
WAR AND PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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Abstract: For three decades, Northern Ireland was the scene of a war without parallel in the history of contemporary Europe. A war without siege, without battle, without aerial bombardment. Faced with the English army, an enemy lurking in the shadows swapped fatigues for jeans, wielded small arms, planted homemade bombs. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is said to have had at least ten thousand members at its peak; a large part of the Northern Irish working class is said to have passed into its ranks. During the period when the political wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) Sinn Féin turned to an armed strategy, its popularity soared especially among Irish nationalists. A degree of support – or tolerance – that allowed it to hold its own against one of the most powerful European states. Senior British officers have acknowledged that they deployed, during the recent wars in the Middle East, “the specific techniques and expertise acquired through hard struggle against both urban and rural guerrilla warfare in Northern Ireland.” The number of victims—just under 3,500 dead and 48,000 wounded—might seem negligible compared to the bloodbaths experienced in countries such as Bosnia or Lebanon. But, compared to the population of Northern Ireland—over 1,500,000 at the beginning of the Troubles, almost 1,700,000 at their end—such a toll would have corresponded to 2 million wounded and 125,000 dead in Great Britain, or half of the British losses during the Second World War. Of the dead, 70% were civilians. Yet it was in Western Europe, in a highly developed country renowned for its political stability, that this devastating conflict took place. From Harold Wilson and Edward Heath to Margaret Thatcher and Mr. Antony Blair, a whole generation of Prime Ministers, Conservative and Labour alike, had to face an unprecedented threat on their territory. Finally in the 1990s the peace process began to develop. Definitely the beginning of the 21st century was marked by peace and Ireland's entry into the EU. How did this war begin? What were the key dates of the war? How did the peace process begin? What was the importance of peace politicians?

Keywords: Northern Ireland, IRA, Sine Fine, Good Friday Agreement, The Peace Process

1. INTRODUCTION

In the period that corresponds with the beginning of the Great War and after it (1916-1923), the dissatisfaction of the Irish nationalists, who demanded greater autonomy and self-government, manifested itself. At the time when the British decided to establish a government in Ireland, Unionist and Nationalist paramilitary forces emerged, which were called the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Irish Volunteers. The British Parliament decided to transfer part of the powers of the British government to the new Irish government. Thus, conditions were created for greater autonomy within the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The different attitudes about Irish autonomy were the motive for the outbreak of armed conflicts and civil war. However, the outbreak of the First World War prevented the expansion of Irish internal strife regardless of whether the Irish Volunteers decided to secede. The National Volunteers, with more than 100,000 members each, led by the Irish Parliamentary Group, were prepared to accept British offers to settle the Irish question after the end of the war, and 20,000 soldiers of Irish origin joined the United Kingdom Army. In contrast to the solidarity shown, Eoin McNeill enlisted some 11,000 volunteer soldiers who refused to enter into a coalition with the British. Simply, their Catholic option was too strong an argument for them to stand in solidarity with the British Protestants. McNeill wanted to use force to prevent the mobilization of the Irish into the British army, and the Irish Republican Brotherhood aimed at insurrection. James Connolly, one of the most prominent historical figures of the smaller Irish Civil Party, believed that it was necessary to raise an uprising for the final liberation of Ireland from British rule. Thanks to such views he started the cooperation with the Irish Republican Brotherhood. In 1915, James Connolly was admitted to the council of the Brotherhood, which announced its ambition and status in 1919. The only strategic goal of the Brotherhood was to overthrow British rule in Northern Ireland by armed war. The IRA established itself as an armed entity with two strategic goals: independence and the creation of a united Irish Republic. In its long existence, in the realization of such a double goal, it was often in tandem, sometimes alone and sometimes united with the Irish nationalist party Sinn Féin. In its nine-decade history, the IRA had four main periods. This evolution can be roughly characterized as a) pre-revolutionary IRA (up to 1921); b) post-revolutionary IRA (1921-1969); c) the era of the IRA Troubles (1969-1998); and d) IRA after the Good Friday Agreement (1998-2005). In the period 1998-2005, the country definitely became stable and without armed conflicts, despite the threat of confrontation between Catholics and Protestants.

2. HOW THE INTERNAL CONFRONTATIONS IN NORTHERN IRELAND WERE BORN

During this time sequence, the IRA also underwent numerous splits with other groups also using its name. The division of the Irish island caused further segmentation among the republicans. This act also contributed to the division of the IRA into several factions: the one it supported. The peace talks and the establishment of the IFS, and the other that was against it. The first group soon became the core of the Irish Free State Army, while the second faction, the so-called irregulars, began military actions against the new, independent state. (D. Roos, (2021/2023) A complete split occurred in March 1922, when the government of the Irish Free State, fearing the imposition of a military dictatorship, refused to consent to the holding of the IRA convention. The convention was held on 26 March 1922 and was attended only by IRA representatives who opposed the partition agreement, so it ended up accepting the concept of the "Constitution". In the period between June 1922 and May 1923, the Civil War broke out in Ireland. In these short but intense clashes, the IRA established itself as the most important military entity in Northern Ireland, but it also suffered great losses. According to some sources, between 11,000 and 13,000 fighters were arrested. This event left great traces in the mentality of the Irish who demanded unconditional secession and extinction of independence. This strategic move of the IRA is known under the name "The Plan". In the ferocious attacks of the IRA against the British forces, they bombed several buildings of public institutions, training camps for soldiers, factories. In these operations, dozens of government soldiers, policemen and administrators were killed who worked for Great Britain. When the British Army was withdrawing from France across the English Channel, the IRA considered establishing military cooperation with Nazi Germany. The IRA sought military help from Hitler and proposed a joint invasion of Great Britain. During World War II. During this period the IRA became associated with the Third Reich and with ambitions to invade the territory of Northern Ireland where British military forces were stationed with the help of Germany. This project called Plan Kathleen activated between 1942 and 1944 resulted in several skirmishes, bombings and sabotage attacks on British targets in Northern Ireland (M. Elliott. 2024, 33.p.) This action, codenamed "The Northern Campaign", did not achieve great useph. Perhaps it is one of the darkest periods of the IRA which, without a very rational relationship, associated itself with Nazism and created a negative effect in the public opinion of Great Britain in the post-war period. The IRA and its leaders lost the most from such a relationship. Some paid for it with imprisonment and death sentences - After the victory of the anti-fascist coalition, the popularity of the IRA declined. The organization lost ten years to rebuild the IRA and promotes its new strategy inspired by the success of small groups' guerrilla operations in Europe against the Nazis of the Third Reich. The IRA began a guerilla war against the "British occupier" of Northern Ireland as the IRA called them. The IRA's long-term aim, as expressed in its Green Paper, is "the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic". - The political doctrine that drove the IRA concept was that it had the right to use armed force to force the British to withdraw from Northern Ireland. The IRA document known as the Green Paper is "the establishment of a Democratic Socialist Republic". - The political doctrine that drove the IRA concept was that it had the right to use armed force to force the British to withdraw from Northern Ireland. The IRA document known as the "Green Book" (IRA Training Manual) together with the Headquarters Report, had two purposes. For this purpose, he had to ethically and psychologically strengthen the members of the PIRA so that they could resist all forms of pressure such as: torture, torture, blackmail used by the British security forces.(E. Blakemore 2022, 19.,p) On the other hand, the second goal was to strengthen the indoctrination of its members, in order to contribute to internal stability and strength. That document confirmed that the long-term goal of the PIRA is to create an independent democratic socialist Republic of Ireland, and its realization implies the overthrow of unjust state and social systems in Northern and Republic of Ireland. - The IRA was the largest, most significant and best organized of the paramilitary groups operating in Ireland. In the IRA, all operations were managed by a leadership based in Dublin, and under the provisions of the "Constitution", the highest governing body of the IRA was the General Convention. In the period between the two conventions, it consisted of six members and was responsible for defining IRA policy as well as monitoring its implementation (M. Melaugh, 2024, 3.p.)- A basic tenet of just war theory is that participants in war must distinguish combatants from non-combatants and that while combatants are justified targets of attack, non-combatants are not. The basic explanation of the principle is that non-combatants are innocent and that killing or otherwise harming innocent people is morally wrong.- The idea of non-combatant immunity is based on the acceptance of basic human rights. Basic human rights, although in itself a vague term that testifies to the constant disagreement about its articles, logically derive from the autonomy and moral action of each person. If such rights exist at all, then among them must necessarily be the right to life, because the rational dictates the primacy over moral action. It follows that if the notion of basic human rights is accepted, it must be recognized that all moral agents have at least a right to life. - Unlike combatants, non-combatants have not participated in such a moral exchange and their right to life, which is inalienable, remains strict. Given this difference, combatants are not subject to direct attack, nor do they attack or intentionally damage it. The broader category of non-combatants could and should have been further divided into at least the two categories mentioned earlier. Innocent non-combatants are

those who are not directly involved in warfare or materially support the war effort. On the other hand, innocent non-combatants are those people who, although they did not participate in the war by killing enemy soldiers, directly support the war effort. The tragic history of Northern Ireland has caused much debate. Deciphering it in all its complexity is still a real challenge today. If the political institutions established by the Good Friday (1998) and St. Andrews (2006) agreements seem to be functioning year after year, many points remain unresolved. Some of this matter is such that it discourages them from talking about a real resolution of the conflict.(Ch.Landow/ J.McBride 2024, 13,p.)

3. THE PEACE PROCESS BETWEEN THE 90S AND THE NEGOTIATIONS AROUND BREXIT

A number of domestic and international entities contributed to the initiation and completion of the peace process in Northern Ireland. It is considered that the nineties were the most tense, precisely in the period when the ice broke and the prospects for establishing peace in this tense situation opened up. However, it cannot be stated that the vulnerability of Ireland is completely healed, especially during the traditional events between the Protestant and Catholic population. Brexit was also a significant event, due to the dynamics of which the EU signed an agreement or protocol with the United Kingdom to facilitate this process. As early as February 7, 1991, the Provisional IRA alerted the new Prime Minister to the depth and significance of the Northern Ireland problem through a mortar attack on the Prime Minister's residence, 10 Downing Street. But independently of this act, many actors in the Irish drama began discussions that could lead to peace. Secret services, political parties, members of the clergy, etc. participated in these contacts. In 1992 the Social Democrats and Labor tried to reach an agreement with the trade unionists, and then in 1993 (via John Hume, Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams) with Sinn Féin. In the early 1990s, the Provisional IRA began using sniper attacks against uniformed personnel. Despite such violence, contacts between the two sides continued. (J. Lawless (2023).) However, the loyalists not only continued their murderous campaigns of sectarian elimination, but also moved on to the extermination of Sinn Fein members and their families. The Provisional IRA began a bombing campaign in England (Warrington bombings, urban bombings, etc.). PIRA It has also taken on certain policing roles in dealing with drug trafficking, carrying out actual raids or even taking down human traffickers such as Martin Cahill and others. On December 15, 1993, the British and Irish Prime Ministers, John Major and Albert Reynolds, in the Downing Street Declaration, affirmed the right to self-determination for the Northern Irish. Aware of the progress of the peace process, the Provisional IRA decided to cease fire on 31 August 1994, an example followed by the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Freedom Fighters. In January 1994, Bill Clinton grants a limited visa to the United States to Gerry Adams. Censorship that denied access to the British media to republicans, nationalists and loyalists was lifted. While various paramilitary groups studied their possible evolutions in the political sphere after peace, talks were blocked over the issue of disarmament, which was managed by the International Independent Commission on Decommissioning otherwise recognized in 1997 by the British and Irish governments. After a year and a half truce, on 9 February 1996, the Provisional IRA, frustrated by the lack of progress in the peace process, broke the truce by continuing its campaign of attacks in England, while dissidents began to emerge in the camp. of the republican paramilitary forces. To the activities of the Irish National Liberation Army are added those of the Continuity Irish Republican Army, as well as the armed branch of the republican Sinn Féin. (C. Kennedy-Pipe 1997,216,p.) On 1 May 1997, Labour's Tony Blair replaces John Major as Prime Minister, quickly entering into talks with Sinn Féin. (D. Finn. 2019, 23,p.) On 20 July of that year, the Provisional IRA declares a new ceasefire and, on 9 September, Sinn Féin declares non-violent methods in his action. The Irish National Liberation Army, the continuity Irish Republican Army, the Loyalist Volunteer Force (a spin-off from the Ulster Volunteer Force) and the actual Irish Republican Army (after the new breakaway from the Provisional IRA) continue their attacks. New groups also emerged during this period, such as the Catholic Reaction Force or Direct Action Against Drugs, then David Trimble for the Ulster Unionist Party, John Hume for the Social Democratic and Labor Party and Gerry Adams for Sinn Féin. Gerry Adams ended all Irish claims to Northern Ireland (as enshrined in the Irish Constitution), established the foundations of a future consociational government and began a program of disarmament and the release of prisoners. On May 22, two referendums (one in the North and one in the South) sanctify this agreement: 77.1% yes in the North, 94.5% in the South. Half of the Protestant population and 10% of Catholics voted against. (Ibid.C. Kennedy-Pipe 1997,222,p.) On June 25, 1998, the first elections for the new Northern Ireland Assembly were held. However, the peace process did not result in complete reconciliation.

On August 15, the Real Irish Republican Army detonated a car bomb in Omagh, killing 28 people. This attack was condemned by all the signatories of the agreement as well as the majority of the population. Two days later, the Irish National Liberation Army approved the peace plan and declared a ceasefire. David Trimble and John Hume won the Nobel Peace Prize. At the same time, in the period 1999-2010, disarmament began. On December 2, 1999, a new government was formed under the Good Friday Agreement. Pursuant to the peace agreement, the Royal Ulster

Constabulary was transformed into the Police Service of Northern Ireland in November 2001, despite unionist opposition. David Trimble became its Prime Minister Direct rule was interrupted several times by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, mainly due to the lack of progress in the peace process Moderate parties suffered an electoral setback, and on 8 May 2007 Ian Paisley, of the Democratic Unionist Party, became Prime Minister of Northern Ireland while Martin McGuinness, former interim IRA Chief of Staff and Sinn Féin member, Deputy Prime Minister. (M. Solly 2021)The following year, Ian Paisley resigned and was replaced by Peter Robinson of the Democratic Unionist Party However, acts of violence, albeit at a much lower level, continued despite the Belfast Agreement. The dissident organizations that left the groups that participated in the peace process continued the attacks and assassination. They saw themselves as defenders of the red hand, of orange volunteers, as maintaining the continuity of the Irish Republican Army, etc. On July 28, 2005, the Provisional IRA announced the end of its military campaign, and on October 11, 2009, the Irish National Liberation Army did the same. At the same time, the process of disarmament began, which progressed especially during the 2000s. If the Loyalist Volunteer Force surrendered some of its weapons at the beginning of December 1998, it was still necessary to wait until 2000 for the more massive surrender of weapons. (Ibid.C. Kennedy-Pipe 1997,219,p.The Independent International Commission on Decommissioning oversaw the complete disarmament of the PIRA on 26/11/2005, the Official Irish Republican Army and the Irish National Liberation Army in 2010. On the other hand, the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Red Hand Commandos started returning the weapons in June 2009. The Ulster Defense Association followed suit. On August 1, 2007, the military operations of the British forces in Northern Ireland were officially completed. (S. Grattan,2020)

4. THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE PEACE PROCES

It must be stated that the European Union and its institutions managed to influence the calming of violence and hostilities in Northern Ireland. The EU acted through mediation, financing and especially by facilitating the accession of Great Britain and Ireland to the European Union. These moves moved the Peace Process forward. Public opinion and the community of Northern Ireland contributed to its gradual realization. Polls conducted by telephone showed that the majority of Irish people from Northern Ireland were in favor of ending the troubles (Statistics, 2023). Therefore, we may wonder to what extent the uncertainty caused by Brexit in the field of inter-community relations will result in the continuation of paramilitary violence. Relatedly, it is understandable that certain aspects related to the trade and business dimensions of Brexit were expected to upset Ireland's historically antagonistic groups. At the same time, it is not difficult to assume that this would have been able to reawaken the old hostile spirits that had caused so much harm to the Irish people.It turns out that this section of the population was also the most likely to engage in inter-communal violence during the Troubles." Some analysts believed that the peace process was influenced by the EU's "open door" policy for Irish membership However, it is clear that the EU exerted an indirect influence on unionists and nationalists in Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom and Ireland to work in synergy. By the way, the entry of Northern Ireland into the EU was a key psychological and political factor in this process, softening the bilateral relations between the subjects of the war in Northern Ireland. By communicating as equals in the European institutions, mutual trust was gradually built. The two warring factions found common interests in the post-peace process for the entire population of Northern Ireland. On the other hand, the very fact that EU membership implies giving up part of one's own sovereignty in favor of the EU dilutes the concept of Irish and British absolute sovereignty. It affected the reduction of tensions between unionists and nationalists. It was assumed that Brexit and the physical withdrawal of Great Britain from the EU would affect the possibility that the British and Irish governments would be left without a neutral space where they could work together.From such a scenario, analysts feared that it is possible to intensify the tensions between the communities again, writes Karin Barberi. (C. Berberie, 2017,6, p.)

5. KEY ISSUES OF THE PEACE PROCESS

After the successful Referendum to leave the EU in 2016, the Tories became a prime minister. Theresa May was elected as the new Prime Minister, who declared at the same promotional session of the British Parliament: "Brexit means Brexit". She added: "We will make it. We will not try to stay in the EU. We will not try to return it by the back door, there will be no second referendum. The country voted to leave the European Union and as Prime Minister I will commit to leaving the European Union. (Sandy Times, July 16, 2016). The following year was decisive for the arrangement of relations between the EU and the UK regarding the departure from the EU. In the Treaty of Rome (1957), the overall procedure for leaving the EU is not sufficiently elaborated. Only in Article 50 of the Treaty globally some legal parameters for leaving the EU are highlighted, which allows a member state to withdraw from the Union, the European Union has proven to be very difficult, a particularly complex and tense period, and the UK will then considered a third country from the European Union. But for practical experiences on

the ground, the border of Ireland was the most sensitive issue. It is in this context that this contribution proposes to highlight the main issues regarding the Irish border. (G. Mitchell 2023) The border between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, due to its historical origins and peculiarities, is a particularly sensitive point in the Brexit negotiations, as shown in the two previous sections. This section returns to three particularly key aspects. With the start of the Peace Process which found its first positive epilogue with the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, Northern Ireland is a post-conflict society in which community relations remain a major problem. The political system is characterized by deep blockages stemming from the two-party ethnic system and the hostility between the two main parties (the DUP – very Eurosceptic and pro-Brexit and Sinn Féin, quite Europhile and opposed to leaving the European Union). It is not currently possible to determine the extent to which political relations in Northern Ireland will be affected by Brexit. However, it should be noted that the Brexit vote came shortly after the signing in November 2015, after ten weeks of difficult negotiations, of an important agreement between the political parties in Northern Ireland, the Great Britain and Ireland. This agreement, called "Fresh Beginning", i.e. "New Departure", is presented as "an agreement to consolidate peace, ensure stability, enable progress and offer hope". There was indeed an urgent need to address the political crisis surrounding social security reform (particularly the implementation of the Stormont agreement of 23 December 2014, as well as the legacy and impact of paramilitary activity and religious intolerance. "Building on the Stormont Agreement of December 2014, the Fresh Start Agreement is another important step towards normalizing politics and society in Northern Ireland and consolidating the hard-won peace for Northern Ireland, the island of Ireland thanks to the Good Friday Agreement. The New Start deal provides a credible roadmap for implementing many aspects of the Stormont deal (including those relating to parades and flags) and supports the continued stability of devolved power-sharing institutions so they can work. » Statement by the Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade in November. The stability of inter-community relations is the first major challenge raised by Brexit as the political differences and tensions caused by Brexit risked upsetting the fragile political balance in Northern Ireland. The return of a physical border was contrary to the terms of the Good Friday Agreement and risked reactivating the memory of the Troubles and the partition of Ireland from 1921 to the 2000s. In addition, any proposal for a special status for Northern Ireland is unacceptable to unionists, who see it as a violation of the unity of the United Kingdom. There is also a lack of reminders of the tribulation period. It was this simple observation that required the United Kingdom and the European Union to agree on a solution that prohibits the reintroduction of a physical border between the two Irish territories, as per the protocol of the Northern Ireland Agreement.

6. WHITE PAPER ON FUTURE POST-BREXIT RELATIONSHIP

Proceeding from Article 50 of the Treaty of Rome (1957- Article 50) establishing the European Union, the procedures for leaving the EU have been determined in a global manner. This process was launched by London in March 2017. Both the EU and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland have started negotiations on the withdrawal of Great Britain from the EU. The diplomatic negotiations, which were sometimes very difficult and complicated, finally ended with the signing of an agreement according to which the stages of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom were determined. The process itself was difficult because it was the first event of its kind, and the European legislation did not elaborate the procedures at all. Following the ratification of the Withdrawal Agreement, it was agreed by the European Parliament and the Council of Europe that the United Kingdom will leave the European Union on 31 January 2020. Practically with this date, the "transition" period began, which lasted 11 months until December 31, 2020. Regardless of the fact that the United Kingdom ceased to be a member of the European Union and the European Energy Community, London continued to respect the European Union's European law and, as compensation for such an act, Brussels allowed the United Kingdom to continue to have access to the Union's internal market. . Shortly after the preparations for the implementation of the agreement to leave the EU, negotiations on the future relationship between the EU and the United Kingdom began. After numerous meetings, the EU and UK delegations, in December 2020, agreed on the presentation of the EU-UK Trade Agreement, the Agreement on the Exchange of Classified Information and the Nuclear Energy Agreement. These three agreements largely neutralized the shock of the gap that the EU faced after the departure of Great Britain. The agreements became valid from spring 2021 These agreements entered into provisional application on January 1, 2021, and then definitively on April 27, 2021, after approval by the Council and the European Parliament.-(R. Foster, (2017, 2,p.) One of the emblematic questions that arose after Great Britain left the EU was "How and in what way will BREXIT reflect on the situation in Northern Ireland"? In the spring of 2021, several riots manifested themselves in Loyalist suburbs, dominated by Protestants otherwise close to London. In these environments, the act of leaving the EU (Brexit) affected the disappointment and manipulation of citizens by London. To avoid the inconveniences that would result from leaving the EU, in the "Northern Ireland Protocol" after the negotiations between the United Kingdom and the European Union, customs controls between the British and European markets

were restored. This customs control was carried out in the ports in order to avoid the internal territory and the Irish border. However, this was exactly the reason for the loyalists to protest due to the feeling of distance from the territory of Great Britain. The problem was overcome with the White Paper on the future relationship between the United Kingdom and the European Union, from the summer of 2018. In the July 2024 general election, the Tories, who had been in power for 14 years, pulled the handbrake on leaving the EU and effected BREXIT, they lost the election. This defeat is largely merited. After fourteen years of Conservative governments, the country is divided, public services are at breaking point, immigration is out of control and taxes are at their highest level ever..(A.Brigham, 2021). The United Kingdom in synergy with the EU with the help of the European Commission in several joint meetings gradually elaborated the program that will seek to find acceptable solutions for both Ireland, Northern Ireland and the EU and the UK The Memorandum of Understanding (2018) was soon signed which guarantees the residents of both countries the favorable legal acts and clauses contained in the 2018 agreement. The issue of the Irish border is extremely delicate because it is a very busy border. His re-establishment of Ireland therefore raises first the question of the free movement of Irish people, whether from the north or the Republic of Ireland. Crossing the border is a daily act for many of them. They cross the border for a variety of reasons: work and business, studies, shopping, tourism, medical treatment, visiting friends and family, representing approximately 110 million human crossings and 72 million vehicle crossings annually. (Sh. Pogatchnik 2024) It is not uncommon for many residents of the cross-border region to cross the border several times a day. There is no doubt that the return of border controls would be a great inconvenience for these people - that is why it is unthinkable - even if the French-Swiss example shows that it is possible to keep an open border for travelers (however one should not forget the traumatic aspect, in the case on the Irish border, on the possible return of physical infrastructure). In addition, the east-west crossings of the Irish Sea carry approximately 23 million people and 3.1 million vehicles annually. In early April 2021, months after the UK's withdrawal from the European Union was made official, riots broke out in loyalist, Protestant-majority areas where the fallout from Brexit fueled feelings of betrayal. Indeed, the "Northern Ireland Protocol" negotiated by the United Kingdom and the European Union restored customs controls between the British market and the European market at port level, rather than inland, to avoid a return to the Irish border. This port-level 'border' does not sit well with loyalists who feel 'remote' or even 'isolated' from the rest of the UK.

7. CONCLUSION

The tragic history of Northern Ireland's war with the British military forces is associated with Tolstoy's novel "War and Peace" but also with Raymond Aaron's cult book, "War and Peace Between Nations". The first clashes between the Irish and the English are about 800 years old. However, open hostilities began in the twenties of the XX century and continued with small breaks until the conclusion of the Peace Agreement, that is, its final implementation until 2005. After joining the EU, Northern Ireland experienced an economic boom. However, the British ambition to leave the EU with the BREXIT process revived the old wounds for a moment. It was necessary to establish. At the heart of the Brexit negotiations, the status of Northern Ireland has been a source of major disagreements between the European Union and the United Kingdom, before and after the latter left in 2020. To avoid the reestablishment of a physical border between the British nation and the neighboring Republic of Ireland, Brussels and London agreed in October 2019 on a "Northern Ireland protocol", which effectively keeps Northern Ireland in the single market for goods. But it requires the establishment of customs controls between the latter and Great Britain, provisions that the United Kingdom has never fully implemented. To remedy this situation, the EU and the country adopted the "Windsor framework" on March 24, 2023. This text provides in particular for reducing the number of checks to be carried out on certain products coming from Great Britain and going to Northern Ireland, and strengthens the power of local and British authorities

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