

Tenth Annual Session of *the*
Gaúcho Model United Nations Conference
February 15–17, 2019



Joint Crisis Committee: The Troubles and the
Thatcher Era

Crisis Director's Letter

Honorable Delegates,

My name is Christian Olmos, and this year I have the honor of being your Crisis Director for the historical crisis of GauchoMUN: The Irish Republican Army's fight for Northern Ireland during the Thatcher era. I am a fourth-year Political Science with a focus in Comparative Studies, and a Los Angeles native. I have seen crisis committees from both the Chair and Crisis Director positions, and am always thrilled with the intelligence, diplomacy, and willingness our delegates demonstrate when responding to a political situation; I am sure that this year, my expectations will be exceeded. On my end, I will do everything in my power to engage, challenge and reward you in your efforts to solve this crisis. My staff is at your disposal and will indulge your more devious plots WITHIN REASON. Work together, stay in character, and enjoy yourselves!

Ireland and England have a turbulent history to say the least, and their relationship offers a unique perspective on a lesser-known era of guerrilla warfare which, to this day, affects the culture and politics of both countries. We are hoping that this background guide will allow you to see that neither side of the conflict was completely to blame, and that finding a solution to The Troubles involves delving into an extremely messy and traumatic time in the history of the United Kingdom and Ireland. At the risk of sounding cheesy, you have been given a chance to rewrite history, for better or for worse. I look forward to seeing what you make of it!

Best regards,

Christian Olmos, Crisis Director

Background on the Irish Republican Army (IRA)

The Irish Republican Army (IRA), is a parliamentary organization that seeks the establishment of a republic, the end of British rule in Northern Ireland, and the unification of Ireland as a whole. Beginning in 1919 after World War I, the IRA was a successor to the Irish Volunteers and operated as a nationalist military organization which uses armed forces as a means of ending British rule in Ireland and obtaining an independent republic. The IRA was therefore in essence a continuation of the rebel forces who had struggled against British colonization in 1916, 1867, 1848, and 1798: ultimately, since the beginning of English settlement in the early eleventh century, Irish inhabitants fought hard to reclaim their land.

During the Anglo-Irish War, which spanned from 1919-1921, the IRA employed guerilla tactics--including ambushes, raids, and sabotage--to force the British government to negotiate, which resulted in two new political entities: the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. These negotiations proved to not be adequate for many members of the IRA, resulting in a split into two factions: one supporting the treaty and the other opposing it. The latter group, under the leadership of Eamon de Valera, became known as "Irregulars," and began to organize armed resistance against the new independent government. The former group, under the leadership of Michael Collins, became the core of the official Irish Free State Army.

The Irish Civil War (1922-23) resulted in the capitulation of the Irregulars, however, they neither surrendered their arms nor disbanded. Instead, a portion of the Irregulars fell into the background, as a reminder to successive governments that the aspiration for a united republican Ireland--achieved by violence if necessary--was alive and well. For the following decades, the IRA would commit violent acts against the Irish and British governments, and at one point even asked Adolf Hitler for assistance to help remove the British from Ireland. The organization was declared illegal by the British government in 1931.

After the withdrawal of Ireland from the British Commonwealth in 1949, the IRA turned its attention to unifying Northern Ireland with the Irish Republic. Following two unsuccessful nationalist campaigns conducted in the 1940's and 50's, Northern Ireland experienced a brief period of relative stability until 1966.

The following period, lasting from 1968-1998, is known today as The Troubles for its traumatic violence perpetrated by Irish loyalists, nationalists, and British soldiers alike. Increasingly volatile riots and instances of retaliation divided Northern Ireland more deeply than ever in August of 1969, and 1,505 out of the 1,820 Irish families forced to evacuate were Catholic, adding an element of religious persecution to the conflict. The most extreme period of escalation occurred between 1970-1972; in the latter year alone, 500 people were killed, roughly half of whom were civilians. This sudden upsurge in carnage has been attributed to several causes: Firstly, an increase in curfews and British military presence in the area, secondly, the introduction of internment without trial, and finally, an increase in wrongful detainment, which inadvertently radicalized individuals who were, up until that point, unaffiliated with the IRA. The most well-known incident of this time period, "Bloody Sunday", took place on January 30, 1972. On this day, 13 unarmed civilians were shot and killed by the British Battalion, Parachute Division (known as Para 1) during an anti-internment rally held by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). It is infamous for being the day on which the largest number of people were killed. In addition, Libya began supplying the IRA with arms in 1972, as a result of Joe Cahill's visit to the country. It is said to have supplied the IRA with its first RPG-propelled rocket grenade launchers.

From 1971-1975, response to IRA resistance by the British military grew increasingly vicious. The military developed the "Five Techniques" to interrogate suspected Irish nationalists, which included wall-standing, hooding, deprivation of sleep, subjection to noise, and deprivation of food and drink. These tactics were declared illegal by both British inquiry and the European Commission of Human Rights, but clearly inspired a grim global legacy that continued well into the twenty-first century. In 1972, British troop concentration peaked at 20 troops per 1000 civilians, the highest ratio found in the history of counterinsurgency warfare.

As the 1970's came to a close, the Provisional IRA began to lose hope of Britain's retreat from Northern Ireland, and instead began forming a strategy called "The Long War", which proposed that IRA acts of violence go on indefinitely in an effort to wear the British government down. Margaret Thatcher would be elected to power in the midst of this unending struggle.

Tactics of Guerilla Warfare

In an effort to carry out the Long War, the Provisional Irish Republican Army used a combination of bombings, assassinations and ambushes to push its political goals. During the 1970s, they combatted declining support for their cause by organizing into detached cells in 1977 to protect against infiltration. This tactic was similar to that used during the war of Algeria, in which rebel groups would decentralize in order to avoid being completely discovered and having their chain of command decimated.

The IRA used all of the resources at their disposal to create violence and unrest. For instance, their bombing techniques ranged from the specific targeting of British soldiers (such as the bombing of June 15, 1988--six British soldiers were killed) to the more messy and controversial killing of civilians (1987 Remembrance Day bombing--eleven civilians killed and sixty-three injured). In addition, they used several forms of weaponry to execute these bombings: "human bombs", car bombs, incendiary bombs, UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force) bombs, culvert bombs, trackside bombs, landmines and mortars were all used in addition to more traditional bombing techniques. As is the case with guerilla warfare, their unpredictability ensured their effectiveness, and anyone could be a target. Unfortunately, this occasionally backfired: Two children were killed in the Warrington Bomb Attacks of 1993, prompting mass protests in both Ireland and Britain.

The IRA were prone to assassinating figures of political importance, and targeted British members of Parliament specifically. Between 1979 and 1984, four British MPs were assassinated by the IRA. Besides politicians, witnesses were also part of the IRA hit list: forty-year-old bus conductor Sydney Agnew was murdered in 1972 after being called as a witness to an IRA hijacking and bus burning and as recently as 2004, a witness to an IRA heroin transaction named James Curran was murdered for seeing IRA commander Bernard Dempsey accepting drug money at a pub. However, while some IRA assassinations seem strategic, such as those listed above, others were less coordinated and led to the death of innocents. In 1984, 22-year-old Mary Travers was accidentally killed in her father's place, shot through the back of the head. Later, in 1988, Gillian Johnston and her fiancée were shot 47 times in her father's car in the stead of her brother, who was said to have been part of the Ulster Defense Regiment. While these incidents did nothing to increase the IRA's popularity, the deliberate targeting of innocent civilians were by far the most enraging. Thomas Oliver, an Irish farmer and father of seven, was extensively tortured and shot several times through the back of the head in 1991 after discovering a barrel of IRA weapons that were hidden unwittingly on his property. He had no affiliations with any paramilitary group or security forces.

In addition to bombings and assassinations, the IRA employed ambush techniques to further their cause during the Long War. These most often focused on British military troops and involved a combination of bombs and firearms, often taking place on terrain that was advantageous to the IRA. The Warrenpoint ambush, which took place in 1971, is a perfect example of this: two large roadside bombs were detonated near Narrow Water Castle by the IRA, disabling a British Army convoy and the reinforcements that would attempt to help the wounded. Members of the IRA hid in the nearby woodland and allegedly fired on the troops as well, killing eighteen soldiers and grievously wounding six more. However these ambushes were not one-sided-- both the Loughgall ambush and the Crossbarry ambush demonstrated the British Army's ability to use guerilla warfare tactics against the IRA.

The Five Techniques

While the British Army was not opposed to coopting tactics of guerilla warfare in their fight against the IRA, they also tailored their own specific interrogation methods, which became known as the five techniques, in 1971. These techniques were both nationally and internationally condemned as violations of human rights, but remain covertly popular methods of interrogation around the world (cough cough Abu Ghraib cough cough) as the European Commission on Human Rights did not deem these methods torture.

During the British Army's Operation Demetrius in 1971, which coordinated the mass arrest and internment of people suspected of involvement with the Irish Republican Army, fourteen prisoners were subjected to "deep interrogation", meaning they were kept hooded and handcuffed in their jail cells for seven days when they weren't being interrogated. During these cell periods, they were kept in the cold and subjected to a continuous loud hissing noise. They were also forced to undertake stress positions and were not given food or drink. They were also repeatedly beaten; some reported being kicked in the genitals, having their heads banged against walls, and being threatened with injections.

The combined effect of these techniques resulted in prolonged pain, physical and mental exhaustion, severe anxiety, depression, hallucinations, disorientation and repeated loss of consciousness, as well as lasting post-traumatic stress disorder. While the fourteen "Hooded Men" were the only individuals to be subjected to all five techniques at once, other prisoners underwent at least one technique during their internment.

External Involvement in The Troubles

- **Libya**

Following Gaddafi's budding interest in the Irish Republican Army in 1969, Libya began forming an alliance with the IRA in 1973, when the Irish Navy boarded a ship called the Claudia and discovered five tonnes of Libya-supplied weaponry. Ties with the IRA resumed in 1986 after Gaddafi's daughter was killed, along with 100 others, by a US bombing raid launched from UK bases. One year later, French authorities discovered around 1000 AK-47 machine guns, more than 50 ground-to-air missiles and two tonnes of Semtex in a ship, called the Eskund, on its way to Northern Ireland. It is believed that other shipments of arms reached Ireland before the Eskund was apprehended. According to a British intelligence source, the IRA used the Semtex, which greatly enhanced effectiveness, in about 250 booby trap bombings. Collaboration between the IRA and Libya continued until 2003, when Gaddafi was encouraged to take responsibility for the Lockerbie flight bombing by Prime Minister Tony Blair.

- **South Africa**

Allegedly, the IRA helped carry out the biggest bomb attacks against the South African apartheid government on July 1st, 1980. According to former senior African National Congress

Kader Asmal, the IRA approached him in the late 1970s to help arrange training in Ireland for the military branch of the African National Congress known as the MK. With Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams involved in the negotiations, it was agreed upon that two military IRA experts would be paired with two MK personnel and take them to a safe place in Dublin to train for two weeks. However, relations didn't end there: Asmal also claimed that the IRA played a significant role in the attack of a major oil refinery in June of 1980. It seems the anti-apartheid cause and that of the IRA were well-suited to each other--In 2013, Nelson Mandela answered a journalist's question on his stance regarding the decommissioning of IRA weapons by saying "My position, my position... my position is that you don't hand over your weapons until you get what you want... " (Curran, 2013).

A Brief Note on Character Profiles:

As the IRA was a guerilla organization, it is no surprise that very little was revealed about their internal leadership structure and modes of operation. Due to this scarcity of information, our crisis committee has taken some creative liberties in writing the profiles of certain IRA members. All characters listed below were real people, and all contributed to the IRA cause. However, any supplementary fictional details serve only to give you a clearer picture of who you are playing, your motivation and goals.

In addition, we realize that it may seem difficult to directly involve certain Thatcher cabinet members in The Troubles, but the character profiles of this side are merely an outline of their political capstones, and leave much room for subversion, negotiation, and general "thinking outside the box". This is a crisis committee, so you should be able to raise a little hell.

Characters

IRA:

Thomas Murphy:

Thomas Murphy has a long history with the IRA, most importantly serving as its Chief of Staff for an unspecified time. Given the nickname "Slab", he was the mastermind behind many bombings, ambushes and assassinations, as well as a successful money laundering scheme that was eventually busted in 2006. He was actively involved in the IRA from 1969 to 2006.

Murphy is believed to have been the planner of the Warrenpoint Ambush of 1979, which killed 18 British soldiers. He is also believed to have planned the Mullaghmore Bombing, which took place on the same day as the ambush, and killed four more people, including two children. Likewise important to foreign relations, Murphy allegedly helped smuggle Libyan arms into

Ireland during the 1980s and was instrumental in ending the ceasefire of 1996 by planting the Canary Wharf bomb that killed two people.

Besides these well-documented crimes, Murphy is implicated in the darker side of the IRAs activities. In 2006, a large torture chamber believed to have been used by the IRA to torture and kill its victims was discovered close to Murphy's home. Murphy categorically denied having anything to do with this discovery, and referred to himself as an advocate for peace. In addition, his farm's strategic position between Northern Ireland and the Republic is thought to have been ideal for his smuggling and money-laundering schemes, as he exploited the tax authorities on both sides.

To this day, Thomas Murphy claims he has only ever been a simple farmer.

Martin McGuinness

Martin McGuinness is believed to have been the IRA's first Northern Commander, and was a very active member during the 1970s. By age 21 in 1972, he was second-in-command of the IRA in Derry. In 1973, he was convicted by the Republic of Ireland's Special Criminal Court, after being arrested near a car containing 250 pounds of explosives and nearly 5,000 rounds of ammunition. He refused to recognize the court, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. In court, he declared his membership of the Provisional IRA without equivocation: "We have fought against the killing of our people... I am a member of Óglaigh na hÉireann and very, very proud of it".

In 1979, McGuinness is said to have become the IRA chief of staff and presided over incidents including the assassination of Lord Mountbatten in County Sligo on the same day 18 British soldiers were killed at Warrenpoint in County Down. He was also in the role when a unit in Derry shoots dead Joanne Mathers as she collected census forms in republican areas. Following another accusation of being a member of the IRA, McGuinness became more actively involved in the political aspirations of Northern Ireland and joined Sinn Féin. During the 1981 hunger strikes, he served as a British informant, keeping indirect contact with MI6 agent Michael Oatley through the incident and again in 1991. Despite this, he was banned from entering Great Britain in 1982 under the Prevention of Terrorism Act implemented by home secretary William Whitelaw. Eventually, McGuinness moved further and further into the political sphere through Sinn Féin, and became instrumental in peacemaking processes between the IRA and the British.

Gerry Adams

Although he has often and loudly denounced claims of his involvement with the IRA, Gerry Adams cannot seem to distance himself from the Republican Army. Former IRA Member Sean O'Callaghan has accused Gerry Adams of having been part of the IRA Revolutionary Council of

1983, which he also attended. Additionally, former IRA member Peter Rogers has alleged that Gerry Adams was part of an operation to transport explosives to Great Britain in 1980, although it is vehemently denied by Sinn Fein. At the height of the 1981 IRA hunger strikes, he played a key role in the Fermanagh by-election in which Bobby Sands became an MP a month before his death. As late as 2003, Adams was accused of being involved in the IRA's 1978 La Mon Restaurant bombing, another claim he has argued is completely false. Many other allegations have been made against Gerry Adams, but not many of them have managed to stick. These include being the mastermind behind the 16 "Disappeared" in 1972, and that Adams was involved in approving IRA bomb attacks in London in the early 1970s.

In addition to his numerous connections with the IRA, Adams was instrumental in the bolstering of Sinn Fein. In the 1970's under the pseudonym "Brownie", he called for increased political activity among republicans, especially at local level. This connection between local advocacy and Northern Ireland independence appealed greatly to the youth of the region, who had been actively involved in the IRA fight but had never considered the power of politics. Although Sinn Fein refuses to take any of their seats in British or Irish parliaments until Northern Ireland was reunited with the rest of the island, Adams was jettisoned into mainstream politics thanks to the 1988-1994 British broadcasting voice restrictions, which fought to keep terrorists like him out of the media limelight. This furthered his reputation as a voice for the people, and increased his legitimacy. He has led Sinn Fein for more than thirty years.

Pat Doherty

Pat Doherty was named as Adjutant General by IRA-turned-informer Sean O'Callaghan. Doherty, who is also the Vice President of Sinn Fein, was apparently deeply entrenched in IRA violence, as demonstrated by this humorous exchange recounted by O'Callaghan, which took place in 1985: Mr Doherty had asked Mr Murphy how were they going to win the war. Mr O'Callaghan said Mr Murphy had replied: "Bomb them to the conference table and then booby trap the table." He said Mr Doherty had asked: "But what about the Sinn Fein delegation?" Mr Murphy had allegedly replied: "We never tell people where we're putting our booby traps."

Doherty was reportedly the intelligence chief of the IRA, charged with the task of uncovering British spies in the organization. According to the book written by a former IRA member that accused him of holding that position, Doherty was deeply mistrusted among many IRA members by the mid to late eighties. It seems that the overwhelming sentiment against Doherty was that he was working against the IRA and attempting to run it down.

Later in his life, Doherty made the popular move of switching from guerilla activism to political mobilization, becoming the vice-president of Sinn Fein and continuing to campaign for the rights

and recognition of Northern Ireland. Like many other Sinn Fein leaders, he denies having ever played a direct role in the Provisional Irish Republican Army, but the allegations remain.

Martin Ferris

Martin Ferris was initiated into the IRA at a young age, following the death of his father in 1970. Only 18 at the time, Ferris was under the command of the Southern Ireland division, which was mainly in charge of supporting IRA activity in Northern Ireland. In the mid 1970s, following a series of robberies, Martin Ferris was on the run from the authorities, and was charged and sentenced with prison time for being a member of the IRA both in 1975 and in 1976. In 1977, Ferris took part in the hunger strike that would serve as the precursor to the hunger strike of 1981. He was transferred to a hospital thirty-two days into the strike.

In 1984, Ferris was caught trying to smuggle seven tonnes of explosives, arms and ammunition into Ireland on a ship called the Marita Ann. He and his crew were captured by two navy ships with the contraband already on board, and were arrested. He and two other members of the Marita Ann crew received ten years in prison.

In 2005, Ferris was named as part of the IRA army council of the seventies and eighties when the Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform used parliamentary privilege to denounce him. Both Ferris and Sinn Fein have denounced the accusation.

Gerry Kelly

Recruited in the early 1970s, Gerry Kelly garnered a reputation among the IRA as a “ruthless and fearless operative.” In March 1973, Kelly participated in the Old Bailey Bombings, a set of bomb attacks in London targeting a courthouse and the headquarters of the Scotland Yard. For his part in the attack, Kelly received a prison sentence. He participated in the 1983 Hunger Strike at Maze Prison, and escaped by hijacking a prison lorry and smashing through the prison along with a group of other IRA prisoners, as well as allegedly shooting a prison warden who was trying to foil the escape in the head.

As a result of this explosive escape, Gerry Kelly was forced to go on the run throughout Europe for three years. Upon his return to the IRA, and presented with a choice between returning to active service or escaping to the United States, Kelly chose to continue his service with the IRA. Kelly attempted to smuggle weapons and explosives to the IRA through the Netherlands, where authorities recaptured him in 1986. He was given a Royal Prerogative of Mercy as part of a legal deal to be extradited in that year, and then spent three more years in the Maze until his release in 1989.

According to Kelly, members of the IRA who were jailed were no longer part of the paramilitary group once they were imprisoned. Upon their release, they would have to reapply to be

considered a member of the IRA once more. This ensured that only those who were truly committed to the cause were touting the title, and that those who sought to leave the violence behind them were given the opportunity to leave.

Alec Reid

Father Alec Reid, although he was never formally a part of the IRA, was said to have been instrumental to the Irish peace process and one of Gerry Adams' closest confidantes. A Catholic priest, Reid first became a figure of importance in 1975, when he helped ease the tensions of the feud between the Provisional and Official IRA factions. Then, in 1977, he once again returned to mediate these two groups and ended up becoming close with Adams in the process. In the late eighties, light would be shed on his part in the ceasefire discussion, but a shy man by nature, Reid would never boast of his considerable achievements.

In 1980, Reid's serious illness prevented him from being as active in the IRA resolution as he would have liked, and he held himself personally responsible for not having been able to aid the discussion between Thatcher and the IRA. Reid struck a sympathetic chord in both the IRA and the more reticent Irish loyalists, as he did not ally himself with any one political party or agenda, and certainly did not commend the actions of the IRA, but rather suggested that the question be asked as to why members of the IRA felt compelled to join in the first place. By 1983 and 1984, Reid had gotten Adams to start considering 1) what the parameters of a ceasefire between the IRA and the British would be 2) whether the British would honor the ceasefire or simply crack down on IRA members and 3) how involved Adams would have to be with the unionists in order to garner support. Reid's role and voice of reason and beloved pacifier continued through the eighties and marked him as one of the least controversial figures of The Troubles.

Rosena Brown

Rosena Brown worked for Sinn Fein and as a stage and television actress. At the same time, she conducted espionage on behalf of the IRA. Brown cultivated a relationship with John Christopher Hanna, an officer at the Maze Prison. Hanna became infatuated with her, and Brown utilized the relationship to obtain information that led to the IRA's successful murder of Brian Samuel Armour, another prison officer. In the subsequent trial, the court named Brown but did not bring up charges against her. Eventually the Royal Ulster Constabulary arrested Brown and she served seven years of a twenty-year term for possession of explosives and conspiracy to murder. Brown would be released under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement in December 1998.

Eamonn Cooke

Eamonn Cooke was an extremely controversial figure in the ranks of the IRA. Apparently before getting involved in radio, Cooke considered himself to be something of a vigilante,

listening to police frequencies and speed off in his Jaguar to help them catch the criminal. In 1973, Cooke's staff at Radio Dublin led a "mutiny" in response to allegations that accused Cooke of being a child molester. Nevertheless, Cooke remained a central voice of propaganda for the IRA, referring to himself as "Captain Cooke" on his pirate radio station. In 1978, Magill magazine referred to Cooke as "an innocuous, quietly-spoken IRA man". Later in 1984, Cooke organized the petrol-bombing of the home of John Paul O'Toole on South Circular Road. O'Toole had worked for Cooke at Radio Dublin but had been laid off. He was "seen" with Cooke's former girlfriend, who wanted revenge and so approached a number of men to carry out the attack. Eamonn, who had five previous convictions with the last one dating back to 1957, was given a four-year suspended sentence.

Given his work as a pirate radio host in the 1980s, Cooke would have been able to disseminate propaganda quite efficiently during this time. Stronger connections to his pedophilia did not surface until 2003, and Cooke was actually a pseudo-media-darling through the seventies and eighties, much respected and listened to.

Matthew Devlin

Matthew Devlin participated in the 1981 Hunger Strike as a replacement for Martin Hurson, a prisoner at Maze Prison, who died of starvation after forty-six days without food. At the time, Devlin himself was incarcerated at Maze for attempting to murder Royal Ulster Constabulary officers. Devlin would go on strike for seven weeks before a medical intervention from his family forced him to quit. His leaving would foreshadow the eventual outcome of the strike, as the IRA eventually called it off with their demands still unmet.

While Matthew Devlin seemingly disappeared from the media's view following his hunger strike, it is believed that he continued to be a member of the IRA, and that his position centered around IRA recruitment tactics in County Tyrone, as well as bolstering support for the relatively new Sinn Fein political movement. Later in his life, despite serious illness, Matthew Devlin stood in local elections in Ireland, but failed to get elected. Despite his failure, he is still believed to have been instrumental in the growth of Sinn Fein's reach and popularity, and his more covert work as an IRA recruiter no doubt aided his political efforts.

Kevin McKenna

Kevin McKenna climbed through the ranks of the IRA starting in the sixties, when a brief interlude in Canada did not deter him from resuming his membership upon his return to Ireland. Following the departure of Brendan Hughes in 1972, McKenna took on the role of leader of the East Tyrone Brigade. Later, in 1983, then Chief-of-Staff Ivor Bell was denounced as being part of the IRA and jailed, meaning that he automatically lost his title. McKenna automatically stepped in to take his place.

McKenna's most difficult challenge during his time as Chief of Staff was balancing the interests of the IRA versus the more militant and extremist East Tyrone Brigade. Both sides were chafing and seemed unable to agree on a compromise of advancing the cause of Northern Ireland. In particular, Pádraig McKearney, an East Tyrone paramilitary strategist, continually proposed a strategic defensive that involved cutting off support to the Ulster Defense Regiment, Royal Ulster Constabulary and British Army and bombing, ambushing and assassinating the defenseless soldiers. He deployed this tactic as leader of the East Tyrone Brigade but was promptly shut down by McKenna when he suggested the creation of IRA flying columns. He was replaced by Thomas Murphy in 1994, and was the longest-running Chief of Staff in the IRA.

Dominic 'Mad Dog' McGlinchey

McGlinchey joined elements of the IRA at the age of 17, He was arrested twice, once in 1971 without charge, and in 1973 for the illegal possession of a firearm. Upon his release for the latter crime in 1976, McGlinchey and several others engaged in a killing spree in Derry. Between 1976 and 1978, his group murdered nineteen people. McGlinchey gained heavy notoriety for his actions, which led to the British government deploying the Special Air Service to oppose him. Because of disagreements with IRA leadership, McGlinchey left the group and joined the Irish National Liberation Army in 1982. He became the group's chief of staff within six months. Under his leadership, the INLA carried out attacks on military installations and personnel, Royal Ulster Constabulary forces, and loyalist paramilitary troops. The Irish arrested McGlinchey on Saint Patrick's Day 1984, extraditing him to Northern Ireland. He would go on to serve ten years in Portlaoise prison on firearms charges. In 1994, unknown assassins shot and killed McGlinchey in Drogheda, Ireland.

Thatcher Cabinet:

Margaret Thatcher

Known today as "the Iron Lady", Margaret Thatcher won the Conservative leadership party election in 1975 and became the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom in 1979--the first female leader in the Western world. With the UK under an economic recession, even requiring credit from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Thatcher and the Conservative party vowed to turn the economic situation around through higher taxes and a new fiscal policy. Because of policies which allowed currency to float and slashed government spending, joblessness in the United Kingdom increased to 2.7 million by 1981, contributing to her unprecedentedly low approval ratings and numerous riots. Undaunted, Thatcher proceeded to sack the "wets" within her government who were frightened of the country's discontent, and instead filled her cabinet with ideological allies who gave her more leeway in running the country as she saw fit.

On October 1984, the IRA bombed the hotel where Thatcher was holding the annual Conservative Conference, killing and wounding many of the Party's members, in retaliation to Thatcher's refusal to meet the demands of the 1981 hunger strikes. However, she was recently discovered to have negotiated with the IRA during the infamous hunger strikes of the early 1980s. According to recently discovered documents, Thatcher oversaw and granted certain IRA

demands including issues of clothing, parcels and visits. Her hard-line attitude belied a more flexible and humane approach than was previously assumed, but this apparently was not enough to assuage the demands of the Irish Republican Army.

In 1985, she signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement with Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald which established the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Conference. This agreement gave Ireland an advisory role in Northern Ireland's government while further confirming Northern Ireland's Constitutionality. Although the agreement did not immediately end violence in Northern Ireland, it was crucial in the peace process by improving cooperation between the British and Irish governments. This achievement, compounded with her campaign to reclaim the Falkland Islands and her alliance with Ronald Reagan as the champions of capitalism, made 1985 the apotheosis of Thatcher's political career.

Regardless of whether or not she adhered to it all the time, Thatcher was best known for her often effective but brutal intransigence. Despite domestic turmoil and international distrust, Margaret Thatcher remained a woman of principle, who believed wholeheartedly that the ends justify the means, and her love of country overtook all other priorities. However, as the IRA hunger strikes demonstrate, much of her diplomacy may have taken place behind the scenes, proving that the Iron Lady may have been more malleable than she seemed, and offering interesting insight into political conflict negotiations.

William Whitelaw

William Whitelaw served as both the Home Secretary and the Leader of the House of Lords in Thatcher's cabinet.

Whitelaw was made the first Secretary of State for Northern Ireland after the imposition of direct rule in March 1972, and during his one-year tenure at this post, introduced Special Category Status for paramilitary prisoners. He attempted to negotiate with the Provisional Irish Republican Army with the then PIRA Chief of Staff Seán MacStíofáin in July 1972. The talks ended in an agreement to change from a seven-day truce, to an open-ended truce, which did not last long. As a briefing for prime minister Edward Heath later noted, Whitelaw "found the experience of meeting and talking to Mr MacStíofáin very unpleasant". MacStíofáin in his memoir, complimented Whitelaw, saying he was the only Englishman ever to pronounce his name in Irish correctly.

As Home Secretary, Whitelaw adopted a hard-line approach to law and order. He improved police pay and embarked on a program of extensive prison building. His four-year tenure in office, however, was generally perceived as a troubled one. His much vaunted "short, sharp shock" policy, which enforced a policy whereby convicted young offenders were detained in secure units and subjected to quasi-military discipline, won approval from the public but proved expensive to implement and largely ineffectual in stemming burgeoning crime rates. Inner city decay, unemployment and heavy-handed policing of ethnic minorities (notably the application of what some called the "notorious" sus--stop and search-- law) sparked major riots

in London, Liverpool, Bristol and a spate of disturbances elsewhere. During this time, the Provisional IRA escalated its bombing campaign on England.

The Lord Carrington

Peter Carrington served as Foreign Secretary and Minister of Overseas Development in the Thatcher cabinet. When the Conservatives returned to power in 1970 under Edward Heath, Carrington became Defence Secretary, where he remained until 1974 when the Conservatives were voted out in favour of Harold Wilson's Labour.

On November 16, 1971, British Defense Minister Lord Peter Carrington was moved to denounce Jim Auld, a twenty-year-old unemployed dental technician, on national television. The British government tortured Auld and thirteen other Northern Irish men during Operation Demetrius in August 1971, and Lord Carrington's denunciation — he claimed the fourteen men were "thugs and murderers" — was meant to justify the torture. In fact, no evidence was ever produced to link Auld or any of the other men with any crime. None of the men were tried and none were even charged. In a 1977 letter discussing the policy of torture of Irish republican internees during Operation *Demetrius*, the then Home Secretary Merlyn Rees attributed the origins of the policy in particular to Carrington: "It is my view (confirmed by [Northern Irish Prime Minister] Brian Faulkner before his death) that the decision to use methods of torture in Northern Ireland in 1971/72 was taken by ministers – in particular Lord Carrington, then secretary of state for defence."

Francis Pym

Francis Pym served as Defence Secretary, Leader of the House of Commons and Lord President of the Council under Margaret Thatcher. He served as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland from 1973 until the Heath government fell in 1974. His short tenure during this time was only long enough for him to conclude that Whitelaw, his predecessor, had been making progress in relation to Sinn Fein. In opposition again, Pym became his party's spokesman first on agriculture and then on Commons affairs and devolution (1976-1978) and foreign and commonwealth affairs (1978-1979).

Although Pym represented the more moderate and traditional wing of his party, he won the support of the right-winger who became Conservative leader in 1975, Margaret Thatcher. When she took office in 1979, Pym was passed over for foreign secretary, but he did win the position of secretary of state for defense. Thatcher's plans to cut back Britain's defense budget left Pym ill at ease and eventually led to his leaving the Defense Ministry in 1981 to become the leader of the House of Commons as well as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

Pym is also notable for being one of the most prominent "wets" in Thatcher's cabinet, and openly defying her judgement on a variety of different issues. His tendency to challenge her judgment is believed to have been one of the reasons for being publicly repudiated and sacked by Margaret Thatcher shortly after her landslide election in 1983.

James Prior

Jim Prior served as Secretary of State for Employment and Secretary of State for Northern Ireland under Thatcher from 1979-1984.

Under Margaret Thatcher, James Prior was Secretary of State for Employment from May 1979 to 14 September 1981. Thatcher stated, "we agreed that trade unions had acquired far too many powers and privileges. We also agreed that these must be dealt with one step at a time. But when it came down to specific measures, there was deep disagreement about how fast and how far to move."

Prior is thought to have irritated Thatcher by being on overly good terms with trade union leaders, with Thatcher writing "He had forged good relations with a number of trade union leaders whose practical value he perhaps overestimated." During his period in the Cabinet, he is believed to have angered the right wing of his party and the Prime Minister for not pressing far enough with anti-trade union legislation. In September 1981, Prior became Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and was in this office until September 1984. This transfer was widely seen as a move by Thatcher to isolate Prior, who disagreed with her on a number of economic issues.

During his three years there, he tried to introduce rolling devolution with cross-community support. He admitted to finding the North a foreign country. He was the most English of men, with the added disadvantage of arriving as the 1981 hunger strike was coming to an end. On his second day, he visited the Maze prison where, through a window, he saw INLA hunger striker Liam McCluskey – and realised there were those prepared "in a stubborn, yet courageous, way to accept the inevitable and die." While some army and police actions during his time are still controversial, he tried to conciliate nationalists. One of his earliest policy changes was a major liberalisation in the prison regime. His administration provided the first funding for Irish-language schools. "We were not going to give the unionist majority the right once more, as they had for nearly fifty years under the old Stormont legislation, to govern the province entirely as they wished, free from any checks or conditions," he said.

He resigned from this post in 1984 and cut all ties with the Thatcher government.

Patrick Jenkin

Under Margaret Thatcher, Patrick Jenkin served as Secretary of State for Social Services from 1979 to 1981, then as Secretary of State for Industry until 1983, and finally as Secretary of State for the Environment from 1983 to 1985.

Jenkin was seen as the poll tax's godfather, but as environment secretary between 1983 and 1985, he had already pursued Thatcher's vendetta against local government in an attempt not only to curb its spending but also the influence of Labour-controlled city authorities, particularly

in London. His dutiful administrative and political skills were, however, ultimately no match for Ken Livingstone and other council leaders, and he was replaced by his more resolute and quick-footed deputy, Kenneth Baker.

Jenkin, charged with capping local authority spending and then, once Thatcher grew impatient, with abolishing the metropolitan councils and the GLC altogether, found support even on the government benches and in the Lords becoming ambivalent. As a disgruntled Heath remarked: "The government had achieved the inconceivable in swinging the population of London behind Livingstone." As a corollary – and perhaps more to the former Treasury minister's taste – Jenkin commissioned an inquiry into the reform of the rating system which eventually came up with the poll tax, the policy whose unpopularity, inequity and sheer infeasibility would bring down Thatcher.

Jenkin's inability to deliver local government reform or present the reasons for it convincingly led to his sacking in 1985, and he stood down as an MP to go to the Lords at the general election two years later.

Keith Joseph

Keith Joseph was a key influence in the creation of what came to be known as "Thatcherism" and the subsequent decline of one-nation conservatism and the postwar consensus.

As Thatcher's Secretary of State for Education and Science from 1981 he initiated the concept of the General Certificate for Secondary Education, and the establishment of a national curriculum in England and Wales. He also merged O-Levels and GCSE's during this time, an endeavour that had been undertaken by one of his predecessors. Although not normally the responsibility of central government, he insisted on personally approving the individual subject syllabuses before the GCSE system was introduced.

His attempts to reform teachers' pay and bring in new contracts were opposed by the trade unions, leading to a series of one-day strikes.

In 1984 his public spending negotiations with his Treasury colleagues resulted in a proposed plan for extra research funding for universities financed through the curtailment of financial support to students who were dependent children of more affluent parents. This plan provoked heated opposition from fellow members of the Cabinet and a compromise plan was found necessary to secure consensus. This involved the abandonment of Joseph's plan to levy tuition fees, while preserving his aspiration to abolish the minimum grant. The resulting loss to research funding was halved by a concession of further revenue by the Treasury team.

Anthony Gilberthorpe named Joseph in a dossier of alleged abusers of young boys sent to then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1983. Joseph was one of the Tory ministers to survive the IRA terrorist blast at the Grand Hotel while attending the Conservative Party Conference at Brighton in 1984.

Humphrey Atkins

In 1979 Humphrey Atkins was appointed as Secretary of State to Northern Ireland. His two-year period in Ulster saw the murder of Lord Mountbatten, and the notorious IRA hunger strikes in the Maze prison. The former event had, at least, the desirable effect of making the Dublin government of the day more amenable to cooperation in matters of security. The latter provoked probably the most bitter of confrontations between the Westminster government and Irish nationalism that had yet been seen. Initially, Atkins's whip's instinct suggested to him that a compromise should be sought; but once the Prime Minister made ineluctably clear that she would in no circumstances grant political privileges to those in prison for civil offences, he rallied, and showed a will as strong as her own. Eleven deaths later, the hunger strike was called off.

Atkins's time in Belfast revealed some of his deficiencies. The social graces that endeared him to almost all quarters in Westminster found no purchase in Northern Irish political society. "We could rub along all right with Willie Whitelaw," William Craig, one of the hardest of Ulster Unionists, once said to me, "because he's a genuine squire. But this fella's only a pretend squire."

It was true that Atkins's generous, but slightly flamboyant hospitality, and his somewhat overpowering sense of good manners, cut little ice in the rough and tumble of Ulster politics. It was with relief that, in 1981, he moved to what he thought would be the tranquil pastures of the Foreign Office, where he was to be Deputy to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Carrington, and the office's spokesman in the House of Commons. He resigned in 1982 over the embarrassment of the Falklands debacle, remaining loyal to Lord Carrington till the end.

The Lord Soames

Christopher Soames served as leader under the House of Lords and Governor of Rhodesia from 1979-1981 in Thatcher's cabinet.

Mr. Soames was knighted in 1973 and made a life peer in 1978. From 1979 to 1981, he was leader of the House of Lords. As governor of Southern Rhodesia from 1979 to 1980, he was charged with administering the terms of the Lancaster House Agreement and overseeing its governmental transition into Zimbabwe, and helped guide the former British African colony from 14 years of rule by the white supremacist regime of Ian Smith and seven years of civil war, to a democratic, black majority rule.

With a force of 1,200 soldiers from Britain and other Commonwealth countries, Lord Soames had to rely mostly on his considerable skills of persuasion, bluster and charm to oversee the election campaign. Despite factional violence and intimidation, the elections proceeded, with Robert Mugabe, a left-leaning nationalist, emerging as the Prime Minister.

As Rhodesia governor, Lord Soames wielded sweeping powers, with rival guerrilla and white-led armies answerable to him through a British military officer.

Lord Soames was removed from Mrs. Thatcher's Cabinet in what has been called the "purge of 1981." Since 1979, Mrs. Thatcher has steadily removed the more liberal "wets" from the Cabinet, with the landed aristocrats and old Etonians like Lord Soames among the first to go.

The Lord Hailsham of St Marylebone

When he heard that the IRA had bombed the Old Bailey in March 1973, Hailsham instantly decided it was his duty, as head of the judiciary, to visit the scene. Mindful that his official car would cause further difficulties for the police, he sent for his collapsible bicycle, and pedalled off from Westminster on his own. Asked whether this sight of the lord chancellor might not be undignified, he replied: "Not at all. It does no harm at all for the lord chancellor to appear a little ridiculous from time to time - so long as it is not all the time."

What distinguished Hailsham from most lord chancellors of the last century were his attitudes to judicial work and law reform. On taking office, he immediately appointed a series of deputy speakers so that he could be released to sit judicially. While not adopting an activist posture, he was not unhappy to be seen making law, at least in the area of civil law. In crime, he seemed committed to a law-and-order philosophy, leaving reform to parliament.

On legal change, he was always a malleable Conservative. He seemed generally to view change as either undesirable or impossible - though in his writings, he disclosed an awareness of what could and should be altered or improved. On individual civil liberties, he was not always a supporter of traditional values; he was a strong critic of the right to silence, and even envisaged the admissibility in a criminal trial of an accused's previous convictions in certain circumstances.

Sir Geoffrey Howe

With the Conservative victory in the 1979 general election, Howe became Chancellor of the Exchequer. His tenure was characterised by an ambitious programme of radical policies intended to restore the public finances, reduce inflation and liberalise the economy. Margaret Thatcher is quoted as having told him, "On your own head be it, Geoffrey, if anything goes wrong," commencing an often tense and querulous working relationship. The financial policy tightened money supply, restricted public sector pay, with the ultimate effect of driving up inflation, at least in the short-term, and unemployment in the medium-term.

After the 1983 general election Thatcher reluctantly appointed Howe Foreign Secretary, a post he held for six years, the longest tenure since Sir Edward Grey in 1905 to 1916. He later looked back on this period (1983-5) as his happiest, and most fruitful and productive. However Howe's tenure was made difficult by growing behind-the-scenes tensions with the Prime Minister on a number of issues, first on South Africa, next on Britain's relations with the European Community, and then in 1985 the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Tensions began to emerge in 1982 during the Falklands War when Thatcher refused to appoint him to the war cabinet. At the Madrid inter-governmental conference the tensions were ratcheted higher as Thatcher emphatically renounced any advance in British policy over the European agenda for "ever closer union" of political and economic forces. Howe resented having to give up the state residence of Chevening, in Kent on being effectively demoted to Lord President of the Council, and deeply resented leaving the Foreign and Commonwealth Office which was a job he had always coveted. Howe tendered his resignation in a famous moment on 1 November. Sometimes mocked as "Mogadon man" - a well-known sleeping pill - Howe delivered a blow to Thatcher's government in full view of PMQs and a packed House of Commons on 13 November.

John Nott

Nott joined the shadow cabinet in 1976 and the Cabinet when Margaret Thatcher won the 1979 general election. With this appointment to the cabinet, he was made a Privy Counsellor. He served first as Secretary of State for Trade, which incorporated The Department of Prices & Consumer Affairs, and was moved to Defense in the reshuffle of January 1981.

He was widely criticised by the Royal Navy chiefs over the 1981 Defence White Paper for his decision to cut back on government naval expenditure during the severe economic recession of the early 1980s; the cuts originally included the proposed scrapping of the Antarctic patrol ship HMS *Endurance* and the reduction of the Surface Fleet to 50 frigates and from three to two Aircraft Carriers. He switched the resultant savings into nuclear submarines, naval weapon systems and air defence. He announced and took through Parliament the upgrading of the nuclear deterrent to the current Trident system (D5).

Nott offered his resignation as Defence Secretary to Thatcher following the Argentinian invasion of the Falklands in March 1982. Unlike then Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, however, the resignation was not accepted. Nott remained Secretary of State for Defence throughout the four-month conflict. He was eventually replaced by Michael Heseltine in January 1983 when Nott announced he would not seek re-election in 1983. In the same year, he was knighted, as a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath.

Nott, John Major and Malcolm Rifkind are the only surviving members of Mrs Thatcher's cabinet who do not currently sit in either house of Parliament.

Michael Alison

After his appointment as Minister of State at the Northern Ireland Office in 1979, he played a central role in ultimately abortive efforts to end the IRA hunger strike at the Maze prison. When Margaret Thatcher recaptured power for the Tories in 1979, Alison went to Northern Ireland as prisons minister, a particularly sensitive posting as it coincided with the republican prisoners' dirty protest, involving smearing faeces on their cell walls. Alison was seen as a toughie because he identified with the prison officers, who resisted the republicans' demands, rather than with the civil servants, who sought compromises.

From 1981 until his appointment as Mrs Thatcher's PPS, he was Minister of State at the Department of Employment under Norman Tebbit. In 1983 he succeeded Ian Gow as Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mrs Thatcher and was widely credited with persuading her to take a more high-profile stand on moral issues, particularly against sex and violence on television. In particular, Alison fought hard with Lady Cox to "Keep Sunday Special" in the campaign against proposals to relax the rules on Sunday trading; he masterminded the writing into the 1988 Education Reform Act of the need for specifically Christian religious education (in the teeth of opposition from the Education Secretary Kenneth Baker and liberal churchmen); and he campaigned vigorously against pornography, gambling, abortion and the lowering of the age of consent for homosexuals.

In 1985 Mrs Thatcher was pressed to replace him for not passing on MPs' opposition to big pay increases for senior businessmen and public servants. The following year he survived a campaign to appoint a second PPS (Michael Portillo) alongside him. Alison resigned as Mrs Thatcher's PPS in 1987 to become the Second Church Commissioner, a position which required him to rise from the back benches every three weeks to answer questions on behalf of the established church.