The twentieth century has been an age of armed protest. Successive waves of protest against oppression, exploitation, and social misery have dominated the history of Ireland since the early years of this century. Protest against Protestant tyranny in Northern Ireland culminated in the emergence of the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland. The emergence of Irish Republican Army inspired various movements for national emancipation and social and economic improvement in Ireland, particularly after 1950.

In twentieth century Northern Ireland, the greatest share of the wealth and power was in the hands of a small group of the Protestant aristocrats, businessmen and government officials. Since 19th century the middle class Irish Catholics have usually been hostile to the prevailing power structure, and this hostility has provided fertile breeding ground for the Irish
protest movement. The protest movement has been of two kinds. First, there was a kind of general dissent among the Irish Catholics which capitalised on the inevitable hostility of Catholics towards Protestants. But this kind of protest movement did not include direct confrontation with the Protestant power elite but consistently sought to undermine them by impairing their communication with the catholics and by making the Catholic population receptive to radical ideas. This kind of dissent made Protestants conscious of a militant political threat and they sought to demoralize the activities of the Irish nationalists which led to the counter attacks.

The second kind of protest movement is more specific. This was led mainly by the terrorist activities of the Irish Republican Army through strikes, sit-ins, vociferous denunciation, elaborate agitation and repeated acts of violence.

Although more often than not the Irish Republican Army (Provisional) has been leftist in orientation, its techniques and styles have also been used with great
skill by the official Irish Republican Army, but the emergence of the provisional Irish Republican Army created a state of extreme fear and anxiety even among general masses through their strategy of systematic use of murder, violence and threats in the entire Northern Ireland, particularly after 1969. The provisional Irish Republicans did not believe in the quality of willingness to compromise, but they believed in the will to fight things out to finish. Nothing but complete independence of Northern Ireland would do so. Besides, the protestants were perceived as being totally evil and unappeasable, they must be completely eliminated — at least from the theatre of operation, where the militant extremists directed their attention. This demand for unqualified victory led to the formulation of terrorising strategies by the provisional Irish republicans. On account of the powerful position of the Protestants and British support, the demands of catholics merely became unrealistic goals and failure constantly highlighted the radical's frustration among the Irish republicans. Consequently, Protestant reaction became instantaneous, massive and hysterical. The
Sectarian hatred, (the excuse for this orgy of drunker wreckage and ordinary terror continued) reached its climax in the so called battle of the existence and rights. When Irish Republicans and Protestants mobbed (pelted) one another with terror and violence. More and more security personnel were brought in. In the ensuing conflict, thousands of nationalists, Protestants and police personnel were killed and many more wounded.

From the time Northern Ireland came into existence, the old Irish Republican Army contained ideologically desperate elements. The split of the Irish Republican Army in the late 1960s led to the emergence of a Communist body of militants known as the "Provisional Irish Republican Army" and the official Irish Republican Army (Red Army) which was under the control of the Communist International, as directed from Moscow. The two IRAs' have fought each other with fatal casualties particularly in Belfast after 1970s. On one hand, the 'red' IRA was directed to hold its hand in violent activities for the time being, while
the provisional IRA (Green IRA), in clandestine collusion with certain Irish politicians now removed from office, chose to terrorise the entire Northern Ireland with violent activities.¹

In 1971, the provisional Irish Republican Army added a new dimension to the terrorist activities in Northern Ireland with its urban guerrilla tactics of indiscriminate bombing of public places. With the growing IRA bombing and violence of 1970s, the inhabitants of the hardline Protestant areas in Belfast such as Woodvale and Shankill started forming vigilant movements and by 1971, two Protestant militant organisations were formed namely, Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF).

On the other hand, the civil rights movement March of 1 January 1969 had already added a new dimension to the violent activities in Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland's Prime Minister Terence O’Neill could not implement the major

five point reform programme of the labour government. Though a commission under the chairmanship of Lord Cameron was set up to inquire into the various aspects of the violent activities of January 1969. This step was greatly appreciated by the labour government in West Minister.2

On 21 April 1969, the Home Secretary, James Callaghan, announced in the House of Commons that the British forces have been posted to protect the electricity, water and other public services against the growing violent and terrorist activities in Northern Ireland.3 Similarly, on 19 August, 1969, an important meeting between Harold Wilson and Chichester Clark was held at the 10 Downing Street. The major declaration of this meeting conceded that:

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The U.K. Government reaffirms that ... without the consent of the people of Northern Ireland or from the Provision in Section I of the Ireland Act 1949, that in no event will or any part thereof cease to be part of the United Kindgom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, the border is not an issue. 4

The conservative government did not bring any change in its policy toward Northern Ireland. Nonetheless, it could not check the growing terrorism and violent activities in Northern Ireland. For example, on 10 March 1971, three Scottish Soldiers were taken to the countryside and killed. 5

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The number of victims of Sectarian and functional murders recorded during 1971-1975 were as follows:\(^6\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1972</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1974</th>
<th>1975</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Victims</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>158 (34 Killed by own side 1973-75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics Victims</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>257 (32 killed by own side 1973-75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>415</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were correspondingly more murder charges against Protestants than Catholics - 162 to 119 in 1973-75.

Seeing the deteriorating law and order situation and growing violent activities, the Prime Minister, Edward Heath in a parliamentary debate said that "... To maintain law and order, to prevent communal strife and to root out terrorism, British government will

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continue to support Army with all the authority which needed to carry out the militant measures judged necessary for the purpose."7 Finally, to improve the situation, Brian Faulkner was made the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland on 23rd March 1971. Brian Faulkner replaced Chichester Clark as the Prime Minister at Stormont, and he was convinced that the domination of protestants was on the verge of explosion. Brian Faulkner pursued the British government to introduce 'Internment' without trial to combat the terrorist violence. Finally, on 9th August 1971, internment without trial was introduced in Northern Ireland. The internment without trial made it possible to arrest the IRA's members and their supporters without trial. Consequently, 342 people were detained under the cover of Internment on 9 August 1971. This followed with the Irish Republican Army reacting with more severe violence and subsequently, 231 people were killed.

within six months. The pernicious decision of the introduction of internment led to the reconsideration of ruling class strategy towards North. On 9th August 1971, Army troops lifted more than 300 men from their wanted lists and the rate of arrests was raised up to eighty a week until more than 900 IRA men, Civil Rights Officials and socialist activists were arrested. The introduction of internment gave IRA its biggest boost ever since the trouble started. Within a week time of carnage, more than 7,000 Catholics and 2,000 Protestants were forced to leave their native places. More

8. Richard Clutterbuck, n.6, p.132.
than two hundred houses were burnt. The bombing in August 1971 had toppled more than 100 people.¹¹

Thus, the hasty induction of internment without trial had disastrous results, both in its immediate and long term effects. For Catholics it was an act of deliberate murder of the basic norms of decency. The long term effects of the introduction of internment were even more disastrous because, violence became a day to day affair. The death toll reached upto an staggering figure of two hundred by the end of 1971. The provisional Republics used gelignite bombing against Protestants which resulted into deep enmity between Protestants and Catholics. Whereas, there was a complete drift of most of overt relations between the elected representatives of Catholics and Protestants.¹²

The year 1972 witnessed the massacre of more than four hundred and sixty people. Similarly, the Protes-

¹¹. Ibid.

tant terrorist movement led by Ulster Volunteer Force became very aggressive and from 1972 onwards more and more Catholics were murdered by Protestants. 13

One year after the imposition of direct rule in March 1973, the British government decided to form a new Stormont parliament, which was to be elected by proportional representation. But the British government decided to retain the responsibility of Security and Law and Order, though the new Stormont would be given to elect an executive with full power of administration over the province. 14

Finally, the elections were held in June 1973 in favour of power sharing, wherein twenty two members including Faulkner supported the new constitution. On the other hand, they were supported by eight members of Alliance Party, one of the Northern Ireland Labour


Party and 19 of the Catholic Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP), which totally made up 50 in favour of power sharing, and 28 members from the Protestant community (in three groups led by William Craig, Hurry West and Reverend Ian Paisley) were opposed to it. In the end, the power sharing executive took oath on 1 January 1974. This executive was headed by Faulkner. There were 11 members, including six unionists over alliance man and four Catholic SDLP Ministers led by Gerry Fitt. Gradually, the power sharing executive took over and started working smoothly.

On 28th February 1974, British General elections were held wherein only one Northern Ireland member (Republican SDLP leader Gerry Fitt) was elected for Westminster because all other eleven Members were hardliners and were against the new constitution.

Not even a single Faulkner’s supporter was elected though the combined votes of Catholics and Faulkner’s supporters were more than 50 percent of the total voting strength. Hence, the sequel was not very fa-
vourable for power sharing executive because its opponents had a plausible case about the majority of power sharing supporters elected to Stormont in June 1973, had now been repudiated in Northern Ireland. 15

The dissatisfied militant Protestants decided to form an Ulster Army (UAC) by combining UDA, UVF, the Ulster Special Constabulary and the Red Hand Commando (RHC). They had made all the preparations for strike and on 14th May 1974, more intimidation & hijacking was intensified. The Ulster Defence Association blocked more than ten roads only around Belfast and British army and Royal Ulster constabulary (RUC) could not stop it. Meanwhile, UWC set up its own de facto provisional government. On 17th May 1974, four car bombs were set off in the Republic of Ireland including three in Dublin and one in border area of Monaghan. Consequently, it led to the killing of twenty-eight Southern Irish Catholics. 16

15. Ibid., p.136.
Meanwhile, Faulkner’s government had begun to break apart. There was hardly any agreement over the proposals to bring down the “Council of Ireland” plan in order to pacify the protestant population. Similarly, the Catholics, SDLP members were demanding more positive actions to break the unionist’s strike and to maintain petrol supplies. But the British government was of the opinion that the use of Army was not necessary for breaking the strike. 17

Ever since the dreadful events of the strike, the Irish Republican Army thought that nothing could be achieved without the use of gun and violence. Quite surprisingly, UDA, and UVF men decided to raid Catholic pubs which had stayed open in the Protestant’s predominant district of Balligmena, which led to the killing of two Catholic brothers. 18

17. Ibid., p.141.
18. Ibid.
Meanwhile, the British government moved in the Army in force to arrest UWC leaders. But Wilson decided to use army only to maintain oil and petrol supply and not to break the strike. On 25 May Wilson made broadcast. He said that:

What we are seeing in Northern Ireland is not just an industrial strike. it has nothing to do with wages. it had nothing to do with jobs - except to imperil jobs. it is a deliberate and calculated attempt to use every undemocratic and unpriemary means for the purpose of bring down the whole constitution of Northern Ireland so as to set up there a Sectarian and undemocratic state, from which one third people of Northern Ireland will be excluded.19

The strike finally turned as a dismal failure. But the attitude of Ulster volunteer towards catholics further deteriorated the atmosphere in which it was almost impossible for the two sides to negotiate. it made IRA feel very embattled. In a retaliation, the Irish Republican Army placed various bombs in different areas including one in Red Lion Square which killed forty five people. To encounter provisional IRA's terrorists activities, the Northern Ireland government

19. Ibid., p.142.
introduced the prevention of Terrorism (emergency provision) Act on 1974; which assigned more powers to government and banned IRA’s activities. Most of the IRA’s groups operating in Britain were supported by the international Marxist Group (IMG). The IMG supported the IRA’s activities and through its journal it requested support for IRA.

A few weeks later in October, the Irish Republican Army placed bombs in the pubs in Guildford and Woolwich, which were close to army barracks. This led to the killing of at least seven people including some soldiers and civilians.

The IRA escalated the worst kind of violence in Birmingham by placing two powerful bombs in a very crowded pub which caused heavy casualties by killing twenty-one people and injuring minimum 162 people. But soon after that, fourteen IRA members were convicted

20. Ibid., p.146.
for placing bombs. On 2 August 1974 in police investigation of IRA's houses, two bomb factories were found in which five arrests were made and finally they were convicted. People raised demands for death penalties for the convicted people but bombing did not stop here, even a year later, IRA killed nine people in England.21

The main purpose of IRA violence was to end the British rule in Northern Ireland and create a united Ireland. The foreseen of British in Ulster areas was regarded as foreign invasion by Catholics, whereas, the unionists never regarded British presence as an aggression, because protestants always regarded themselves as a part of the British community.

However, the main cause of the violence was the counter activities of the paramilitary forces of both Republicans and loyalist sides. Though the major bulk

of violence was spread by Provisional Irish Republican Army but the Protestant paramilitary organisation have also been responsible for a series of systematic murders and bombings.\textsuperscript{22}

The major goal of the official Irish Republican Army was to reunify Ireland. On the other hand, the Provisional Irish Republican Army built its support on the alienation of the Catholic population from the British Army.\textsuperscript{23}

The entire police network was in the hands of the unionist party. Catholic community in Northern Ireland considered the Royal Ulster Constabulary as unfairly biased towards Protestants, while the B Specials was considered as the worse enemy of Catholic


\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p.25.
The government of Northern Ireland had major powers to form special powers acts which enabled the Protestant police officials to search even without warrants and intern without charge.\textsuperscript{24}

Gradually, moderate unionist leaders such as Jerence O'Neill, were quickly replaced by more authoritative rulers. In the beginning years of 1970s, confrontations led to the heavy casualties of Republicans but later on the situation was taken over by Provisional IRA. Many Protestants and British suffered heavy casualties from IRA's campaign of bombings.

The attitude of political parties was very intrinsigent towards the problem. Faulkner tried to establish an alternative party after being refused by majority of his party members in 1974. But Faulkner's new party could not win even single elections thereafter.

Fitt was not satisfied with his party's policies and resigned in 1979. Fitt was replaced by James Molyneaux and John Hume respectively, who were ready to be in power in their own constituencies at all costs. But the most interesting event took place with the introduction of Northern Ireland Bill of 1982 by James prior, which provided another assembly. But this remained a failure due to Molyneaux and Hume's opposition to the bill. Hence, it was very clear that the leaders of the two major parties were not interested to reach an agreement. 25

Therefore, the most important feature of the contemporary terrorist activities in Northern Ireland is engrossed in a Triangular tussle between Provisional

IRA, British forces and unionist paramilitary organisations. Sir, George Baker explicitly compared the problem "as similar to the chicken and eggs", which means the political system of the country cannot progress till the terrorism is wiped out but on the other hand, terrorism cannot be eliminated unless there is a political solution. 26

The discriminatory system of franchise including the provisions for internment without trial and the formation of exclusive Protestant auxiliary police force called B Special did not leave any room for political solution. Discrimination in both private and public sector employment in favour of Protestant made the situation even worse. On the other hand, the Ulster

unionist were not satisfied with Mrs. Margaret Thatcher government's policies of imposing various restrictions on the membership of their union with Great Britain.

But official unionists are not in favour of having any confrontation with British state. Hence they criticised protestants attacks on Royal Ulster constabulary (RUC).27

On the Catholic side, British Government's main aim was to reduce Sinn Fein's (The legal political wing of provisional Irish Republican Army) electoral support as a prelude to isolation of the IRA. Because over the years, the Sinn Fein had gained tremendous electoral support both from North and South borders. The emergence of tremendous political support boosted the morals of the provisional IRA.

The British Government was repeatedly trying to find some political solution to handle the situation in Northern Ireland. Consequently, on December 1973, an agreement was signed between the executive parties, the British and The Irish governments. This Agreement was known as sunningdale Agreement which basically prepared a framework for power sharing devolved government which included a council of Ireland comprising of ministers from Belfast and Dublin. But it could not succeed due to Ulster Workers Council's (UWC) strike and the widespread intimidation by protestant extremism. Even thereafter, a number of efforts were made by the British government to find some internal institutional means through which the people of Northern Ireland can express their legitimate political feelings and aspirations. But none of the attempt could succeed because of the prevailing resentment among Republicans and unionists. 28

Though IRA's terrorism caused heavy casualties ever since 1969 onwards but the worst years in terms of human casualties was 1972 when 467 persons were killed and nearly 5,000 people were seriously injured. Since then the pattern of terrorist activities kept on fluctuating and finally reached a plateau in 1979 when there were a series of attacks on the security forces on duty. The worst attack was on August Bank Holiday wherein 18 soldiers were killed due to landmine ambush around Warrenpoint in County Down.29

There was an upsurge in terrorist activities during 1981 due to the H-Block Hunger strike. The hunger strike of 1981 boosted the political support for Sinn Fein. Since 1981, Sinn Fein had built up a very strong electoral support for itself by adopting 'Community politics and introducing radical social and economic policies. Gradually, Sinn Fein started competing

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29. Ibid., p. 11.
with SDLP for the leadership of the nationalists. Consequently, in the 1983 Westminster general election, the Sinn Fein party captured 13 percent of the province’s vote and its President Gerry Adam was elected for the Belfast seat. 30

On the other hand, the provisional Republican Army had adopted a cellular organisation and increased its membership up to 2,000. With the passage of time, provisional Republican Army was able to keep its strict control over the Catholic population particularly it generated tremendous support in Belfast and some parts of Londonderry. It had also developed its Kangaroo courts and punishment system by adopting beating up and kneecapping tactics. Bank and post office robberies have been its major financial resources, beside, it gets help from overseas particularly from USA. 31

31. Ibid., p.12.
Since 1976 onwards, provisional Republican Army became very active mainly outside Ireland. It has tried to uproot British Army bases in West Germany. Provisional IRA placed bomb outside Harrods in 1983 which killed five people.

Similarly, its another major bomb attack was targeted on the Grand Hotel Brighton, during the conservative party conference in October 1984. It resulted into massive casualties in which 34 people were injured and 5 people were killed. Mrs. Thatcher was narrowly escaped from this attack. 32

The provisional Irish Republican Army had basically adopted the following tactics of terrorising their enemies particularly RUC and UDR.

Firstly, by assassinating the major off duty Security personnel in individual shooting. For example, on May 1984, two off duty soldiers were killed in a bomb attack in Enniskillen.

32. Ibid., p.11
Secondly, by killing the important security personnel on duty. For example, in a serious bomb attack on August Bank Holiday in 1979, at least 18 soldiers were killed near Warrenpoint in country down. Similarly, in another major bomb attack of January 1986, two Policemen were killed in Armagh.

Thirdly, by assassinating the major civilians who are directly or indirectly related with the Security incharge of Northern Ireland such as Prison officers, members of judiciary, important unionist officials etc. Such kind of killing took place in December 1983, when Mr. Edgargraham (an important Assembly Representative) was murdered by Provisional Irish Republicans.

Fourthly, by attacking on commercial premises, through which they could create a state of extreme fear and anxiety by destablishing the entire system. Such incident took place in July 1985 when a bomb placed destroyed the centre of Ballynahineh and devastated the magistrates courts in Belfast. 33

33. Ibid., pp.11-12.
The Provisional Irish Republican Army rejected the legitimacy of British government and considered themselves as freedom fighters, whereas, the British government consider them as mere terrorists. This situation has become more serious by the Catholic’s communal support for the Provisional IRA. Although British Security forces achieved some successes, through a wide network of intelligence, yet sectarian assassinations, political murders, attacks, on British army and security forces of Northern Ireland remained a common feature of the terrorist activities. 34

Since 1981 onwards the growing concern over the increasing popular support for provisional Sinn Fein and over the continuing impasse in Northern Ireland opened new avenue for the establishment of the New Ireland Forum in 1983. The main work of the forum was to find some lasting solutions

which could establish peace and stability in Northern Ireland. The forum was basically consisted of three major political parties i.e. Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and the Irish Labour Party.\(^35\)

The New Ireland Forum presented its report in May 1984. According to the report, there would be "a united Ireland in the form of a sovereign Independent Irish state and this will be achieved peacefully and by the consent of all people."\(^36\)

The study of the recent poll opinion concedes that not only the whole of the Protestant community but many Catholics wanted to remain in the United Kingdom, on the condition if their rights and Irish identity are properly safeguarded. The poll carried out in 1984 shows that


36. Ibid.,
atleast 86 percent of protestants and 50 percent of the Catholics were ready to accept a devolved system of government under the United Kingdom. Hence, the proposal for unification remained abortive.\textsuperscript{37} But the provisional IRA still see British withdrawal as the only important step towards the ultimate unification.

The biggest landmark in the process of solving Irish crisis was the Hillsborough Agreement of 18 November 1985. This agreement was basically an effort to encourage peace, reconciliation and stability by involving a number of leaders and people in Northern Ireland. At the local level governmental elections, in May 1985 Sinn Fein captured 11.8 percent of first preference votes and emerged as the fourth largest party in the province. This shift altered the situation for SDLP (Socialist Democratic Labour Party). This Anglo-Irish Agreement has established a "machinery and a dynamic which makes it unboycottable resistant to

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., pp.547-8.
the inevitable disagreement which arise from time to time." 38

The main purpose of Mrs Margaret Thatcher policies, behind signing the Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) was to get tangible benefits in the fight against terrorism. Mrs. Thatcher's government was proved centralist while dealing with the opposing Forum of the Ulster unionist parties. Mrs. Thatcher's government also assured that "any attempt to promote political goal through means of violence should be immediately rejected." 39 Mrs. Thatcher was of the view that local interest of Ulster unionists should not disturb any possibility of the national agreement.


Provisions of the Anglo-Irish Agreement:

The preamble of the agreement calls it an International Agreement which is based on mutual benefit and forms a new relationship between two neighbouring states and entire framework for achieving lasting peace and stability. The agreement concedes that the two governments:

(1) agree on the point that any change in the position of Northern Ireland will only be brought by the consent of the majority;

(2) the two governments do not want any change in the status of the Northern Ireland;

(3) in case, the majority of the population of Northern Ireland like to establish a united Ireland in future, they will introduce and support legislation regarding this in their respective parliaments.\(^{40}\)

\(^{40}\) Ibid., p.89.
The article 2 of the agreement concedes that there will be an inter-governmental conference which will be concerned with the Northern Ireland and its relations with the other part of Ireland. Similarly, important subjects like, political, security, legal matters including the administration and promotion of cross border cooperations will be vested in intergovernmental conference.

Article 3, of the agreement established a Secretariat which will help the conference on a continuing basis. Similarly, other important provisions of the agreements provided for a framework wherein the Irish government may put forward various views and proposals related to the role and composition of various bodies appointed by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. Article 4 of the agreement provided a process for devolution. Though this agreement has provided a complete framework for negotiations and peace but it

41. Ibid., pp. 90-91.
could not succeed because of the opposition from Protestant (Unionists), who considered it unfavorable for themselves and bias towards Catholics.

Now, the Protestants in Northern Ireland believed that they would merely remain a minority in a united Ireland and as long as this kind of politics continues, they will never be able to gain control of the political system.

**Main Obstacles to Anglo-Irish Agreement:**

The Anglo-Irish agreement of November 1985 was viewed as discriminatory by the majority of the Protestant community, because the agreement did not only ensure the establishment of a power-sharing devolved government for Northern Ireland but it also gave unprecedented advisory role to the Republican of Ireland in the affairs of Northern Ireland. The agreement was aimed at establishing an inter-governmental conference along with a permanent secretariat at Maryfield near Belfast, whereas, Protestants were against any kind of
institution which might lead to the formation of united Ireland. The main cause of the Protestant's opposition to the Agreement was the Article 1, which ensured that no change in the status of Northern Ireland could be brought about without the majority consent. Secondly, the Westminster's acceptance to the demand that unionists should not have a veto over the constitutional development matters of the province, created dissatisfaction among the unionists. The majority of the Catholic population was represented by the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) and the provisions of the Indo-Irish Agreement of 1985 gave a very strong framework to the SDLP. Hence, the power sharing and devaluation was rejected by a growing body of integrationists within unionists. The integrationists group within unionists feels that power sharing would perpetuate sectarian divide by assigning institutional recognition to the two Protestant slogans, like "not an inch"

and "no surrender". This illustrates the degree of their grievances and concern. Moreover, integrationists also demanded that the Northern Ireland province should be governed from the Westminster almost in the same manner in which any other part of the British area is governed because it would give distinct advantage to their political party.43

It had been very unfortunate that despite all the efforts of solving the crisis, the problem was continuing only because of the existing disagreement between the two rival factions namely, Protestants (unionists) and Catholics (Republicans). And it was also very unlikely that a permanent solution of the problem could be found immediately. The unionists leaders were not ready to share power with the Nationalists. On the other hand, the Nationalists did not agree on power sharing. Unless their demand of strong united Ireland

43. Ibid., p.244.
is fulfilled. This battle of wits, turned most of the efforts towards solving the crisis into failure. So long a permanent solution is not found, the Northern Ireland will continue to be governed from Westminster. It is also clear that the unionists will not voluntarily agree to a united Ireland. On the other hand, the Nationalists would be involved in Fighting military struggle to form a united Ireland.44

Some kind of positive encouragement was necessary for Britain and Ireland because the Protestant outrage has been very high throughout the period. The major drawback of the agreement was that, most of the people were not consulted about the doctrines, features and details of the agreement. Consequently, heavy street protests took place against signing of the Agreement. Political leaders who were not satisfied expressed their resentment in the form of boycotting local gov-

ernment and by encouraging forms of civil disobedience. Irish Republican Army supported all such activities and described the agreement as "highly sophisticated counter revolutionary plan" which is basically made to weaken the Republicans. On 25 February 1986 a formal meeting between Mrs. Thatcher and the two unionist leaders, the Rev. Ian Paisley and Mrs. James Molyneaux, was held in London, which gave certain extra powers to the unionist leaders. But broadly both governments disagreed inside the conference on major issues of security, police and judicial system. Hence, it can be said that Hillsborough Agreement was one of the most important efforts towards the solution of the Northern Ireland problem but it could not provide a concrete solution.

SECURITY ARRANGEMENT AND CONSTRAINTS

The increase in the number of violent incidents coupled with increase fear of international terrorism

45. Ibid., p.563.
have directed attention to security forces. The principal concern of national security was raised by the formation of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and its Southern counterpart, the Garda Siochana in 1922. Both forces shared much in common with the disbanding Royal Irish Constabulary but in contrast to British forces, these forces were under the control of the Central governments in Belfast and Dublin. Although RUC (Royal Ulster Constabulary) had close relations with the Stormont government, but it has never been a wholly sectarian body. 46

In 1969, there was a good percentage of Roman Catholics in Royal Irish Constabulary but in 1985 it was left with only 10 percent Catholics. The Royal Ulster Constabulary believed in the idea of "policing by consent" throughout Northern Ireland. During the last few decades or so, there has been a steady improvement in the RUC's strategic policies and efficiency. The Royal Ulster Constabulary decided to form a special anti-terrorist task force in 1970.

Now these are further organised into 20 Divisional—Mobile support units (DMSUs) operating in the RUC's 12 divisions. There was also an arrangement for several Mobile support units and headquarters to encounter terrorist operations. The Royal Ulster Constabulary attached great importance on foot patrols in urban areas.

On the other hand, an auxiliary (a part-time third force) was established in 1920. It was called B Specials. The "B Specials" was a Special Constabulary and a Sectarian body. The B Specials was exclusively a Protestant body which had an estimated strength of 35,000 armed soldiers who were posted in various villages and towns of Ireland. B Specials contributed materially to the escalation of open Sectarian rioting in 1968 and 1969, but it was not able to control the violence. Hence, it was abolished in 1970. An investigating committee under Sir John Hunt was formed in

47. Constantine Fitzgibbon, no. 1, pp. 360-89.
October 1969 which was aimed at bringing about major reforms in the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Since then RUC has taken over the charge of maintaining law and order against any threat from Loyalist and Republicans. For example, in June-July 1985, it was able to enforce government ruling that many traditional loyalist parades in various towns should be re-routed away from many Catholic areas. To encounter the spreading terrorism and violence, the strength of the Royal Ulster Constabulary was also increased from time to time.48

In 1965, RUC had only 3,000 soldiers whereas, at the end of 1985 the regular strength of the RUC was raised upto 8,259 soldiers, along with 4,508 Reservists. Similarly, during the last few years or so, as many as 900 policewomen and more than 2,000 ancillary civilian personnel were employed.49

48. Ibid., pp.322-69.
In 1976, a unified criminal intelligence system was set up, which made it possible to gather informations regarding the terrorists and their criminal records.

In 1980, a 'Computer Assisted Policing' system was started in Belfast area which provided for the efficient deployment of resources, the reports and other information regarding Central Collation of all incidents. Similarly, a very sophisticated intelligence system called "criminal Information Retrieval System" was introduced to gather maximum informations about the motivations, plans and hide outs of terrorists in Northern Ireland. By the end of 1982, the Criminal Information Retrieval System (CIRIS) was dealing with 28,000 enquiries per week.50

In 1980, a new system of intelligence Inquiry was introduced which included the careful recording of

50. Ibid., p.22
interviews, close medical supervision and operation of closed circuit television cameras in interview rooms to judge the psychology of the criminals and force them to reveal the truth.

Direct cooperation in Security operation did not occur until army was deployed in Northern Ireland. During the crisis of 1968 there were more than 2,000 army troops to guard key installation against any attack from Protestants. The strength of Army had increased upto 8,000 for riot control and terrorist combating activities in various parts of Northern Ireland.

In 1970, B Specials was replaced by a new locally recruited unit called Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR). The Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) was a very disciplined force where all soldiers were carefully trained for any kind of operation. The Main duty of the UDR was to help and back up the regular forces in various duties like, patrolling, guarding, installations. It was basically a Protestant dominated force, though, it had 18 percent Catholic membership in 1972. In the
various encounters with terrorists in Northern Ireland, more than 151 UDR soldiers were killed by the end of 1985.

During the "Operation Motorman" in July 1972, the strength of regular army soldiers in Northern Ireland had reached up to 21,8000 beside, there were an additional 8,900 troops in the UDR. In the contemporary Northern Ireland, only 3 percent of the army members come from the minority community.

Ever since the trouble started in 1969, the police took over the responsibility for maintaining law and order in Northern Ireland. But their inability to deal with terrorists activities led to the total failure of administration, and as a last resort army had to be called on.

Consequently, the entire security incharge of the province was taken over by the Chief of General Officer Commanding (GOC) and he continued to hold the responsibility till the formation of a new policy (The way
ahead) in 1977, which began to establish police primacy.51

The deployment of army troops in Londonderry and Belfast as impartial force in 1969 was widely appreciated by the Catholics in Northern Ireland, whereas Royal Ulster Constabulary was failed to gain their confidence.

Since 1970, onward, with a change of government of Westminster, more intrusive approach was adopted to counter any terrorist activity of the Provisional IRA. Hence, strict security measures like, widespread screening of the local population and intensive house to house searches, could combat provisional's activities during that period. But this ultimately resulted into the alienation of Catholic Community from the army.

Similarly, the Protestant community also did not welcome the deployment of Army in Northern Ireland, because it was not a local force but controlled from London, therefore, could not be fully relied upon.

51. Ibid.
Whereas, the Ulster Defence Regiment was seen differently because the entire regiment was locally recruited and had tremendous support among Protestant community. The UDR has been the main military base for police force in the entire Northern Ireland.

Ever since the beginning of the "way Ahead" policy in 1977, Security policy has been viewed as responsible for "Ulsterisation" and "Criminalisation" by the majority of the Republicans. Though over the past few years or so, the number of regular army casualties has dropped, but the Royal Ulster Constabulary have increasingly came to bear the brunt of terrorist violence.\(^{52}\) It is estimated that by 1985 total 50 percent of all killings were suffered in the hands of local security forces (43 percent of RUC, 7 percent by UDR).

But the growing terrorism is responsible for counter terrorist policies of the security forces which subsequently, led to the criminalisation. Since the

\(^{52}\) Ibid.
singing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, the Chief responsibility for security of gross border areas has been at its best due to the cooperation between the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Garda Siochana in the Republic. There have been many secret meetings between the Chief Constable of Royal Ulster Constabulary and Commissioner of Garda Siochana on the issue of combating and tackling the problem of terrorism in various ways. Similarly, almost in all the inter-governmental conferences held regarding the issues relating to Northern Ireland and Anglo-Irish relations in general, the issues of security have always got the foremost importance. The issue of extradition has become main bone of contention between Anglo-Irish relations.

Finally, in December 1987, the European convention on the suppression of terrorism as well as the extradition amendment act was ratified by the Irish Parliament. The extradition amendment act made extradition from the Republic to the United Kingdom very difficult. In order to reduce the grievances among Catholic and Protestant population, a very high standard of justice
was maintained, for example, an independent commission for police complaints, Faire Employment Bill and a set of a code of conduct for Royal Ulster Constabulary was introduced.53

While describing the improvement in the position of minority and law and order, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland, Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, commented that:

The major fact about the Anglo-Irish Agreement today is that....... greater the nationalist minority that they and their children have a future in their own land happened for decades previously.54

Despite the improving law and order situation and the assurance given by article 1 of the Anglo-Irish Agreement (1985) that no change would be brought about in the position of the Northern Ireland without the consent of the majority of the population, the Ulster Unionist never supported the agreement. On the other

hand, the atrocities of provisional IRA also did not stop.

In a Conference of conservative party on 19th October 1988 the prime Minister said that:

If the IRA think they can weary us or frighten us, they have made a terrible miscalculation. People sometimes say that it is wrong to use the word never in politics. I disagree. Something are of such fundamental importance that no other word is appropriate. So I say once again today that this government will never surrender to IRA, Never.

The year 1988 witnessed a sudden increase in terrorist activities in various parts of Northern Ireland, wherein at least 8 soldiers were massacred in a bus bombing at Ballygawley. Similarly, in a deliberate attempt of murder, the head of the Northern Ireland Civil Services, Sir Kenneth Bloomfield lost his life. This raised serious concern for security measures. Consequently, a number of new powers were provid-

55. Politics Today, n.50, p.49.
ed under the emergency provisions Act to the security forces to fight against the IRA terrorism.

Royal Ulster Constabulary and the police federation of Northern Ireland were in favour of the introduction of some new stronger bill, since the period of the Prevention of Terrorism Act 1984 was expiring in March 1989. According to the provisions of the new bill, the remission for convicted terrorists is being reduced from half to one third of their sentences.

According to the Security Statistics, from 1969 to June 1988, minimum 2,655 people were killed in various terrorists activities including 573 army soldiers and 253 Royal Ulster Constabulary men. It is clearly visible from the following table:

56. Ibid., p.50.
57. Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deaths</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilian</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army/UDR</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUC/RUC'R'</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>467</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|               |      |      |      |      |      |
| **Injuries**  |      |      |      |      |      |
| Civilian      | 3813 | 468  | 774  | 780  | 319  |
| Army/UDR      | 578  | 33   | 55   | 104  | 88   |
| AUC/RUC'R'    | 485  | 415  | 622  | 246  | 107  |
| **Total**     | 4876 | 916  | 1451 | 1130 | 514  |
**Shooting**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>10628</th>
<th>196</th>
<th>285</th>
<th>489</th>
<th>161</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incidents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explosions</td>
<td>1382</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nos. Changed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>with Terrorist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offences</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recent years have again witnessed a series of dreadful events of bloodiest barbarism in various segments of British society. Though in most of terrorist activities the main targets were ministers, government officials and loyalist but most of the victims were innocent civilians and children in England and Northern Ireland. Over the years, the strategies and methods of the Provisional Irish Republican Army have became more sophisticated and they are also successful in acquiring more lethal weapons.

According to the official sources the IRA's terrorist activities during last twenty years has cost Britain around $19.2 billion. Till 1989, around five hundred ninety six soldiers and two hundred and sixty
three police official have been killed in different encounters with the IRA. Moreover, more than one thousand eight hundred and ninety three civilians have also been killed.

One of the most disastrous element in the present crisis is the participation of new generation in terrorist activities. These youths are misled by various terrorist organizations. The problem was primarily an urban in nature but gradually spread everywhere. The youngsters are born and growing up in an environment of conflict, hatred, jealousy and destruction. Northern Ireland gradually become a battlefield.

So long this environment exists, it is inevitable that the entire new generation will need little persuasion to join terrorist organizations. 58

58. Report of The Commission To consider Legal Procedures to Deal with Terrorist Activities in Northern Ireland. [It was presented to the Parliament by the Secreary of State, Lord Diplock.] cmnd 5185, December 1972, p.35.
A number of political measures and initiatives for solution have been taken but did not bring any positive sequel.

The Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985, has given same degree of equal rights to Catholic minority. But each step of the joint agreement has been forged over by the protests of the loyalist parties who have stopped all avenues towards the unity of the two community. Hence, the job of maintaining peace and balance of power still lies with the army.

For effective measures, what is needed is not more indiscriminate application of the label 'terrorist' and various legislations but first of all various sources of problem should be found. There is an urgent need for genuine preparedness programme at the government level.

A more up-to-date intelligence network through collaboration between security forces can be of immense use. Secondly, the nature of the problem, its causes, people involved in terrorist activities their motiva-
tions should be immediately found. Similarly, the relationship dealing with terrorist incident and mitigating its consequences need to be carefully studied. Thirdly, since most of the IRA's attacks were aimed at VIP places, airport, countryside areas, police stations, pubs and shopping complex, the tight security controls at these areas and particularly, border area can contribute in combating them. On the other hand, the immediate hunt for terrorists in each case could be very useful.

It is also clear that the problem has become so complex that it cannot be merely checked by military or police actions. Most of the cells and backers of terrorists are very diffuse. Hence, it would be very difficult to attack every suspected terrorist. What is needed is to bring about changes in their heart and mind. It is also true, that where justice is not done properly, people resort to personal revenge. That's why it is very important for any government to understand the causes of their grievances.

There is a need for active response from all individuals who can bring about general awareness.
On the other hand, the govt should try to organize and produce mass support against terrorists and eliminate them from general public. In this process government has to indicate that it has something worth supporting in which they have confidence. This will help in stopping new generation from joining such activities. Moreover, it will completely segregate terrorists from general masses.