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LECTURE SERIES

A further lecture series organised jointly by IBIS and Co-operation Ireland has just been successfully launched. Entitled *The implementation of the Agreement: towards completion*, the series is designed to bring political speakers and informed observers together to address an invited audience.

The first session of the new series, on the theme "Republicanism and the implementation of the Agreement", took place on 3 February 2005 in the Industry Centre at UCD, chaired by Mr George McGrath, Chairman, Co-operation Ireland. The speakers, Mr Martin Mc Guinness, MP, MLA, and Professor Paul Arthur, University of Ulster, addressed an audience of about 100 people, including public servants, academics and students.

Paul Arthur set the tone for the evening by drawing attention to the roots of the current difficulties in recent history—and especially since the mid-1990s. He pointed out that notwithstanding the considerable political advances since the 1994 cease-fires, issues that had not been fully resolved in 1998 continued to challenge politicians and to threaten the stability of the process.

Martin Mc Guinness stressed Sinn Féin's continuing commitment to the peace process, as the largest pro-Agreement party in Northern Ireland and the third largest party on the island. Referring to what he termed as "a deepening crisis" in the process, he cited unionist opposition to change as the real reason for the current paralysis, and appealed to Ian Paisley and other unionist leaders to "reach an accommodation with the rest of the people on the island".

Mr Mc Guinness also emphasised the critically important role of both the British and Irish governments in providing the leadership required to restore the "core principles of inclusivity, equality and mutual respect" to the peace process. Referring to the role of the Irish Government in particular, he stressed its responsibility for the defence of Irish national interests and the rights and entitlements of Irish citizens across the island, north and south. Set against this context, he criticised current Irish government attitudes to the republican movement as the latest in a history of both British and Irish government "propaganda campaigns to criminalise the Irish republican struggle".



George McGrath, Paul Arthur, Martin McGuinness and Tony Kennedy, Chief Executive, Co-Operation Ireland, at the lecture

Mr Mc Guinness went on to stress the progress that has been made in overcoming the "vicious cycle of injustice, inequality and conflict" that had been prevalent in the North as a legacy of partition. While accepting that a culture of sectarianism has existed in both communities, he argued that a structural anti-Catholic sectarianism had been consciously generated over decades to create divisions, and is now on the way to being transformed as a result of the peace process. Sinn Féin, he emphasised, is committed to finding a "lasting peace between republicanism and unionism on this island and between Britain and Ireland".

IBIS CONFERENCE

Implementing the Agreement: the North-South bodies five years on

IBIS will hold its annual conference on Friday 29 April 2005 on the theme of North-South cooperation in Ireland, with a specific focus on the work of the implementation bodies. The conference is being organised as part of the "Mapping frontiers, plotting pathways" research project (see page 3).

The conference's starting point is 2 December 1999, when, under the terms of the Good Friday agreement, Ireland's North/South Ministerial Council (NSMC) came into legal existence. At the same time, six "implementation bodies", designed to give effect to policy decisions of the NSMC within their respective sectors, were formally created.

Practical experience over the next few months resulted in some modification of the original blueprint.

The political background within which the implementation bodies had to operate was also far from stable. Since the bodies operate under the oversight of the NSMC, guidance from that body on major policy issues and on certain formal matters was an obvious requirement. But since its birth in 1999 the NSMC suffered one lengthy period of suspension (from 11 February to 30 May 2000), and it has been in

long-term suspension, together with the other institutions established by the agreement, since 14 October 2002. Notwithstanding these and other problems, which impeded the smooth operation of the implementation bodies, there is a case for taking stock of the functioning of the bodies at this point.

This conference begins with a general overview and discussion of the work of the NSMC secretariat. Presentations of the work of the different bodies will then be made, each responding to a set of standard questions, and the discussion following these presentations will be led by a pre-designated discussant. The following are the areas that speakers have been invited to address as appropriate to their sector:

- Before the establishment of the body, to what extent was island-wide or cross-border activity proceeding in the sector for which the body is responsible?
- To what extent was the body able to depend on existing public sector or other institutions in terms of recruitment and policy expertise?
- What are the principal difficulties that the body has so far encountered in meeting its objectives, and how has it been able to overcome these?
- How does the body assess its own contribution to the issue it was designed to tackle?

A last session draws together some of the strands that emerge from these presentations, but in particular addresses a more fundamental question: how are the bodies to proceed in the context of long-term suspension of the devolved institutions that make up the cornerstone of the new arrangement?

The conference will be held in the Industry centre in Belfield. For further information, see the IBIS website: www.ucd.ie/ibis.

IBIS NEWS

Cooperation with British Council: "Britain and Ireland: lives entwined"

The Institute is continuing its active relationship with the British Council in Ireland, supporting the Council's programme of events scheduled for 22-23 March 2005 on the theme *Britain and Ireland: lives entwined*.

Following on from last year's successful conference *Through Irish eyes*, which launched a new report on Irish attitudes towards the British, this year's activities include the launch of a new book publication, a debate (chaired by John Bowman, RTÉ Questions & Answers) and an evening of political cabaret, hosted by David Mc Williams.

A range of academics, politicians and commentators have contributed to a publication entitled *Britain and Ireland: lives entwined* which will be launched at the Royal Irish Academy, Dawson Street, at 17h30 on Tuesday 22 March. The authors include Garret FitzGerald, Eoghan Harris, Maurice Hayes, Mary J Hickman, Edna Longley, Piaras Mac Éinrí, Patricia Palmer and Trevor Ringland. Tony Reilly, Director of the British Council's Irish office, draws the various strands together in an introduction, and the Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, and the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, have each contributed a preface.

A chaired debate will follow at 18h45, with the motion "This house believes that Britain is just another foreign country" sure to generate lively discussion. Panelists include Richard Aldous, Ivana Bacik, Tim Pat Coogan, Ronan Fanning and Martin Mansergh.

An evening of political cabaret, music and comedy takes place at 20h30 on 23 March at Dublin's Crawdaddy venue in Harcourt Street. Guests will be invited to participate in a panel discussion of the question "What did the Brits ever do for us?".

Full details can be accessed through: www.britainandireland.org.

Mapping Frontiers, Plotting Pathways: project progress

Research continues vigorously on this North-South project, funded by the Higher Education Authority through the EU Peace and Reconciliation programme. IBIS leads the project, in conjunction with the Institute of Governance and the Centre for International Borders Research at Queen's University Belfast. Also involved are the Centre for Cross-Border Studies, the Economic and Social Research Institute in Dublin and Democratic Dialogue, a think-tank based in Belfast, as well as a number of individuals connected to other bodies.

A total of 10 discussion papers have now been produced and presented at project workshops. Paper titles include, among others:

- Theories and realities of partition: Ireland in comparative perspective
- Diasporas and ambiguous homelands: a perspective on the Irish border
- The realms of practical politics: north-south co-operation on the Erne hydro-electric scheme
- The significance of the cross-border dimension for promoting peace and reconciliation.

Completed project papers will be published as a working paper series. Details are available by e-mailing ibis@ucd.ie

The project team seeks to enhance and validate the research process by engaging with policy-makers, the community and voluntary sectors and other interested groups, in study group sessions. The first such session took place on 9 December in Armagh: 40 local historians, school teachers and community sector workers discussed, with project researchers, the historical impact of the border on the local Armagh-Monaghan area.

A second study group session, exploring issues of identity and regeneration in border areas, is scheduled for 19 April in Clones, Co Monaghan. Professor James Anderson, Deputy Director for the Centre for International Borders



Some of the participants on the 2004 study trip meet members of the North-South secretariat in Armagh

research at Queen's University, and Professor Hastings Donnan (School of Anthropology at Queen's University) will lead the session. Details are available from Dr Eoin Magennis at the Centre for Cross-Border Studies (tel: +44-28-3751 5292, email: e.magennis@qub.ac.uk).

A major conference on the work of the North-South implementation bodies takes place on 29 April 2005 (see page 2 of this edition).

Readers are invited to consult the project website for information on other events planned for 2005 and for reports on events to date; see www.mappingfrontiers.ie.

MA students' study trip to Belfast

A group of MA students at UCD made a trip to Belfast for a three day study visit on 14-16 March 2005. The visit is part of the programme in British-Irish studies and of UCD's MA Politics course. It includes meetings with a wide range of political representatives, officials and community activists.

Similar three-day trips took place in 2003 and 2004. The visits form part of a programme put together with the assistance of the Reconciliation Fund of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Latest Working papers

The IBIS pre-publication working paper series is based on work in progress. Individual papers are available free of charge from IBIS (a small charge applies to multiple orders).

Since our last issue, the following additional working papers have appeared:

39. Tom Garvin, *An Irish republican tradition?*
40. Etain Tannam, *Cross-border cooperation between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland: neo-functionalism revisited*
41. KJ Rankin and R Schofield, *The troubled historiography of classical boundary terminology*
42. John Coakley, *Ethnic conflict and the two-state solution: the Irish experience of partition*
43. Christopher Farrington, *Models of civil society and their implications for the Northern Ireland peace process*

Abstracts of all working papers, including those listed in *Newsletter 7* (July 2004) and the most recent papers, listed above, are available to download on the IBIS website: www.ucd.ie/ibis.

BRITISH-IRISH DEVELOPMENTS

Chronology

This continues the chronology last updated in Issue 7 of the *Newsletter*.

2004

Sep 7 President Mary McAleese, at a memorial in Flanders, pays tribute to Irish soldiers killed fighting for the British Army during first world war

Sep 18 The two governments put forward proposals at Leeds castle, during talks aimed at resolving issues about the IRA and power-sharing in Northern Ireland

Sep 20 NI Secretary of State Paul Murphy states that the Leeds castle talks to restore devolution were not a failure, but that all parties agreed that a solution to the Northern Ireland problem has never been closer

Sep 30 DUP leader Ian Paisley, meets Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern in his first official meeting with an Irish prime minister in Dublin

Nov 4 Independent Monitoring Commission issues third report, stating that IRA recruitment was ongoing, and that loyalist paramilitaries remained heavily involved in crime

Nov 17 British and Irish governments put proposals to break political deadlock to both DUP and Sinn Féin

Nov 19 Sixth meeting of British-Irish Council in Guernsey, with focus on tourism

Nov 22 DUP launches drive to save three home battalions of Royal Irish Regiment from disbandment

Nov 29 Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams holds first ever meeting with head of PSNI, Chief Constable Hugh Orde

Dec 1 Taoiseach Bertie Ahern states that four men convicted of killing of Garda Mc Cabe in 1996 will be recommended for release as part of settlement to secure IRA decommissioning, amid rumours of impending major IRA weapons decommissioning act

Dec 8 Ian Paisley confirms that DUP will not agree to restore devolution, citing IRA's refusal to provide photographic evidence of decommissioning

Dec 8 Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern publish governments' proposals for power-sharing, admitting that recent negotiations had failed

Dec 9 IRA states that in event of a political deal decommissioning would have been completed by end of December, but that photographing this would have been seen as attempt at humiliation

Dec 20 Northern Bank, Belfast, robbed of £26.5m (biggest bank robbery in history of UK or Ireland); families of two bank officials held captive during operation

2005

Jan 7 PSNI Chief Constable Hugh Orde states opinion that IRA was responsible for Northern Bank raid

Jan 9 Taoiseach Bertie Ahern states conviction that republicans were aware, during intensive political talks in December 2004, of plan to rob the Northern Bank

Jan 30 Belfast father of two Robert Mc Cartney brutally murdered during pub brawl in Belfast city centre; IRA involvement suspected

Feb 2 Following backlash of criticism from both governments and others regarding the Northern bank raid, IRA issues statement withdrawing December 2004 offer to put its weapons beyond use

Feb 9 British Prime Minister issues public apology for wrongful imprisonment of Guildford Four and Maguire Seven for IRA bomb attacks in 1974

Feb 10 Independent Monitoring Commission issues report agreeing with PSNI assessment that the IRA was to blame for Northern bank raid

Feb 17 Seven people, including one Sinn Féin party member and former elected representative, held by Gardaí in the Republic on suspected money laundering activities

Feb 21 Garda Síochána and Police Service of Northern Ireland sign accord to allow mutual secondments of police officers.

Feb 23 British Government announces further financial sanctions against Sinn Féin

Feb 28 IRA expels three members allegedly involved in killing of Mr Robert Mc Cartney

Mar 1 NI Secretary Paul Murphy announces appointment of Victims and Survivors Commissioner; decision on establishment of a Truth Commission deferred

Mar 2 Meeting of British-Irish Intergovernmental conference in Dublin discusses recent political, policing, security and other issues, including North-South and East-West matters

Mar 7 Following internal investigations, IRA issues detailed statement regarding murder of Robert Mc Cartney, recording offer, rejected by Mc Cartney family, to "shoot" those they had identified as being responsible for the murder

NEW IBIS PUBLICATION

The third volume in the series *Perspectives in British-Irish Studies* is due to be published in March by UCD Press, in association with IBIS. *Renovation or revolution: new territorial politics in Ireland and the United Kingdom*, edited by John Coakley, Jennifer Todd and Brigid Laffan, assesses the impact of the constitutional changes of the late 1990s in Great Britain and Ireland (including devolution and the Good Friday agreement) on political and institutional life in the two islands. The authors include Arthur Aughey, John Coakley, Ronan Fanning, Adrian Guelke, Brigid Laffan, David McCrone, Elizabeth Meehan, John Osmond, Simon Partridge and Jennifer Todd. Prime Minister Tony Blair has contributed a preface, and an appendix provides a range of background political information.

A launch of the volumes produced to date in the series is planned to take place during the IBIS annual conference, scheduled for Friday 29 April 2005.

The other titles in the series include Maurice J Bric and John Coakley, eds, *From political violence to negotiated settlement: The winding path to peace in twentieth century Ireland* (2004) and John Coakley, ed., *Changing shades of orange and green: re-defining the Union and the Nation in contemporary Ireland* (2002).

These are available from good bookshops. Orders can also be placed through Columba Mercier Distribution Ltd; email: cmd@columba.ie; tel: +353-1-295 2560.

Mailing list

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