



IBIS *NEWSLETTER*

Institute for British-Irish Studies

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Pictured (l-r): John Coakley, IBIS; An Taoiseach, Mr Bertie Ahern, TD; UCD President, Dr Hugh Brady; Rt Hon Mr Shaun Woodward, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

The **2008 IBIS Annual Conference**, *From Conflict to Consensus: The Legacy of the Good Friday Agreement*, was held on 3 April at the Clinton Auditorium, UCD. The conference, which marked the 10th anniversary of the Belfast Agreement, took place amid a whirl of media activity as it coincided with the resignation of keynote speaker Mr Bertie Ahern, TD, as Taoiseach.

The conference began with an overview of the factors that brought the Agreement into existence. Lord Bew addressed the role of the parties in formulating the Agreement, focusing on government policy as well as social and demographic factors. Dr Martin Mansergh, TD, followed by addressing the role of the governments at the present phase of the settlement. The first session ended with Elizabeth Meehan placing the Agreement in a British-Irish and European context, touching on how the EU both facilitated and hindered the settlement process.

Dr Hugh Brady, President of UCD,

then introduced the guest of honour and keynote speaker, An Taoiseach, Mr Bertie Ahern, TD. The Taoiseach began his address by paying tribute to those who were central to the peace and settlement process. Looking ahead, he noted new British-Irish initiatives in Northern Ireland such as the 'massive programme of joint investment in infrastructure'. He noted too that the task of developing the economy, 'including on an all-island dimension' is crucial to the future. The Taoiseach ended his speech to a warm standing ovation with a quote from Thomas Paine: 'If there must be trouble let it be in my day, that my child may have peace'.

The conference turned to the vital topic of the interaction between the Agreement and the groups which have been parties to the conflict. Henry Patterson examined the effects of the peace process and Good Friday Agreement on unionist politics, arguing that David Trimble's emphasis on the consent principle as the core of pro-Agreement unionism was not an adequate response to the widespread

feeling in the unionist community that the process and the Agreement were producing a substantial shift in favour of nationalism and republicanism. Paul Arthur focused on the shifting nature of relationships inside the nationalist/ republican community, noting that electoral and intra-ethnic competition stretches back four decades from the remoulding of constitutional nationalism to the evolution of a civic republicanism. Jennifer Todd of UCD rounded up the session with a presentation that examined changing patterns of identity in Northern Ireland in the last decade. People's ways of being British, Irish, Protestant and Catholic are changing, she argued, and the official discourse needs to be adapted to recognise and encourage these popular changes away from opposition.

After a positive response to the Taoiseach's address by Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr Shaun Woodward, MP, on behalf of the British government, the conference was brought to a conclusion by IBIS chair Sir George Quigley, whose remarks focused on the future of the British-Irish relationship.

IBIS Book Launch

A new book edited by John Coakley and Liam O'Dowd entitled *Crossing the border: new relationships between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland* was launched by Taoiseach Bertie Ahern, TD, on 23 February 2008 at Newman House, Dublin.

The book marks the culmination of a joint research project led by Queen's University Belfast and University College Dublin entitled *Mapping frontiers, plotting pathways: routes to North-South co-operation in a divided island*.

Crossing the Border provides the first sustained examination of cross-border relationships since the momentous sequence of events that began with the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. It looks at

changing patterns of North-South relations in three broad domains: politics and public administration, the economy, and civil society. The authors demonstrate how the search for a settlement in Northern Ireland has created a new dynamic in cross-border relationships, underlining the critical importance of these relationships in sustaining the peace process.



Pictured with An Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, TD, are (l-r): Hugh Brady, UCD; John Coakley, IBIS, and Liam O'Dowd, QUB

Published by Irish Academic Press, the book is available in all good bookshops.

Breaking the Patterns of Conflict

In 2005-06 IBIS initiated a series of witness seminars with the Irish and British officials who had negotiated

the major agreements which, over time, helped break the patterns of conflict in Northern Ireland. This followed from the earlier series of interviews with the makers of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, as part of the *John Whyte Archive* project.

The first day-long seminar on the Sunningdale negotiations and communiqué was held in autumn 2005 and was attended by eight senior Irish and Northern Irish officials and politicians: Garret FitzGerald, Noel Dorr, Sean Donlon, Muiris MacConghail, John Swift, Mahon Hayes, Dermot Nally, Austin Currie, and a number of IBIS academics who posed questions and chaired discussion. A public conference on the Agreement was held in June 2006 with academic, political and media participation. It was followed by a witness seminar on the Anglo-Irish Agreement in December 2006 and a conference in May 2007.

With new IRCHSS funding in 2007 for the research project *Breaking the Patterns of Conflict: The Irish State, Northern Ireland and the British Dimension since 1972*, research activity increased, with the appointment of Dr Christopher Farrington as postdoctoral fellow and Ms Susan McDermott as doctoral



Anglo-Irish Agreement Witness Seminar, December 2006

Participants (l-r): Dermot Nally; Noel Dorr; Sir David Goodall; Lord Armstrong; Ronan Fanning; John Coakley; Dr Garret FitzGerald; Michael Lillis; Ted Hallett, and Sean Donlon

scholar. The project focuses on the role of the states and their response to changing circumstances in Northern Ireland, documenting key turning points in British and Irish relations and strategy towards Northern Ireland since the 1960s, through a series of witness seminars, long interviews, and analysis of Dáil debates.

The first witness seminar directly-funded by the IRCHSS project was held in June 2008, and focused on the negotiation of the Downing Street Declaration of 1993. In the meantime a series of interviews have been conducted with Irish politicians and officials, and these are continuing through this academic year, with further witness seminars planned on the process of implementation of the Agreement. All of the tapes and transcripts are deposited in UCD Archives, to add to the existing John Whyte Archive of interviews with the negotiators of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. They are under embargo pending final corrections and approval by the participants.



*Downing Street Declaration
Witness Seminar, June 2008*

Invited participants at the second witness seminar included: Lord Butler; Dr Dermot Nally; Sir Quentin Thomas; Mr Frank Murray

Latest Working Papers

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

All IBIS Working Papers to date are now available to download on our website www.ucd.ie/ibis

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

- 75 Michael Kennedy**
The Realms of Practical Politics: North-South Cooperation on the Erne Hydro-Electric Scheme, 1942-57
- 76 Hastings Donnan**
Fuzzy Frontiers: The Rural Interface in South Armagh
- 77 Brendan O'Leary**
Analysing Partition: Definition, Classification and Explanation
- 78 Brendan O'Leary**
Debating Partition: Justifications and Critiques
- 79 KJ Rankin**
The Provenance and Dissolution of the Irish Boundary Commission
- 80 Sean Farren**
Sunningdale: An Agreement Too Soon?
- 81 Catherine O'Donnell**
The Sunningdale Communiqué, 1973, and Bipartisanship in the Republic of Ireland
- 82 PJ McLoughlin**
"Dublin is just a Sunningdale away"? The SDLP, the Irish Government and the Sunningdale Agreement

Recent Activities

Global Ireland Conference

On **31 May 2008**, John Coakley and Jennifer Todd presented some of the main IBIS research results on institutional and cultural border crossing in Ireland to an audience of policy-makers at the Global Ireland conference in Newman House hosted by the UCD College of Human Sciences.

Funding

Thanks to a further injection of funds from Jean Whyte and the John Whyte Trust Fund, the transcription of the tapes is completed and the digitisation of tapes underway.

Upcoming Activities

IBIS is continuing its activities over

the coming year with a new on-line series of working and discussion papers, a major conference in Spring 2009 (theme to follow), a regular newsletter, further witness seminars and occasional evening lectures.

IBIS Update

Jennifer Todd has taken over as IBIS Director. Outgoing Director, **John Coakley**, has taken up the post of Head of the School of Politics and International Relations at UCD.

Katy Hayward successfully completed her postdoctoral fellowship on *Borders in dispute: making multilevel cooperation an effective means of conflict transformation in the European Union* in October 2007. The project, funded by the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, examined the thesis that as the European Union expands, its influence as a force for peace increasingly becomes a matter for internal integration rather than external intervention.

Peter McLoughlin, Government of Ireland Postdoctoral Fellow, has drawn his research project *John Hume and the revision of Irish nationalism* to a close. The project critically assessed the efforts of the former SDLP leader, John Hume, to revise certain tenets of traditional Irish nationalist thinking. The publication of the outcome of this research by Manchester University is anticipated shortly.

Michael Anderson, Government of Ireland Doctoral Scholar, continues his study of identity shift among working class loyalists in the conflict transformation period.

Susan McDermott has been awarded an IRCHSS doctoral scholarship for her thesis on *Fine Gael and Northern Ireland: 1969-2007*

Dara Gannon has taken on the role of IBIS Manager as of August 2008.

Professor Tom Garvin, most recent honorary research fellow at IBIS, is contactable at the IBIS offices.

British-Irish Developments

Chronology

This continues the chronology last updated in Issue 10 of the Newsletter

2006

June 5: Historic first meeting between representatives of the Orange Order and the Catholic Primate, Archbishop Sean Brady

June 19: British Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown visits Belfast

July 21: The Irish Film and Television Academy, an all-Ireland body representing the film and television industry, is established

September 1: The latest Independent Monitoring Commission report says that the Provisional IRA is no longer involved in terrorist activity

October 9: Historic meeting at Stormont between Rev Ian Paisley and Archbishop Sean Brady

October 11: Talks at St Andrews, Scotland between Northern Ireland politicians, the British Prime Minister and the Irish Taoiseach

October 22: The Irish Government confirms plans to spend more than £1 billion on motorways, energy links and healthcare in Northern Ireland over the next seven years

2007

March 26: Rev Ian Paisley and Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams set out a six-week programme leading to the restoration of devolution and power sharing at Stormont

April 4: Taoiseach Bertie Ahern and First Minister designate Ian Paisley meet in Dublin to discuss investment projects and tourism initiatives

May 8: DUP's Ian Paisley and Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness are appointed as First and Deputy First Minister of the Northern Ireland Government as Northern Ireland moves into a new era of power sharing

May 15: Taoiseach Bertie Ahern makes an historic address to the British Parliament in Westminster

May 21: President of the European Commission, Manuel Barroso, meets Northern Ireland's First and Deputy First Ministers

June 14: The 30th Dáil elects Bertie Ahern to a third term as Taoiseach. Mr Ahern is the first Taoiseach to serve three consecutive terms since Éamon de Valera

June 18: Alex Salmond, Scottish First Minister, signs an historic pact with Northern Ireland's political leaders detailing ways in which the two sides can work closely together to try and win more powers from Westminster

June 27: Tony Blair stands down as UK prime minister after ten years. Gordon Brown becomes his successor. Among the new ministerial appointments, Shaun Woodward is announced as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland

July 16: First Minister Ian Paisley attends North-South Ministerial Council meeting in Armagh

November 22: Northern Ireland MPs sit for the first time on a Dáil committee in Dublin

2008

January 18: Ian Paisley is succeeded as Moderator of the Free Presbyterian Church by Rev Ron Johnstone

February 18: Ian Paisley Jnr resigns as junior minister in the Executive

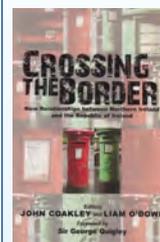
April 1: 211 new members of District Policing Partnership Boards are named, with 10% of the new members belonging to Sinn Féin

May 6: Bertie Ahern resigns as Taoiseach after 11 years in office. Brian Cowen is confirmed as Ireland's 12th Taoiseach

May 31: Peter Robinson takes over leadership of the DUP from Rev Ian Paisley

June 5: Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness appointed First and Deputy First Ministers of the Northern Ireland Assembly

New IBIS Publications



John Coakley and Liam O'Dowd, eds, *Crossing The Border; New Relationships between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland*, Irish Academic Press, 2007.

J. Todd, L. Cañas Bottos and N. Rougier, eds, *Political Transformation and National Identity Change*, Routledge, 2008, presents research results from an IBIS-related North South funded project together with comparative case studies.

Christopher Farrington, ed, *Global Change, Civil Society and the Northern Ireland Peace Process: Implementing the Political Settlement*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. This book places the implementation of



the Belfast Agreement in a wider, global context, examining how global changes, including September 11th, and the role of civil society, have had profound effects in changing attitudes towards violence, paramilitaries, the position of women and ideas of nationalism and sovereignty.

John Coakley and Jennifer Todd have edited or co-edited four special issues of international journals, showcasing IBIS-related research. These are: *Political Geography Vol. 10, No. 4 (2008)*; *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics Vol. 12., No. 3-4 (2006)*; *Nations and Nationalism Vol. 13, No. 4 (2007)*; and *National Identities Vol. 10, No. 4 (2008)*.

Would you like to receive regular information on IBIS activities, publications, lectures, etc?

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