

AN IRISH MODEL FOR PEACE?

Interdisciplinary debate, International lessons

PSAI Specialist Group in Peace and Conflict

22nd & 23rd May 2009

Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College Dublin

Friday 22nd May

[Registration and coffee from 10am]

Welcome and Introduction (10.30am)

Niall O Dochartaigh (NUI Galway) and

Gillian Wylie (Irish School of Ecumenics, TCD)

Session One: Debating Conflict Theory

Chair: Niall O Dochartaigh (NUI Galway)

What is 'Ethnic' in 'Ethnic Conflict'?

Sinisa Malesevic (NUI Galway)

The Settlement of Asymmetric Conflicts through Symmetric Interests in Peace

Jim McAuley and Catherine McGlynn* (University of Huddersfield) and Jon Tonge* (University of Liverpool)

Conflict Resolution Theory and the Northern Ireland Case: An ill-matched pair?

Eamonn O'Kane (University of Wolverhampton)

[Coffee break 11.40am]

Session Two: Ending Political Violence (12pm)

Chair: Bill Kissane (London School of Economics)

Operation Banner and the Utility of British Counter-insurgency Strategy in Small Wars

Aaron Edwards (Royal Military Academy Sandhurst)

The Missing Dimension in the Northern Ireland Peace Process: IRA Containment and British counter-insurgency/ terrorism strategies

Thomas Hennessey (Canterbury Christ Church University)

Disengagement from Political Violence: A comparative historical sociology analysis of Italy and N. Ireland

Lorenzo Bosi and Donatella Della Porta* (European University Institute)

Geo-politics and Ethno-nationalisms: Why Northern Ireland gets 'resolved' and Sri Lanka doesn't

Jude Lal Fernando (Irish School of Ecumenics)

[Lunch 1.30pm]

Session Three: Post-Conflict Democracy (2.15pm)

Chair: Iain Attack (Irish School of Ecumenics)

Democracy after Civil War: The divided power approach

Bill Kissane (London School of Economics and Political Science)

Learning from the Past or Laundering History? Consociational narratives and state intervention in Northern Ireland

Cillian McGrattan (University of Ulster)

Consociational Governance and the Democratisation of Fear

Chris Sparks (Sligo Institute of Technology)

Autonomy and power-sharing in Northern Ireland: A model for global export? Robin Wilson (Queen's University Belfast)

[Coffee break 3.45pm]

* Contributor unable to attend conference, paper to be presented by co-author

Session Four: Reconciliation and Civil Society (4.15pm)

Chair: Etain Tannam (Irish School of Ecumenics)

The Role of Civil Society in Promoting Peace in Northern Ireland

Timothy White (Xavier University)

Religion and the Challenges of Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and Beyond

Therese Cullen and Gladys Ganiel* (Irish School of Ecumenics, TCD)

Reconciliation, Inclusion, Deconstruction and Mourning

Michelle Moloney (Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College Dublin)

Towards a Northern Irish Model for Peace? The political possibilities of 'ordinary ethics'.

Anthony McCann (University of Ulster)

[Session ends 5.45pm]

Conference dinner, Donnybrook Fair (6.30pm)

Saturday 23rd May

[Coffee from 9.45am]

Session Five: Assessing the Irish Model (10am)

Chair: Gillian Wylie (Irish School of Ecumenics)

A Myth of the Northern Irish Peace Process

Paul Dixon (Kingston University)

Transforming Conflict through Social and Economic Development: Assessing the International Fund for Ireland Model

Sandra Buchanan (University of Ulster)

'Set Back' or 'New Northern Ireland': Memory, Territory and the Breakdown of Trust – a case study of the Tri Service Homecoming Parade in Belfast, November 2008

Kris Brown (University of Ulster)

Conditions for Peace: Exploring the debate on Northern Ireland's lessons for the inclusion of 'extremes' in peace processes

David Mitchell (University of Ulster)

[Coffee break 11.30am]

Session Six: The Irish Model in Translation (12pm)

Chair: Katy Hayward (Queen's University Belfast)

Exporting Peace? The evolving role of UNTSI (the United Nations Training School Ireland) in peace support internationally

Conor Galvin (University College Dublin)

An Irish Model? Applying theory and practice to divided territories in the Middle East

Michael Kerr and Rory Miller (King's College London)

The Meaning of Self-Determination in Ethno-National Conflict and Peace Building: A comparison of Ireland and Kashmir

John Doyle (Dublin City University)

Concluding discussion

(Chair: Niall O Dochartaigh)

[Lunch 1.30pm]

For further details and updates on the Specialist Group please visit <http://psaipeace.wordpress.com/> or email psai.peace@gmail.com

On behalf of the PSAl Specialist Group in Peace & Conflict Studies, the conference organisers wish to thank the Irish School of Ecumenics for so generously hosting the event, Alicia Gauch for her invaluable assistance, and the PSAl for additional financial support.

Session One: Debating Conflict Theory

Sinisa Malesevic

What is 'Ethnic' in 'Ethnic Conflict'?

Ethnicity is often understood either as a synonym for an ethnic group or as a distinct cultural property of a particular collectivity. Such views start from the proposition that collective cultural difference is not only given but also an ultimate cause of a particular behaviour. Ethnic group solidarity is seen as almost automatic, normal and natural. However both of these perceptions are illusory: a) there is nothing automatic and self-evident in group formation and b) cultural similarity by itself is a feeble explanatory force. Max Weber was already well aware and recent scholarship made it apparent that ethnicity requires successful mobilization of social action to transform mere group membership into a conscious political association. Rather than being an outcome of the explanatory process, ethnicity is a phenomenon that requires explanation.

However the dominant contemporary perspectives on ethnic conflict can not adequately address the processes through which cultural difference is politicised because they operate with the two largely incommensurable concepts of ethnicity: the temporal and the spatial. The main aim of this paper is to critically engage with these two dominant perspectives in order to articulate a more coherent sociological understanding of ethnicity. First I explore the vertical, macro historical view that focuses on the transformation and continuity of culture in time. Second I analyse the horizontal, mostly ahistorical, micro interactional view that centres on the majority and majority relations in a modern social order. Finally I outline an alternative position that attempts to transgress the existing macro/micro, time/space divide by identifying what is universal about ethnicity.

James W. McAuley, Catherine McGlynn and Jon Tonge

The settlement of asymmetric conflicts through symmetric interests in peace

It is clear that conflicts between or within states can be objectively characterized as symmetric or asymmetric. Subjectively, however, there is often room for considerable ambiguity about the relative political and military power of belligerents, with different perceptions associated with different political dynamics and outcomes. Here we suggest that in Northern Ireland the creative use of this ambiguity supported the emergence of a consensus that acknowledges how the belligerents had symmetric interests in the peace process, the peace settlement, and the rewards of peace. Although the conflict there could be depicted as asymmetrical, the peace process that led to the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement only gained momentum when it began to draw on a working perception of symmetry between the factions.

Crucial in this momentum towards settlement were the changing perceptions of those involved, particularly former combatants and their political representatives. These increased perceptions of symmetry allowed successive British and Irish governments to gain legitimacy, and then authority as mediators and guarantors of an accord. In turn, both republican and loyalist paramilitary organizations were able to promote the merits of a 'political' solution to their members and supporters. Finally, the development of a working political coalition amongst political representatives marked the transformation from asymmetric conflict to symmetric peace. Broadly, therefore, we provide evidence and argument that asymmetric conflicts may be settled by symmetric interests in 'peace' and political structures.

Eamonn O'Kane

Conflict resolution theory and the Northern Ireland case: An ill-matched pair?

This paper seeks to examine the Northern Ireland experience in relation to some of the existing conflict resolution literature. Northern Ireland's peace process is widely cited as a model for other conflicts to follow yet there has been too little attempt to apply existing theory to the case study. This paper seeks to make a contribution to that process and suggests that Northern Ireland case seems to beg questions in relation to a good deal of the existing theory. It is argued that this needs to be recognised and explained before we advocate a model from the case.

Session Two: Ending Political Violence

Aaron Edwards

Operation Banner and the Utility of British Counter-insurgency Strategy in Small Wars

The temptation to draw comparisons between Northern Ireland and other deeply divided societies is becoming ever more common in light of the successful transformation of the peace process from terrorism to democratic politics. This paper asks how the British Army has learned lessons from Operation Banner, the codename given to its 38 year deployment in support of the civil authorities in the province. It takes a broad historical and comparative perspective and places Operation Banner in the context of Britain's previous involvement in other small wars and insurgencies since 1945. It argues that although the nature of the threat posed in these various operational theatres differed in capability, intent and scale that political primacy and an adherence to the minimum use of force nonetheless characterised the British approach to counter-insurgency (COIN) and counter-terrorist operations. As a means of illustrating this point the paper places the development of the British Army's COIN doctrine in its proper theoretical context, by drawing on the writings of the scholar-practitioners Frank Kitson, Robert Thompson and Julian Paget to ascertain the degree of influence of this distinctly 'English school' on contemporary operations. The paper concludes with several observations on how lessons learned by the British Army in Northern Ireland found utility in other operational theatres such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

Thomas Hennessey

The Missing Dimension in the Northern Ireland Peace Process: IRA Containment and British Counter-Insurgency/Terrorism Strategies

This paper explores the missing dimension of the Northern Irish Peace Process: the use of state repression as a policy to contain paramilitary violence and, ultimately, to force paramilitaries into negotiations. Most studies of the Northern Ireland Peace Process emphasise the process of

negotiation – talking to one's enemy - as being essential to producing the Good Friday Agreement that effectively ended the 'Troubles'; the Irish model has been held up as a blueprint for other conflicts around the world. But these interpretations ignore the fact that the Good Friday Agreement was the product of several decades of state and sub-state violence, with the participants often responding to one another, in which the British state used emergency legislation, special forces and covert intelligence gathering to manoeuvre the Provisional IRA into negotiations that led to a major compromise on its strategic aims. The Good Friday Agreement could not have been achieved without this policy of sustained state repression. This is a lesson that is absent from comparative studies of Peace Processes that include Northern Ireland.

Lorenzo Bosi and Donatella Della Porta *Disengagement from Political Violence: A Comparative Historical Sociology Analysis of Italy and Northern Ireland*

Very little existing research analyses the 'why' and 'how' of the disengagement from political violence and the few studies that do tend to focus on the subject by analysing either the macro, or the meso, or the micro. This project seeks to shed new light on this rarely addressed issue by looking at how the cycles of political violence in Italy and Northern Ireland deescalated by specifically interrelating these three analytical levels of analysis. As we will see, all three levels of analysis are useful, but their repeated interactions in particular need to be studied in detail, since each level compounds and complicates the others. Having said that, this does not mean that all the three analytical levels have the same importance everywhere and at anytime, as their flows of power and influence are by no means equal. It is, in fact, the aim of this study to understand how differently they interact when we look at groups with different motivations, organizational structures, social relationship, and contexts. By comparing groups that are not usually compared – that is, groups with different motivations, organizational structures, social relationship, and contexts – the paper allows for a

comprehensive and holistic understanding of the dynamic processes of conflict transformation and to afford some level of analytical leverage, but also specifically to set the Italian and Northern Ireland cycle of political violence within a less provincial context. Several data-collection techniques are used in this research: discourse analysis of interview data; content analysis of historical records (newspapers, government documents, autobiographies, and documents from organisations); and systematic consultation of secondary sources.

Jude Lal Fernando

Geo-politics and Ethno-nationalisms: Why Northern Ireland gets 'resolved' and Sri Lanka doesn't

Two modern day conflicts that revolve around distinct forms of ethno-nationalisms, and that have their roots in the British colonial practice, are the conflicts between Protestant unionism and Irish nationalism in Northern Ireland, and Sinhala Buddhist nationalism and Tamil nationalism in Sri Lanka. The former has successfully entered into a peace settlement and ended its armed phase by establishing a shared sovereignty of the nation-states whereas the latter still continues to be one of the most intractable wars in South Asia. If the same colonial practice gave rise to both the conflicts how has one been resolved and the other continues to get compounded in the present historical moment of globalisation? This is the question that this paper will try to answer.

The paper will assess the varying impact of the present day processes of globalisation on the two situations. It will focus on the relationship between distinct forms of nationalism in the two situations and their geo-political dimensions within the emerging network of global relationships. It will argue that it is the dynamic of this relationship that creates conditions for the resolution of N.I. conflict on the one hand, and compounds the Sri Lankan conflict on the other hand. Principles of parity of esteem and enhancement of democratic space through political negotiations - which created the basis for the peace process in Ireland - have not been applied concretely and consistently to the Sri Lankan peace process by its international facilitators. Growing geo-political importance of the island of Lanka in the emerging network of global relationships has blurred the basic principles of conflict resolution that could be found in the Irish case. Lessons of the Irish peace process and the current war in Sri Lanka clearly express not only a need for an ethic of nation-building but also a need for an ethic of globalisation that surpasses geo-political interests of the Global Powers.

Session Three: Post-Conflict Democracy

Bill Kissane,

Democracy after Civil War: The divided power approach

There is an increasing tendency for civil wars to end in negotiations intended to create a post-civil war democracy. The prevailing wisdom is that such democracies will emerge in the context of a hurting stalemate, followed by a power-sharing compromise. An alternative is to argue that institutions which simply divide power in some way are more democratic and durable than power sharing settlements. Power sharing settlements may be suitable only for ethnic conflicts, and since the end of the Cold War several non-ethnic conflicts have been resolved without executive power sharing. I show how such divided power arrangements have emerged in federal, semi-presidential, consensual and Westminster systems, and discuss their relevance to more recent transitions after civil war.

Cillian McGrattan

Learning from the past or laundering history? Consociational narratives and state intervention in Northern Ireland

Consociational accounts of the Northern Ireland conflict claim that British governments gradually learned how to manage ethnic divisions, eventually creating the conditions for the 1998 Belfast Agreement. However, recently released archival evidence together with published accounts from elite actors reveals serious flaws in the consociational, 'policy-learning' narrative. In fact, rather than an overarching vision of conflict management, government policymaking was based on a multiplicity of voices and options – a self-reinforcing ambiguity that effectively contributed to the entrenchment of inter-communal division.

The paper points out that the consociational narrative of state intervention is illustrative of a profoundly ahistorical and backwards-reading approach to the conflict.

More importantly, this post-hoc approach effectively recycles dominant explanations of the conflict and, in a transitional period, actively contributes to the re-marginalisation of liminal groups and the continued exclusion of experiences based on age, gender, locale and class. As an alternative to the institutionalisation of ethnically based narratives, the paper argues that learning from the past necessitates returning to the primary archival and oral sources. It points out that such a return to history not only broadens our understanding of the resilience and evolution of the conflict, but also helps to restore once-marginalised voices to a more central position in the political arena.

Chris Sparks

Consociational governance and the democratisation of fear

The fragility of the inherently pluralist, dispute-ridden liberal democratic constitution ensures that it remains a constant target for practitioners of macho real politique who, believing it too weak to survive, either subvert it from within or publically denounce it as unrealistically idealistic and inherently unstable. This paper works from a re-assertion of the intensely worldly political sensibility of classic liberal constitutionalism, through an analysis of consociational constitutionalism in a range of recent and current fragile polities including Bosnia-Herzegovina and Northern Ireland, to argue the following: the fragility of liberal democratic constitutions are more than matched by the uniquely precious endowment they can bestow on their practitioners - the opportunity to live the creative, ethical and communal life of the citizen.....but only if they want it. The key point for all to note is that the political constitution is only as frail as the discursive communality that constructs it. If the citizenry have the will wit and courage they can provide the generative power to work the constitution. Fragile polities, which is exactly what consociational polities are, will express themselves in fragile constitutions. The constitutional weaknesses are symptoms of the psychological frailty and political weakness of the society. The fundamental weaknesses lie

in the integral constitution of the polity – its organic life – its social and cultural activities - not in its external formal constitution. Thus the most effective and enduring strengthening activities or procedures are those that engage with the activities of civil society itself. The extension from formal constitutional arrangements into neo-Keynesian stimulation and guidance of social capital growth projects is not an add-on option to consociationalism, but the vital element which alone has the capacity to grow space for legitimated intimacy and strangeness, and for collective engagements with common economic and environmental situations- in short, to democratise fear and enable communality.

Robin Wilson

Autonomy and power-sharing in Northern Ireland: a model for global export?

In recent years, Northern Ireland has been presented as a model for the resolution of violent conflicts in deeply divided societies. But discussion of the 'peace process' has occluded scrutiny of the governance arrangements arising, and whether these promote reconciliation across sectarian lines or even make for workable government. Close assessment, against the precedent of the power-sharing experiment of 1974 and efforts to establish power-sharing in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia after nationalistic conflicts there, suggests however that neither of these desiderata is being realized. More flexible power-sharing arrangements are necessary if Northern Ireland is to move beyond its sectarian division to become a more normal society.

Session Four: Reconciliation and Civil Society

Timothy White

The Role of Civil Society in Promoting Peace in Northern Ireland

The Good Friday Agreement created an institutional framework to resolve the differences or at least create a workable political framework for Northern Ireland. Because this agreement was meant to solve elite level conflict through consociationalism, it did not focus on grassroots politics. The institutions of the new governing system were based on sectarian self-identification of elites and provided little incentive for politicians to transcend sectarian differences. It has taken some time for each side to agree to concessions that has allowed the institutional arrangements of the agreement to become operational. Many organizations have been created to encourage peace and societal transformation at the grassroots level, but few have proven popular enough among both Catholics and Protestants to overcome the sectarian cleavage that continues to divide Northern Ireland into two distinct communities. For peace to take hold in Northern Ireland organizations and patterns of association need to emerge that provide grassroots reconciliation. Ultimately, it is when voters from both communities begin to work effectively together that they will also expect and demand this from their politicians. This paper will highlight the importance of civil society and the need for reconciliation between the two communities as critical factors that might help push elites in the direction of making the compromises necessary to make the institutions of the Good Friday Agreement workable. Scholars of democracy have increasingly focused on interpersonal trust as a critical requirement for mass democracy in the contemporary era. This trust is an essential feature of a civil society and allows social capital to form that prevents future tensions from becoming justifications for violence and abandonment of the peace process.

Gladys Ganiel and Therese Cullen

Religion and the Challenges of Reconciliation in Northern Ireland and Beyond

Eleven years after the peace accord that 'ended' Northern Ireland's Troubles, society remains segregated along religious lines. This paper outlines attempts by the churches to cross ethno-religious boundaries, including para-church groups and denominational initiatives such as the Church of Ireland's Hard Gospel Programme and the Peacemaking Programme of the Presbyterian Church. It asks how such efforts reach people in the pews. It considers the possibility for further development of trans-denominational cooperation around reconciliation issues. It concludes by identifying general lessons that can be learned from the role of churches in the Northern Ireland process, and asks how those lessons might be applied in other contexts. As scholars and policy makers come to recognise the global resurgence of religion and the salience of religious identities in a variety of contexts, the ability to engage religious actors in reconciliation processes will be crucial.

Michelle Moloney

Reconciliation, Inclusion, Deconstruction and Mourning.

Recent response to the report of the Consultative Group on the Past has demonstrated that sectarianism remains deeply rooted in Northern Ireland. This paper explores possible approaches to deal with the legacy of the Troubles by reaching beyond political rhetoric and entrenched polarised narratives. While theoretical approaches to reconciliation assert that truth, justice and acknowledgement are key elements in a reconciliation process, the reality is that many of these elements remain elusive. Drawing on research amongst victims and survivors groups in Northern Ireland this paper argues that reconciliation is ultimately a journey towards intimacy, with self and other and needs to be sustained by a process of reflexivity in both the private and public domain. This process offers challenges to existing narratives on victimhood and questions the role of both

victims and non-victims in supporting a sustainable reconciliation process in Northern Ireland. It is suggested that in the absence of truth, justice and acknowledgement, other avenues must be explored. Alternatives proposed include the exploration of the role of non-victims and the deconstruction of the victim narrative, this coupled with a process of mourning based on the Derrida model, could offer the possibility of drawing together Northern Ireland's society in a healing process that goes beyond the continuing cycle of recrimination and blame.

Anthony McCann

Towards a Northern-Irish Model for Peace?: The Political Possibilities of 'Ordinary Ethics'

In this paper I will outline a programme to develop a specifically Northern Irish model for peace. We speak of the last forty years in Northern Ireland as 'The Troubles' or 'The Conflict', characterising this time as a continuous experience of intense conflict. By doing this we pay the high price of effacing many other aspects of our lives. Our retellings of Northern Irish history place the emphasis on hostility, trauma, and violence. More helpful aspects of everyday life over the past forty years have been rendered discursively invisible and thereby politically irrelevant.

There are three elements in this proposed programme:

- (1) Reframing conflict narratives through ethnography. We can helpfully identify a field of 'ordinary ethics' that challenges our biases in the writing and rewriting of Northern Irish history. We have experienced resilience, kindness, humour, family, and community during the last forty years in Northern Ireland. Through ethnography we have an opportunity to recognise the histories of peaceful, sustainable, and nonviolent relationship in our communities.
- (2) Theoretical reflection, analysis, and synthesis. Ethnography will provide us with a rich source of insight to consider the politics of sustainable relationships in everyday life. Ethnography can challenge the historiography of conflict through the chronicling of peace. In what ways can it also enhance our theoretical understandings of power, agency, resistance, conflict, and social healing in Northern Ireland?
- (3) Redressing the silencing, retelling histories. Bringing forward alternative histories of 'ordinary ethics' redresses the legacy of silencing which we perpetuate. Historiographic and theoretical insights drawn from this programme of ethnography can be incorporated and tested among community-arts practitioners, educators, and the peace-building community.

Session Five: Assessing the Irish Model

Paul Dixon

A Myth of the Northern Irish Peace Process

There are good reasons and bad reasons why political actors lie and deceive. In the first part of this paper it is argued that Tony Blair perpetrated two great deceptions during his premiership over Iraq and Northern Ireland. Iraq is seen by British public opinion as the British Prime Minister's greatest failure while Northern Ireland is regarded as his greatest success and suitable for export to the Middle East. This paper will argue that Tony Blair deceived the people of Northern Ireland over the implications of the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) during the subsequent referendum campaign on the deal. The British Prime Minister misled the Northern Irish public into believing that there would be decommissioning before either paramilitary prisoners were released or Sinn Féin sat in government. This deception secured the victory of the 'Yes' vote in the referendum. This deception, although vital to our understanding of the peace process, has not been widely acknowledged in the literature. This paper then reflects on the reasons for this.

Sandra Buchanan

Transforming Conflict through Social and Economic Development: Assessing the International Fund for Ireland Model

The International Fund for Ireland (IFI) has been the subject of remarkably little academic analysis, despite its considerable contribution to the conflict transformation process in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties over more than two decades. A product of the Anglo-Irish Agreement entered into by the Irish and British governments in 1985, the Fund has pioneered grassroots peacebuilding in the region through the use of social and economic development. This is particularly significant as conversely the top-level political model, considered questionable by some, has been examined extensively. By quietly concentrating its efforts on the involvement of civil society actors, it has illustrated two key components of

successful conflict transformation practice – the necessities of taking a long-term view and of developing and integrating vertical and horizontal capacity at all levels of society in the transformation process in order to enable the empowerment of the society's citizens. This latter approach subsequently paved the way for grassroots level involvement in Northern Ireland's conflict transformation process on an exceptional scale through the EU Peace programmes, thus assisting in the sustainment of the political during its darkest periods.

As the Fund nears the completion of its exit strategy in 2010, this paper seeks to examine its contribution to the conflict transformation process in the region over more than two decades by theoretically contextualising its transformative role and exploring its impacts in terms of these two key conflict transformation components. In doing so, it is hoped that such analysis will highlight previously unexplored aspects of an Irish model ripe for lesson sharing.

Kris Brown

'Set Back' or 'New Northern Ireland': Memory, Territory and the Breakdown of Trust – a case study of the Tri Service Homecoming Parade in Belfast, November 2008.

In Northern Ireland society, which is ethnically segmented in party political terms, and in many areas, in terms of space too – issues of identity and territory are brought to the surface and have a powerful bearing on intercommunal trust and perceptions. Whilst the mechanics of power relations at administrative level seem relatively settled, and widespread disorder associated with the local religio-political parading culture has abated, low level cultural struggles continue to crackle over issues that follow public expressions of identity politics – the use of symbols, material culture, political rituals, public assembly and post conflict memory. Issues of remembrance and victim-hood also have particular force in a society which is still coming to terms with how best to deal with its recent past of political violence. The purpose of this paper is to examine how two factors i) post conflict remembrance and

ii) contested space can come together to corrode cross community trust. The paper uses the recent, and controversial, Belfast homecoming parade of local service men and women who had been on tours of duty in Iraq and Afghanistan as a sharp case study - the better to examine the mechanisms at work picking away at trust, and the speed and persistence of their application, a defining characteristic. The paper will also tentatively suggest broad means by which such cultural conflicts can be allowed to combust without ripping away grass roots trust and threatening civil disorder; in so doing the paper will interpret issues of trust and dialogue through the conceptual lenses of social capital theory and agonistic pluralism.

David Mitchell

Conditions for peace: exploring the debate on Northern Ireland's lessons for the inclusion of 'extremes' in peace processes

An important theme in discussions on the possible existence of an Irish model for peace concerns methods of including violent 'extremes' in peace processes. Key British figures including Peter Hain and Jonathan Powell have argued that the success of the Northern Irish process lay in the initial willingness to enter into unconditional dialogue with the IRA. Unionists such as David Trimble and Paul Bew have countered that in fact the converse was true – the determining factor was the setting of strict conditions for the IRA including non-violence and the principle of consent. Each side argues that its favoured principle could be transferable to other contexts, particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This paper assesses the merits and motivations of the contributions to this debate. By re-examining how paramilitary-linked parties were managed in the peace process, it finds that the Northern Ireland case demonstrates the interdependence of incentives and conditions/sanctions and considers how this may be an appropriate lesson for Israel-Palestine..

Session Six: The Irish Model in Translation

Conor Galvin,
Exporting Peace? The evolving role of UNTSI (the United Nations Training School Ireland) in peace support internationally.

Most people on the island of Ireland are aware of the high regard in which men and women of the Irish Defence Forces are held when they participate in UN mandated peace support missions. What is perhaps not so well known is the role of UNTSI – the United Nations Training School Ireland – in the preparation and education of these peacekeepers or the wider role that the School has played in helping develop UN doctrine and practice internationally.

There are two reasons why a consideration of the work of UNTSI may be of value to this conference: First, the history of the School has been interesting politically. Founded in 1993, UNTSI was seen as a centre which would draw on the exceptional range of experience gained by Irish peacekeeping soldiers on many missions world-wide. As such the school represented positive engagement with one history of practice in UN mandated peacekeeping. What is not so evident is UNTSI's positioning as a counterpoint to an emerging model of peace enforcement. Both in terms of the policies it pursues and the training it provides, UNTSI stands apart from much of the 'Chapter Six-and-a-half' movement. One aspect of the proposed paper considers the reasons why and the value of doing so.

The second value point concerns how UNTSI has repositioned itself in recent years as a provider of courses and as a centre for discussions that transcend a military-civil division which often characterises (and damages) peace support activities. This is most clearly seen in the range of new courses the school now schedules, including courses on civil-military cooperation and human rights. 'Standard' overseas training courses also increasingly include cultural awareness components and attention to ethical issues – concerns previously seen as beyond the remit of the School. In addition UNTSI offers discreet and valued support to the Irish Government's recently-formed Rapid Reaction Corp, and has actively sought out and engaged with NGOs and Irish

aid agencies to better understand their principles and practices.

In sum, the paper seeks to present some interesting insights into the nature of the Peace that the Irish Defence Forces seek to export when sending members overseas. It offers reflection on an underpinning vision for excellence in peace support education that engages broader theoretical debates about the international system, the nature of statehood and the responsibilities of those who serve under a UN flag in the interest of a more orderly, just and peaceful world.

Michael Kerr and Rory Miller

An Irish model? Applying theory and practice to divided territories in the Middle East

Ever since the 1998 Belfast Agreement, both the British and Irish Governments have looked to draw on their long-term management of the peace process in Northern Ireland in their involvement in promoting peace processes in the Middle East. Michael Kerr and Rory Miller will examine what lessons can be drawn from Northern Ireland's experience for practitioners of conflict regulation in the Middle East—Israel/Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq. Kerr will address how a history of power-sharing influences third party led peace process and Miller will examine the limitations of US and EU led efforts to regulate conflict in the Middle East.

John Doyle

The meaning of self-determination in ethno-national conflict and peace building – a comparison of Ireland and Kashmir

Political developments in Northern Ireland and the Basque Country have raised questions about the continuing meaning of demands for 'self-determination' by groups such as the IRA and ETA. Some authors have characterised the Northern Ireland peace process in particular as the effective abandonment of nationalist goals in return for power-sharing and civil rights. Yet Sinn Féin continues to prioritise Irish unity in its rhetoric and campaigning. Despite the failure of the Basque peace process to develop, it threw up some potentially interesting re-definitions of self-determination, which separated its symbolic base from the issue of continuing membership of the Spanish state. The Kashmir case seems to involve the most traditional concept of sovereignty from India, Pakistan and Kashmiri separatists, yet here the defacto acceptance by India and Pakistan of the Line of Control (LOC) as the de facto border, combined with a recognised need for institutionalised cross border relations has made the Irish case of considerable interest to parties on all sides there. The unwillingness, to date, to go beyond traditional institutionalisation of sovereignty has made progress on Kashmir difficult, as there is little likelihood of a change in the balance of power to resolve the conflict on the basis of absolute victory. Through an examination of the statements of political actors this paper argues that a more nuanced model of self-determination, rather than an abandonment of nationalism has been central to the Northern Ireland peace processes. There is evidence of some engagement with such ideas in the Kashmir case and evidence that serious actors have considered some transferrable lessons from the 'Irish' case.