 392, Bombs planted: 254**

#### 1987

**May:** British special forces (SAS) kill eight I.R.A. members at Loughall.

**November:** I.R.A. Enniskillen Remembrance Day bombing. 11 killed, 63 injured.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 93, Shootings: 674, Bombs planted: 384**

#### 1988

**March:** Three I.R.A. members killed in Gibraltar by SAS. Three mourners killed by Loyalist fanatics at I.R.A. funeral. Three days later, I.R.A. lynch two soldiers.

**August:** Eight soldiers killed and 28 injured in I.R.A. Ballygawley bombing.

**September:** Broadcasting the words of Sinn Fein and Loyalist paramilitary representatives is banned.

**November:** Britain fails to extradite I.R.A. activist Patrick Ryan from the Republic of Ireland, which damages relations between the two countries.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 93, Shootings: 537, Bombs planted: 458**

#### 1989

**September:** Investigation ordered into allegations that British security files have been leaked to Loyalist terrorists. I.R.A. bomb kills 10 at Royal Marines Music School in Deal, England.

**October:** Convictions of Guildford Four overturned.

**December:** British NI Secretary Peter Brooke promises to initiate cross-party talks.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 62, Shootings: 566, Bombs planted: 420**

#### 1990

**May:** Inquiry confirms that Ulster Defense Regiment members passed intelligence to Loyalist para-militaries.

**July:** Peter Brooke unveils proposals for new-multilateral discussions. British MP Ian Gow, one of Mrs. Thatchers closest friends, assassinated by I.R.A..

**October:** Six soldiers killed in Londonderry and Newry in first "human bomb" attacks by I.R.A..

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 76, Shootings: 559, Bombs planted: 287.**

#### 1991

**February:** I.R.A. mortar attack on Downing Street 15 yards from where Prime Minister John Major was meeting with his cabinet, no one was injured; I.R.A. bomb Victoria train station in London during rush hour, 1 killed, 43 immured.

**March:** Birmingham six released on appeal.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 94, Shootings: 499, Bombs planted: 367**

#### 1992

**April:** Baltic Exchange, City of London wrecked by 1,000lb I.R.A. bomb.

**July:** Unionist and nationalist leaders (but not Sinn Fein) in talks with British and Irish government - the culmination of Peter Brooke's 1990 initiative.

**August:** UDA banned following renewed sectarian killings. The 3,000th victim of terrorism since the start of the "Troubles" dies. Over 30,000 have been injured.

**Deaths arising from the Troubles: 85, Shootings: 506, Bombs planted: 371.**

#### 1993

**March:** Peace 93 group formed in the wake of the Warrington bomb.

**April:** I.R.A. bomb in Bishopsgate, the City of London caused 500 million pounds sterling of damage and killing one person.

**December:** British and Irish Prime Ministers (John Major & Albery Reynolds sign Downing Street Declaration

#### 1994

**January:** The Irish government lifts its broadcast ban on Sinn Fein, the I.R.A. and other paramilitary groups. I.R.A. leader Gerry Adams granted visa to visit US.

**August:** I.R.A. declare unilateral cease-fire.

**October:** Loyalist para-militaries join cease-fire.

**December:** Britain releases 20 I.R.A. political prisoners. Only about 30 remain.

#### 1995

**January:** British army ends day-time patrols of the streets of Belfast, the British government lifts the broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein in Britain.

**March:** Gerry Adams invited to White House to meet with President Clinton. I.R.A. ban on fund-raising in the US is lifted.

**April:** British ministers begin preliminary talks with I.R.A..

**August:** Sinn Fein and SDLP (Hume-Adams) joint-statement calls for all-party talks.

**October :** Irish Taoiseach John Bruton meets with Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble in Dublin. It was the first time in 30 years that a UUP leader met with the head of the Irish government

**November:** British and Irish governments agree to a twin track formula with an international commission on the decommissioning of arms due to report by mid-January 1996 and all-party peace talks due to begin by the end of February 1996. The British government sends a *signal of faith* in the peace process by releasing 80 I.R.A. and Loyalist prisoners from Northern Ireland jails. Under new rules, prisoners are freed after serving half - rather than two-thirds - of their sentences. It is expected that another 88 prisoners will be freed next year and 74 in 1997.

President Clinton visits, London, Dublin and Belfast.

**December:** The three-man international commission on the decommissioning of arms, known as Mitchell Commission begin their report.

## 1996

**January:** Mitchell Commission publishes report. British government rejects main findings.

**February:** I.R.A. resumes terrorist campaign with a bombing at Docklands in London which killed two and wounded 100 people. Three other bombs either exploded or were found in the capital. An I.R.A. bomber was killed in one of the incidents as his bomb exploded while he rode a bus. Two weeks later, the Prime Ministers of Britain and Ireland meet to work out a new initiative aimed at persuading the I.R.A. to resume its cease-fire and get all-party talks back on track. The plan sets a firm date for all-party talks to be held on June 10th, following elections in Northern Ireland on May 30<sup>th</sup> to determine representatives for the talks.

**March:** Proximity talks were held at Stormont Castle to set the terms of the May 30<sup>th</sup> election. Sinn Fein was excluded from the talks as the I.R.A. bombing campaign continued. Loyalist leaders refused to meet with representatives of the Irish Republic.

**April:** I.R.A. sets off two bombs in the Earl Court section of London, no one killed. Both Sinn Fein and the SDLP announce they will field candidates in the May elections.

**May:** Elections held in Northern Ireland. Sinn Fein gets a record 15% of the total vote but is excluded from the peace talks.

**June:** All-Party peace talks begin. George Mitchell and his three man commission are chosen by the British and Irish governments to mediate the talks. Meanwhile, the I.R.A. set off a bomb in the center of Manchester wounding 200 people a week after the peace talks begin excluding them or Sinn Fein. A major I.R.A. bomb factory is discovered in the Irish Republic. British troops once again conduct regular patrols in Northern Ireland cities on fears that the violence might resume in the province again. The I.R.A. launch mortar attack on British Army base near Osnabrueck, in Germany. No one was injured. The I.R.A. attacked the same barracks in 1989.

**July:** Sectarian violence returned to the province for the first time since the 1994 cease-fire, in what many considered the worst street fighting in 20 years. The violence was triggered when Protestant fraternal organization called the "Orange Order" insisted on marching through a Catholic neighborhood in Portadown to commemorate the Battle of the Boyne of 1690, in which William of Orange, a Protestant, defeated James II, a Catholic. Thousands of Protestant marchers blocked roads for five days and threatened a return to paramilitary violence if the local police, the RUC did not reversed their initial ban on marching through Catholic neighborhoods. Following the sudden u-turn in policy, the RUC then had to deal with Catholic rioters who felt their neighborhoods were no longer being protected by the police or British government. Two Catholics were killed in Portadown, a militant died after being hit by an Army vehicle. Earlier in the week, a Catholic taxi driver was shot in the head. An I.R.A. splinter group was suspected of retaliating by setting off the first bomb in Northern Ireland in 22 months when it blew up the Killyhevlin Hotel in Enniskillen wounding 17 people. Police say that during the week July 7<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>, there were 291 arrests, 6,000 plastic bullets fired, 149 police injured, 192 civilian injured; 1,277 attacks on the police, 86 cases of intimidation against police and 245 cases of intimidation against civilians. (During Friday night, July 12<sup>th</sup>, Police say over 1,500 gasoline bombs were thrown by demonstrators.) The British army sent in 1,000 more troops to bring their complement up to 18,500. Police in London discover new I.R.A. bomb factory in Peckham with components

to make 36 devices. Eight senior I.R.A. figures arrested. When the all-party talks resumed in mid-July, they were dominated on who was to blame for the violence, and whether the participation of some of the negotiators contravened the Mitchell Commission recommendations to which they all agreed.

**September:** Police in London discover another I.R.A. bomb factory and plans for an imminent bomb attack. Combined with the July police raids, the I.R.A. fear a high ranking informer is in their organization.

**October:** The I.R.A. set off two bombs at a British Army headquarters in Belfast wounding 38 people and killing the first British soldier in two years. It was also the first I.R.A. bomb in Northern Ireland since it declared its August 1994 cease fire. The bomb coincided with the start of the Conservative Party Conference in Bournemouth where John Major was rallying the Conservative Party before the general election due by May 1997.

**To date 3,182 people have died in the Troubles of Northern Ireland. Deaths this year 6, Bombs planted 8.**