CONCLUSION

The history of terrorism is not easy to comprehend. It is a long, complex, at times obscure and often a controversial issue. Over the period of time—protest, terrorism, revolution, political violence sometimes with state sponsorship have disrupted and placed the entire international order on a very delicate and fragile foundation. Terrorism breeds fallacies as much as it degrades its perpetrators and offends human life and dignity. During last few years, there has arisen diverse controversies and discussion concerning the most appropriate definition of terrorism.

The League of Nations convention on terrorism defines it as an amalgam of all criminal acts directed against a state with an intention to create a state of fear and terror in the minds of a particular person, or a group of persons. Walter Laqueur defines terrorism as an attempt to destabilise democratic framework of society. Though his definition is legal in nature but does not differentiate between international conflict and conflict within a state.
The government of France defines it as an act of barbarism committed by a foreigner in the territory of a third state. In another attempt of defining terrorism Thornton made a significant contribution. His definition includes symbolic nature of terrorism which intend to influence political behaviour of various countries. But Grant Wordlow's definition includes state sponsored terrorism and terrorism by non state actors. He defines terrorism as a systematic use of murder, assassination and violence by an individual or a group of individuals to create state of extreme fear and anxiety indicating effects in a target group larger than the immediate victims for political and ideological motives.

International terrorism includes all acts of violence which are supported by foreign pro-terrorist regime and which were aimed to attract International attention or overthrowing a particular regime. It also includes the violence which is outside the generally accepted norms of international rules of war and diplomacy.
The struggle for liberation from imperialist rule brings about another dimension of terrorism. The main aim of this type of terrorism is to spread terror to achieve political goals either at local or regional level.

The causes of terrorism in most of the countries are more or less same. These are, unredressed grievances by the government, denial of legitimate political, economic and civil rights, lack of employment, fundamentalism, socio-political injustice, religious motivated crusades, feeling of insecurity, political informative, racialism, etc. Sometime powerful nations indulge in blatant coercive diplomacy with a view to intimidating the poor and underdeveloped countries, consequently, the retaliatory action by small countries against powerful countries result in the form of state sponsored terrorism. It is also said that terrorism is also caused by economically powerful groups for their political and economic interest.
Although terrorist have different nationalities, religions, societies, ethnic groups, ideologies but their goals are generally illegal and unethical. Terrorists are highly political and ideologically motivated groups but they are very small and too weak to achieve positive result against governments. Hence, violence is not their immediate goal and that's why they believe in creating a state of extreme fear and anxiety, and thereby, to ultimately alter the structure of governments. They often try to attract world wide attention and spread fear and violence because they are sentimentally involved in their cause. Terrorists also aim at changing public behaviour to gain more and more popularity which help them getting specific concessions alongwith the recognition to achieve their goal.

On the other hand, some terrorists organization are supported by large numbers of culturally distinct population groups for various causes. But having failed to get their demands fulfilled by all constitutional means, the impatient and violent elements among certain substantially large aggrieved communities have adopted terrorism as an important strategy to achieve
their aims. The terrorism created by Irish Republican Army falls in this category. Terrorism in Ireland is not a recent phenomenon. Ever since the seventeenth century, Irishmen had been major target of foreign invasion. In the early 17th century with the settling down of English and the scots in Ireland, the situation changed. The new settlers were Protestants and always kept themselves aloof from the Catholics. The 1789 uprising led largely by Presbyterians caused damage to Irish Parliament. Similarly, Britain merged Ireland with United Kingdom by the Act of union (1800).

The Second half of the 19th century onwards competition for employment and housing facilities between Catholics and Protestants led to the serious conflicts and division on communal basis. On the other hand serious agitation for the restablishment of a separate Irish parliament occurred in the late 19th century which resulted in the introduction of "Home Rule" in Ireland.
The Home Rule was strongly opposed by the Protestants. The British government was not in a position to deal with resistance due to its fragile economic positions and the outbreak of the first world war. Hence, in 1914 the third Home Rule Bill was passed.

The period from January, 1919 until may 1921 was marked by the Anglo-Irish war. Consequently, in 1921 the Anglo-Irish agreement was signed which allowed partition of Ireland. The treaty gave a dominion status to 26 Counties of South which became free from the British control. On the other hand, the 6 Counties of North were allowed to have a separate administration and it was made a part of united Kingdom. Hence, Northern Ireland became a distinct political entity.

Catholics refused to participate in the politics of Northern Ireland, perceiving themselves unequally placed among the Protestant majority. on the other hand, job opportunities were very limited for Catholics. The reasons for the difference of economic status was the discriminatory policies of government. Protestants were also given better educational opportu-
nities because 59 per cent of the total school population was Protestant.

Similarly, in the political field, from 1921 onwards until recently, the Nationalist Party in Northern Ireland could not have a strong position. Whereas, the unionist party always won with massive majority, because the franchise system was linked with the right to property and position in the society. Moreover, the single member constituency made impossible for Nationalist to win the election.

It was against this background, grievances festered producing much allegation and counter allegation about discriminatory policies. Hence, inter-community fear and suspicion have been fed by intermittent outbreak of violence which involved destruction, strike, sabotage, killings and terrorism.

The years between 1924 and 1969 witnesses many attacks on government officials and public places by the Irish Republic Army (the military wing of Sinn Fein).
With the massive expansion of Irish Republican Army the differences regarding the strategies of operation emerged among many I.R.A.'s members. Finally, in 1969, the Irish Republican Army was divided into two groups - the official and the provisional. The official IRA was aimed at achieving, United Socialist Republican by Marxist way of national liberation. The Provisional IRA was aimed at getting United Ireland through violence.

On the other hand, the Protestant militant organizations like Ulster volunteer Front (UVF) was formed to attack nationalist.

Thus from 1969 onwards, every strategy and measure of British government to improve the situation has merely resulted in an abortive effort. The Provisional Irish Republican Army started its violence campaign which resulted in many deaths and casualties. In 1972, more than four hundred and sixty two people were killed in various terrorist activities. On the other hand, the Protestant terrorist group, Ulster volunteer force murdered more and more Catholics.
However, the British government has adopted all strategies to improve the situation by introducing a number of reforms. Though these reforms have improved the situation for some time. But the situation is again deteriorated by the growing further differences. The most important cause of the existing terrorist problem in Northern Ireland has been that the advantages and disadvantages of Catholics and Protestants are generally interpreted as a clandestine conspiracy against each other. Therefore, the growing terrorist violence has threatened the stability of the country and has now almost become a part of daily routine. Since contemporary terrorism has developed many facets and it is neither restricted to a particular group, country or individual nor caused by only one grievance, the solution also cannot be simple and uniform. Hence, for effective measures, a multilayered approach has to be followed. The intelligence system should be effective enough to provide myriad informations about terrorist’s aims, and datas related to the areas within which the event is unfolding. The timings and sites should be known in advance. But government
alone cannot do everything since the roots of terrorist activities lie in various segments of society. Individuals and groups can make significant contribution in this regard by segregating terrorist and informing police about their attacks and hide-outs. International agreement and cooperation including alliances, defence communities, formalised security communities and dispute settlement procedures could be of immense use in combating terrorist beyond territories. There is an urgent need to realise that third world countries are too weak to combat terrorism and terrorism in most of these countries has been caused by deprivation, poverty and social degradation. The western countries can help third world countries in tackling the problems of illiteracy, underdevelopment, high infant mortality, unemployment and over population which are the main causes of terrorism. By helping poor countries the western world would not only invest in third world but it would also help in maintaining the general environment of security against any terrorist threat.