

Summer 2004
Issue 7

Contents

IBIS conference	1
Republican ideas in the Irish tradition.....	1
French republican ideology in practice	2
The future of republican ideas in Ireland.....	2
IBIS news	2
British Council conference.....	2
Major project.....	3
Latest working papers	3
New IBIS Staff	3
British-Irish developments	4
Chronology	4
New IBIS publication	4

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IBIS CONFERENCE

A major conference on the theme *The Future of Republicanism: Confronting Theory and Practice in Contemporary Ireland* was organised by the Institute, with the support of the Scheme for Academic Conference Support, UCD. The academic convenor was Dr Iseult Honohan of the Department of Politics, UCD.

The conference took place on 7 May 2004 in the University Industry Centre, UCD, and brought together 10 speakers and almost 100 delegates, drawn from the public service, the diplomatic corps, voluntary and other bodies, and the academic community.

The day's proceedings were divided into four sessions, at each of which two or three papers were presented. Presentations were structured to allow some time for discussion, and this was initiated in each case by a pre-designated discussant. The various presentations took account of a precirculated discussion paper on the conference theme prepared by Dr Iseult Honohan.

Republican ideas in the Irish tradition

The first session was chaired by Dr Pauric Travers, President of St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, and began with an introduction to the conference theme by Iseult Honohan. Jennifer Todd of UCD acted as discussant.

Tom Garvin (UCD) examined continuities and discontinuities in the political and institutional thinking of Irish republicanism over two centuries. Irish republicanism, he argued, has been a sort of blanket term for several very different kinds of radical nationalism, some of them democratic, some Whiggish, others overtly communist, fascist or clericalist, with continuity taking the form of an insurrectionist and romantic style and a fantasist style of political thinking.

Margaret O'Callaghan (Queen's University, Belfast) addressed the issue of the relative invisibility of Irish republican ideas, as illustrated in the extensive works of JGA Pocock on anglophone republicanism, or the recent multi-volume analysis of European republicanism edited by Quentin Skinner and others.



Dr Sean Farren, Dr Brian Feeney and Mr Mitchel McLaughlin, MLA, at the IBIS conference on republicanism



Jeremy Jennings, Pauric Travers, Iseult Honohan and Cécile Laborde at the IBIS conference

French republican ideology in practice

The second session was chaired by Linda Cardinal of the University of Ottawa and UCD; Paul Gillespie, foreign editor of the *Irish Times*, acted as discussant.

The session began with an analysis by **Jeremy Jennings** (University of Birmingham) of republicanism and secularism in the French political tradition. In its long evolution, he argued, French republican ideology has been subject to compromise and internal tensions. Key features are identifiable: a distinctive conception of the appropriate political institutions grounded upon democracy and the sovereignty of the nation; a commitment to emancipation through a secular education system; a concern for individual rights combined with a desire to further social justice; and a distinctive conception of citizenship.

Cécile Laborde (University College London) followed with an examination of dominant themes in French republicanism, including commitments to neutrality as impartiality, to autonomy as non-domination, and to community as civic patriotism. Taking as her starting point the ban on Muslim headscarves in French schools approved in March 2004, she examined arguments put forward by advocates of the ban in the name of *laïcité* (secularism), arguing that such ideals need not be jettisoned in favour of either a liberal or a multiculturalist conception of citizenship.

The future of republican ideas in Ireland

The third and fourth sessions moved to the terrain of contemporary Irish politics. These were chaired respectively by Niamh Hardiman, UCD, and Noel Dorr, Chair, IBIS, and former Secretary General of the Department of Foreign Affairs. The discussants were Brian Feeney, St Mary's College, Belfast, and Attractra Ingram, UCD.

In the third session, **John Doyle** (Dublin City University) examined the evolution of Sinn Féin in the context of its recent electoral success. He took the view that while aspects of Sinn Féin policy remain fluid and can lack clarity, the party appears to retain a strong leftist, pro-equality agenda, maintaining its emphasis on Irish unity and aligning itself with anti-corporate globalisation groupings against right-wing nationalist parties with an anti-immigration platform.

Sinn Féin chairperson **Mitchel McLaughlin, MLA**, followed with an outline of his party's position: seeking a process of national reconciliation where political divisions based on the constitutional question would be no more, and urging a beginning to practical planning for a United Ireland through the publication of a green paper on Irish unity by the Irish government.

Sean Farren, MLA, of the SDLP noted his own party's acceptance of the republican principle, taking the view that the Good Friday agreement was profoundly republican, and that it contained the potential

for ultimate Irish unity. Its core principle, he argued, is the republican principle of consent, i.e. sovereignty of the people.

In the last session, two well-known politicians and commentators debated the nature of contemporary Irish republicanism. **Dr Martin Mansergh**, senator and former advisor on Northern Ireland policy to the Taoiseach and Fianna Fáil, offered an historically informed review of the forms republicanism has taken in Ireland, both ideal and practical, and examined Fianna Fáil's particular representation of republicanism.

Dr Garret FitzGerald, former Taoiseach and currently Chancellor of the National University of Ireland, brought the conference to a conclusion. He argued that what is popularly known as Irish republicanism was only briefly inspired by the classical republican tradition, in its French secularist form. He concluded that classical republicanism, involving the citizens forming an ethical community and helping to shape the common good by wide-ranging deliberation, can exist just as well in a European-type constitutional monarchy as in a country with an elected president as head of state.

See full report at www.ucd.ie/ibis.

IBIS NEWS

British Council conference

The Institute participated in the organisation of a conference to launch a new report based on extensive research jointly commissioned by the British Council Ireland and the British Embassy. Entitled *Through Irish eyes*, the report suggested that Irish attitudes towards the British were significantly more positive than in the past.

The conference, held at the Mansion House in Dublin on Wednesday 11 February, was opened by Tony Reilly, Director British Council Ireland, and Stewart Eldon, British Ambassador to Ireland. The conference lasted for a full day, was well attended and was extensively reported in the media.

Major project

In collaboration with Queen's University Belfast, IBIS secured funding for a major new two-year cross-border study of the Irish border and the impact of partition in a range of fields.

Launched by Minister of State for Education and Science, Síle de Valera, and Will Haire, Permanent Secretary at the Northern Ireland Department for Employment and Learning on 20 May 2004, the project is funded by the HEA, under the North-South R&D strand of the EU Peace and Reconciliation programme.

The project is entitled *Mapping frontiers, plotting pathways: routes to north-south cooperation in a divided island*. It aims to specify and assess factors which help and hinder informal and formal cross-border contact, and to inform future policy initiatives in areas such as reconciliation, partnership, sustainable development and EU relations. It has three main parts:

- An international comparative study of borders and their consequences;
- A study of the Irish border as a social divide, assessing the impact of partition on interchanges in the political, administrative, economic, social and cultural fields;
- A mapping study of institutional and other efforts to promote Irish cross-border co-operation since the 1980s.

The project will run until early 2006. Meetings will be held in Dublin, Belfast and along the border corridor. In addition to working papers and material on the web, it is planned that several articles and books will appear in connection with the project. Further information will appear in later issues of this newsletter. Reports on progress will also appear regularly on the project website:

www.mappingfrontiers.ie

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). Recent additions (summaries will appear in our next issue; see also IBIS website) are:

29. Seamus Mallon, MP, MLA *Nationalism in Northern Ireland from partition to the Belfast Agreement: a political perspective*
Eamon Phoenix, *Nationalism in Northern Ireland from partition to the Belfast Agreement: an academic perspective*
30. Albert Reynolds, *The Irish government and the peace process, 1992-94: a political perspective*
Kevin Rafter, *The Irish Government and the peace process, 1992-94: an observer's perspective*
31. Alice Feldman, *Beyond the Catholic-Protestant divide: religious and ethnic diversity in the north and south of Ireland*
32. Gladys Ganiel, *The politics of religious dissent in Northern Ireland*
33. Claire Mitchell, *Catholicism in Northern Ireland and the politics of conflict*
34. Jennifer Todd, *Process, Perspectives and interpretations: an oral archive of the Good Friday Agreement*
35. Wilhelm Verwoerd, *Towards Inclusive remembrance after the "troubles": a South African perspective*
36. Bernadette C Hayes and Ian Mc Allister, *The political impact of secularisation in Northern Ireland*
37. Kevin Howard, *Constructing the Irish of Britain: ethnic recognition and the 2001 UK census*
38. Lone Pålshaugen, *The Civic Forum and a politics of recognition: a new arena for conflict or the development of a new political culture?*

New IBIS Staff

Three new staff joined IBIS in 2004.

Patricia Mc Carron



Patricia has just taken up the post of research administrator. Previous employers include the University of Ulster, the European Commission and Derry City Council; email: patricia.mccarron@ucd.ie

Kevin Howard



Kevin, formerly a doctoral fellow in IBIS, is now working as a post-doctoral researcher on the *Mapping frontiers* project; email: kevin.howard@ucd.ie



Kieran Rankin

Kieran, formerly of UCD's Geography Department, is the new research assistant on the *Mapping frontiers* project; email: kieran.rankin@ucd.ie

BRITISH-IRISH DEVELOPMENTS

Chronology

This continues the chronology last updated in Issue 6 of the *Newsletter*.

2003

- Jun 26** UUP suspends MPs Jeffrey Donaldson, Martin Smyth and David Burnside after they resign party whip
- Jul 2** British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference discusses recent political developments
- Aug 1** Leading SDLP member, Alex Attwood, advises nationalists not to join the Royal Irish Regiment and calls for RIR to be disbanded
- Aug 3** Gardaí arrest 10 men following the discovery of what they believe is a training camp for the Continuity IRA on the Waterford-Tipperary border
- Aug 7** Michael McKevitt sentenced to 20 years after being found guilty by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin of directing the activities of an illegal organisation and of membership of the Real IRA
- Aug 10** Several thousand people take part in a rally at Belfast City Hall in protest against collusion between British security services and loyalist paramilitaries in the murders of Catholics in the North
- Aug 18** Freddie Scappaticci, named in the media as the British agent *Stake-knife*, loses his legal bid against a government decision to neither confirm nor deny the identity of agents
- Sep 4** British and Irish governments publish agreement establishing a four-member International Monitoring Commission to assess outstanding issues in implementation of the Good Friday agreement
- Oct 1** PSNI Deputy Chief Constable Paul Leighton briefs members of the Policing Board on the security situation, and states that the IRA is still in existence but on ceasefire
- Oct 21** General John de Chastelain, head of the International Decommissioning Body, confirms that a third act of IRA decommissioning has occurred
- Oct 27** Ulster Unionists and Sinn Féin fail in efforts to agree a political deal prior to the Assembly election
- Nov 26** In NI Assembly elections, the DUP and Sinn Féin become the largest unionist and nationalist parties respectively; three Ulster Unionist MLAs later join DUP
- Nov 28** fifth summit of British-Irish Council, Cardiff

2004

- Jan 5** Jeffrey Donaldson becomes a member of the DUP, having resigned as a UUP member in mid-December 2003
- Feb 3** Review of Good Friday agreement begins, involving parties and governments
- Feb 4** International tributes for John Hume, MP, MEP, following announcement of his retirement from Westminster and the European Parliament
- Feb 13** Home of NI Policing Board Vice-Chairman, Mr Denis Bradley, attacked by a petrol bomb
- Apr 1** Following publication of four of Judge Cory's reports into allegations of collusion in six murders, British Government rules out, for legal reasons, an immediate inquiry into the 1989 murder of Pat Finucane
- Apr 20** Independent Monitoring Commission issues first report, noting continuation of loyalist and republican paramilitary activities
- Mar 29** Charges of IRA membership against four men accused of abducting dissident republican, Mr Bobby Tohill, are dismissed
- May 27** British Government launches a consultation on how Northern Ireland's past might be handled; international experience, such as South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, will be drawn upon
- Jun 10** DUP tops poll in Northern Ireland European Parliament election, followed by Sinn Féin, with Ulster Unionist retaining third seat
- Jun 11** European and local elections in Republic see Fianna Fáil losses and significant Sinn Féin gains, including one seat in the European Parliament; constitution amended by referendum to allow changes in citizenship law
- Jun 25** British and Irish Governments and NI Political Parties meet at Lancaster House, London to discuss a reinstatement of devolution; intensive talks scheduled for September 2004
- Jul 7** British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference, meeting in Dublin, reviews progress on security and other issues
- Jul 12** Sinn Féin leaders appeal for calm during angry riots between nationalist youths and the PSNI during the Orange Order parade in the Ardoyne, North Belfast; the annual Drumcree parade passes off relatively peacefully
- Jul 22** Jeffrey Donaldson says that the DUP believes a deal to restore devolution, with guaranteed Unionist support, is possible if republican paramilitarism can be proven to be at an end

NEW IBIS PUBLICATION

The second volume in the series *Perspectives in British-Irish Studies*, published by UCD Press in association with IBIS, has just appeared. Entitled *From political violence to negotiated settlement: the winding path to peace in twentieth-century Ireland* and edited by Maurice Bric and John Coakley, the book focuses on the tension between militarism and constitutionalism as platforms for political expression and activity in contemporary Ireland.

In addition to introductory and concluding chapters by the editors, the book includes chapters by Ronan Fanning (on the home rule crisis of 1912-14), Michael Laffan (republicanism, 1913-23), Paul Bew (moderate nationalism, 1918-23), Eunan O'Hallpin (the foreign links of republicanism), Alvin Jackson (the contemporary cult of the Ulster Volunteers), Joseph Ruane (republicanism and the armed struggle), Paul Dixon (unionism and the tactics of resistance) and General John de Chastelain (the peace process and decommissioning).

The first book in this series, *Changing shades of orange and green: redefining the union and the nation in contemporary Ireland*, edited by John Coakley, appeared in 2002.

Books are available from good bookshops. Orders can also be placed through Columba Mercier Distribution Ltd; email: cmd@columba.ie Tel: +353 1 2952560.

Mailing list

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Send us your name, address and contact details and we will include you on our mailing list.

Email: ibis@ucd.ie

Tel: +353 1 716 8670