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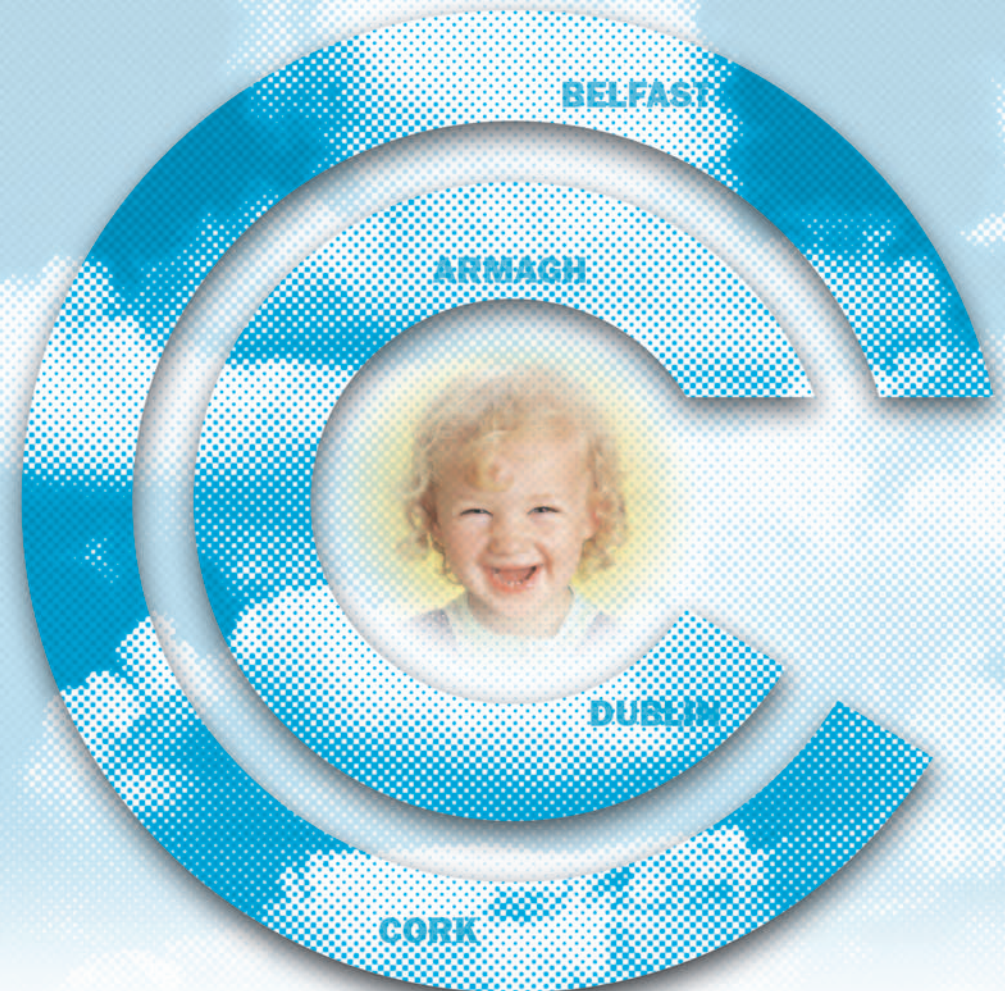
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The Centre for Cross Border Studies | **YEAR 6**



WITH ARTICLES BY

**DAVID MCKITTRICK, CONOR BRADY, EDNA LONGLEY,
STEVEN KING AND MERVYN STOREY MLA**

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January 2005

The Centre for Cross Border Studies, now in its 6th Year of operation, has had another busy and productive twelve months.

Under the leadership of director Andy Pollak, the Centre's expanded team has taken on a range of new challenges. These range from a major research study on how public services are provided to ethnic and immigrant groups in Ireland, North and South, and Scotland, to the first ever training course for civil servants working in the North-South co-operation field. The work with Universities Ireland and the Standing Conference on Teacher Education North and South (SCoTENS) goes from strength to strength. This is a vital component of developing links and understanding between research and learning institutions on the island of Ireland. In this and other activities, the continued support of funders such as the EU Peace Two programme, The Atlantic Philanthropies, the Department of Education and Science (Dublin), the Department for Employment and Learning (Belfast), the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, as well as public sector partners like the North/South Ministerial Council and InterTradeIreland, has been particularly helpful.

It is becoming increasingly recognised in this modern world of globalisation and instant communication that we must work together across national borders to secure a peaceful and prosperous future for all our citizens. The Centre is making its innovative contribution to this important task on the island of Ireland, and will continue to do so in 2005 and beyond.

This year the writers we have invited to contribute to the yearbook are prominent journalists, critics and politicians. They include David McKittrick, Ireland Correspondent of the *Independent*; Conor Brady, Editor Emeritus of *The Irish Times*; the critic and cultural commentator Professor Edna Longley; David Trimble's political advisor and newspaper columnist Steven King; and the DUP MLA for North Antrim, Mervyn Storey.

**Chris D Gibson**

A PROBLEM SOLVED AND TURNED INTO AN OPPORTUNITY

David McKittrick



For many unionists, cross-border relations used to be full of sinister menace, an area of combat rather than co-operation and in fact one of the key battlegrounds of the Northern Ireland

'Troubles'. They tended to believe that North-South matters involved a not particularly hidden agenda of making progress towards a united Ireland, an opportunity to propel Northern Ireland down that traditionally perilous slippery slope.

Their suspicions were not groundless, since some republicans and nationalists promoted the idea of cross-border activity not for its own intrinsic merits but on the basis of the dilution of Britishness and advancing the nationalist cause.

The natural advantages of practical co-operation suffered for decades because of the North's fraught relations with the South. The 'Irish dimension' was hugely controversial: North-South relations helped bring Sunningdale down in 1974, and the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement scandalised Unionists.

That Agreement led to political convulsion, and yet in the end it laid the

basis for today's healthier relations. At the time the Rev Ian Paisley swore "Never, never, never"; more recently he has enjoyed a hearty breakfast with the Taoiseach.

The 1985 accord created a template for a Belfast-London-Dublin pattern. But this new architecture was not the whole story, for personalities were of vital importance too. Most critically Charles Haughey, whom Unionists viewed as a hawkish republican, eventually departed the political scene, taking with him his personal whiff of sulphur.

Successors such as Albert Reynolds, John Bruton and Bertie Ahern - and their various foreign ministers - have been viewed in a wholly different and non-threatening light. As their policies and the Anglo-Irish Agreement have reflected, the South re-defined its attitude towards the North. Gone, for all practical purposes, was any sense of covetous territoriality, any obvious ambition of Dublin to rule Belfast. Instead, the Southern priority was to contain the Northern Ireland 'Troubles', in partnership with London, and take part in the joint management of a common problem.

When the peace process emerged it too was problematic for unionists, but the South demonstrated over the years that its primary concern was for peace and stability. David Trimble, when he became Unionist leader, recognised this by embarking on years of contact and eventually negotiations with Dublin.



2004 was the year Rev Ian Paisley endorsed North-South co-operation. Speaking after meeting the Taoiseach, Mr Ahern, in Dublin on 30 September, Dr Paisley said: "We are working towards a settlement for all the people of Northern Ireland, and in so doing we wish to build a relationship with our neighbour that is practically based rather than politically motivated. No one has anything to fear from such an accountable North-South relationship of equal partnerships."

The IRA ceasefire also improved the atmosphere, with many unionists venturing into the Republic for the first time ever - although a surprising number of Protestants, even today, have still never strayed across the border.

The question of cross-border relations formed an important part of the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, causing some thorny moments during the negotiations. But Articles 2 and 3 went, and Bertie Ahern agreed to scale down his initial plans for the network of cross-border architecture. The fact that he made this concession so readily

illustrated that the fire and the controversy had almost disappeared from the issue, which in the talks was much less important than the questions of arms and the structure of devolution.

Ian Paisley was one of the few to find fault with the new cross-border arrangements, but even he relegated the issue to the minor league, concentrating instead on IRA-related matters. He revisited the issue in the rounds of negotiations in late 2004. These failed on the decommissioning issue, but were strikingly successful in

terms of reaching agreement on the cross-border issue.

Democratic Unionist party MP Nigel Dodds said in January 2005 of North-South relations: "This problem has now been solved. Unionists will now be free to deal with the Republic of Ireland with the confidence that their position is totally safeguarded, and this will encourage a much more positive engagement on all sides."

Both the Irish government and Sinn Féin indicated they were content with the new arrangements. It is not often in politics that a major party announces that a problem "has now been solved," but this happened in this case.

Nigel Dodds once stood in the street outside the Belfast Europa hotel in protest against Charles Haughey visiting Belfast. Now the DUP is routinely in touch with the Irish government, Ian Paisley chatting on the phone to Bertie Ahern. The Dodds comments appear to indicate that the DUP's instinctive suspicion of North-South matters has been all but dispelled: the old era of Paisley-Haughey confrontation looks like giving way to a new framework of Paisley-Ahern cooperation.

On a macro level then, the political weather has changed and many previously impossible things are now in prospect. A new start has already been made, as the work of the Centre for Cross Border Studies shows, in areas such as education, business and

agriculture, where much activity is taking place.

But old habits die hard, and a glance at the work of the Centre, and of the other institutions involved in North-South contacts, serves as a reminder of how bad things were for so long. This may be a new era, but it is only the start of that era, and years of dogged and patient work and effort lie ahead before North-South co-operation fulfils its true potential.

Nonetheless, it is rare enough in Northern Ireland to be able to report that a once-contentious issue has effectively been laid to rest, and that a one-time cause of division may in future be transformed into a basis for progress. In this case, a problem has turned into an opportunity.

David McKittrick is Ireland Correspondent of the London 'Independent'

NORTH-SOUTH CO-OPERATION: BACK TO THE FUTURE?

Conor Brady



An excursion through the files of *The Irish Times* (and perhaps other newspapers too) will paint a vivid picture of the extent to which the two parts of Ireland

had become estranged from each other by the middle years of the 20th Century.

But not only will the old columns of newsprint narrate the divisions that flowed from the settlement of 1921. Go back a little further in the chronicle, perhaps to the 1890s. In contrast here, the reader will be struck by the extent to which the two parts of the island were in normal and regular dialogue - notwithstanding many differences and tensions

The cold, denying silence that fell upon the island from the 1920s was not always there. The people who were the Irish in the closing decades of the 19th Century had been divided by the land issue, by Home Rule, by class, privilege and religion. But within their own strata they related to each other as inhabitants of one - not two - Irelands.

It is reflected in *The Irish Times* in columns like 'Constabulary News'. One

police force served the island. Thus one is told that District Inspector So-and-So is "transferring from Larne to Queenstown." It is reflected in what we would now call business news. Mr So-and-So, a senior clerk with a business firm, is being promoted from the Lurgan office to Cork. Mr So-and-So, postmaster at Kilkenny, is transferring to Enniskillen. And so on.

Public life operated on a 32-county, four-province basis. The police, the revenue, the post office, the churches, the banks, sporting organisations, literary and educational associations - each conducted their activities on the basis that, whether it was in Ballymena or Ballydehob, Coleraine or Castlebar, they were on home ground.

Now move forward in the files, say to the 1950s. Some few linkages remain. The Protestant churches still move their ministers up and down the island to some degree. Some of the banks do the same. But the transfers are few. And *de facto* if not *de jure*, even these institutions have been divided to reflect the political realities that have grown up on both sides of the border.

Separate civil services have grown up, along with separate post offices, educational systems, health services, local government, police forces and so on. And the processes of fission and fracture have extended into commercial life and the activities of voluntary groups. Some of the sports organisations still operate on an

all-Ireland basis – notably the GAA and the IRFU. But others have followed the partition model.

And over it all, there is the great, icy silence. There is no dialogue. There is not even a recognition of each other's existence. A civil servant in Dublin, seeking guidance or assistance on an issue, may seek these anywhere – London, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Cardiff – but not Belfast. And *vice versa*. The idea that members of the RUC and the Garda Síochána might meet for a game of football is grounds for disciplinary action.

The divisions are reflected in the media, which have withdrawn to the boundaries that separate 26 counties from 6. Dublin newspapers – apart from a couple of thousand copies of *The Irish Times* – do not circulate in Belfast. The Belfast press does not go south of the border. Broadcasting signals are contoured to reflect, as much as possible, the territorial division on the ground.

Travel between the two parts of the island slows to a trickle. Northern Catholics who can do so come south in July. A handful of southerners still go to the seaside at Bangor in the summer. But mostly people do not cross the border.

It is perhaps necessary to make this dreary journey into the not-so-distant past in order to understand how far things have come within the last few years. But a journey into these old

newspaper files also serves to illustrate that much of what is happening now is as much a return to the natural order of things, as the advent of something new.

At this writing, only the recklessly optimistic can be sanguine about the prospects of an early restoration of the Assembly and the Executive, as provided for under the Belfast Agreement. The final failure of trust, following on the Northern Bank robbery, will not easily be undone. As nothing else heretofore, it has finally reduced even Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern to grim pessimism. Democratically-based, constitutionally-governed institutions cannot function while one set of participants reserves to itself the right to step outside the law and to run a private military operation.

But if the 'Strand One' elements of the Belfast Agreement are still foundering, unable thus far to gain a secure and permanent foothold, the other elements of 'Strand Two' and 'Strand Three' are thriving. And the myriad connections, communications, exchanges, integrations and synergies that have been provided for are actually happening on the ground.

Right across public life – in public services, in business, in NGOs, in voluntary organisations – the deadly, deadening silences and the stopped-up channels of communication have been replaced by dialogue, co-operation and a realisation that everybody gains, and nobody loses, when people and organisations work together.

Of course, it does not all flow from the Agreement. There have been decades of on-the-ground work, put in by clubs, volunteers, schools, organisations, churches and so on. The fruits of all of that are now showing. But what the Agreement has done is to make it possible, acceptable, and necessary for official Ireland, North and South, to get on with the everyday business of life – together.

We have gone beyond the stage of politicians and civil servants meeting to have discussions, to play golf and have dinner – though God knows it was hard enough to get to that.

Now teachers from the two parts of Ireland can work in each others' jurisdictions. Nurses and health workers have mutually-recognised credentials. Social workers can move from one jurisdiction to another. Business people are trading, investing and developing without regard to the lines on the map. From this year on, members of the PSNI and the Garda will be able work on secondment in each other's service and, in some cases, take up fulltime appointments. And so on.

It is a different Ireland from the one in which many of us grew up during the 1950s. But in important respects it may be more like the Ireland that our grandparents and great-grandparents knew. And they would surely feel more comfortable, more on familiar ground today, than in the bleak years of the silence.

Conor Brady is Editor Emeritus of The Irish Times. He is incoming chairman of the British-Irish Association.

NORTH AND SOUTH: TOWARDS AN INTELLECTUAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Edna Longley



It is obvious that the Republic and Northern Ireland must collaborate to improve our island's material infrastructure. Here business, government and technology may be getting their act together. Environmental concerns, which should influence any such improvement, are also inescapably shared, and will move up the agenda.

But what of less tangible infrastructure? What about concepts and mentalities? What about culture – not just the highly selective menus of cultural nationalism or cultural unionism, but the myriad frameworks of daily life? It seems symptomatic that the only cultural North/South body attends to the most politicised area – language. While practical cross-border projects crucially advance mutual knowledge, as does the vast patchwork of individual and occupational contacts, deliberate consciousness-raising is also required. For all the 'diversity-speak', for all the books, articles and broadcasts, for all the mediating agencies like Co-operation Ireland, more could be done to make the people of Ireland 'better acquainted with one another' (to quote the nineteenth-century poet Samuel

Ferguson). Or perhaps the concepts are in place, but the political will lags behind. Institutions and bureaucracies, entrenched by the border, are slow to change their own assumptions and cultures.

The task, of course, is educational. And that includes the transformation of education itself, the reinvention of structures and syllabuses. The term 'integrated education' could mean so much more than multi-denominational education – far as that concept has yet to go. To take a small example: when the Leaving Certificate English literature course was changed a few years ago, two contemporary "northern" poets, Seamus Heaney and Michael Longley, were put on the syllabus. Taken together, the work of such poets obliquely introduces the Republic's sixth-formers to the North's cultural complexities. Similarly, history syllabuses, which have also evolved if not always connected, potentially complicate perspectives all round.

Not everybody studies literature or history, however. Examination and career demands are crowding out the more humane purposes of education. There is also the problem that arguments about history remain the stuff of Irish politics. The educational practice known as 'teaching the conflicts' can be tricky at third level, let alone second level. Northern Irish students, for instance, do not invariably enter university with open minds. Teachers themselves need help and encouragement. Thus exchange

schemes between schools, whether separated by religion, class or distance, can only do so much. Unless 'education for mutual understanding' – at all levels throughout the island – has a structural impact on curricula, it will largely remain a pious slogan. And, beyond North-South relations, broader educational issues are at stake as religious domination of schools recedes and leaves an ethical vacuum. In *Preventing the Future* (2004) Tom Garvin writes: 'Even in 2003, the Republic of Ireland has only a rather undeveloped civic and political education programme for schools, unlike most advanced democracies.'

As regards cross-border dialogue, the arts and the academy have always been ahead of the pack – witness the Centre for Cross Border Studies itself. Aside from a few ideologues, most writers, artists and intellectuals have thought of our island in holistic, though not necessarily nationalistic, terms. Admittedly, the Irish Literary Revival was bound up with political nationalism. Yet the main tendency of Irish literature after 1922 ran counter to the simplifications that nationalism and unionism sought to impose not just on Ireland but on life. Garvin highlights the regressive 'cultural war' waged south of the border by 'linguistic revivalists, Catholic fundamentalists and state censors' – all of whom had their unionist counterparts. In the 1940s Sean O'Faolain's anti-establishment journal the *Bell* made literary intercourse between North and South a model that politics are only now starting to follow.

There are massive arrears to make up.

During the worst phase of the 'Troubles', when the North seemed sealed off from the rest of the universe, writers from the Republic gave readings in Belfast: Paul Durcan, John Banville and Tom Murphy, for instance. Painters and musicians also kept in touch across the border. Literature and the arts have been the best interpreters of the last thirty-five years. Meanwhile the Arts Council of Northern Ireland and An Chomhairle Ealaíon co-sponsored performances, exhibitions, publications, literary and arts periodicals. Here they anticipated and surpassed the co-operation envisaged under the Belfast Agreement's North/South strand. And the concepts that underlie such co-operation – the much-abused language of 'diversity' and 'traditions' – derive from literary intellectuals.

Similarly, after 1922 all-Ireland intellectual institutions like the Royal Irish Academy continued to function. In 1938 the journal *Irish Historical Studies* was founded to bring greater objectivity to politically fraught narratives of Irish history. While the Northern Irish question has ensured that arguments about history and objectivity continue, those debates themselves involve constant cross-border and cross-water intellectual traffic. Allowing for regional biases, the academic composition of Irish universities encompasses North-South and East-West strands. This, plus the Irish intellectual diaspora in Britain, is one reason why Irish studies,

Irish-British studies and Irish-Scottish studies are increasingly in vogue.

I am myself a Dubliner who came to teach at Queen's University Belfast in 1963. In 1986 I worked with Kevin Barry of University College Galway, Tom Dunne of University College Cork and Richard Kearney of University College Dublin to establish the *Irish Review* as a cross-border inter-disciplinary academic journal. Academics in the humanities inhabit more or less the same environment, and scientific partnerships cross many borders. But sustained institutional co-operation between universities is rarer, partly owing to rivalry for resources. It's time for higher education in Ireland to take a comprehensive look at what it might do for reconciliation.

Education, of course, comes in many guises. The media have greater influence than the academy. But the media are more and more fragmented. While this dents 'national' broadcasting monopolies, it can further segregate the mental worlds of Irish people who now pick'n'mix from many channels. There are three scenarios as regards access to social, cultural and political information. First, so much choice may produce ideally diverse consumers of RTE, BBC, ITV, Sky, the internet, and all the Northern Ireland, UK and Republic newspapers - which seems unlikely. Or it may polarise *Irish Independent*/ *RTE*/ *Mayo News* consumers against *Daily Telegraph*/ *BBC*/ *Belfast News Letter* consumers (although sharing, perhaps, the Irish edition of the *Sunday Times*).

Or it may be creating popular culture addicts who ignore news media, and would need a politics 'reality show' to make them take notice. (Not such a bad idea, perhaps.)

Popular culture is often seen as liberating or unifying, but has never realised its utopian promise. Still, North and South could be more consistently exposed to forms of shared programming. Why is there not more joined-up talk radio or talk TV? If southerners regularly encountered Radio Ulster's *Talkback*, or northerners *Questions and Answers*, their horizons would shift - including the horizons of controversy. The *Irish Times* must be given credit as the only newspaper that really aspires to straddle the border (though few copies sell in east Belfast). Yet even here the North's politics crowd out its social and cultural nitty-gritty. And I note that when well-known figures are asked for their 'Books of the Year', nobody in Northern Ireland is deemed able to read.

What we mean by 'cross-border co-operation and dialogue' depends on how we conceive the border. For most Irish nationalists and Northern Catholics, the border is 'artificial': a painful imposition on a natural unity. For most unionists, the border is 'rational': a clear division between different state-identifications. There is also the view (which I share) that it is a border of the mind. The border pre-existed in the impact on Ireland of European religious, ethnic and territorial wars. It covers the whole island. It extends to the other

island. And it can only be reconceived if 'dialogue' takes place in everyone's head.

Ultimately, all the strands of the Belfast Agreement are inextricable - as the pioneering work of the Irish-British think-tank Encounter (an invaluable resource) has proved. North-South dialogue is also East-West dialogue. The hard bit for the Republic is to acknowledge more openly its own manifold British cultural elements and connections (and please stop equating Britain with southern England). The hard bit for unionists is to accept not only the 'Irishness' of northern Catholics but also their own complex involvement in Ireland's history and culture. Even if - or because - the Agreement's political institutions have been shaken, hard things are worth doing for the sake of a deeper settlement.

Edna Longley is Professor Emerita of English at Queen's University Belfast. Her latest books are 'Poetry and Posterity' and (ed.) 'The Bloodaxe Book of 20th Century Poetry from Britain and Ireland.'

BUILDING CROSS-BORDER RELATIONS ON MUTUAL BENEFIT AND RESPECT

Mervyn Storey MLA



While the most recent political talks have not produced a final agreement, there has still been much progress made, and as a unionist I feel there is much in the

'Comprehensive Agreement' outlined by the British and Irish governments in December 2004 which can give us hope for the future.

I believe that we can reach a settlement, although recent events such as Colombia and the Northern Bank raid have far reaching consequences which bring into question Republicans' credentials and integrity in any deal. Any settlement in Northern Ireland which allows for a peaceful and democratic future must relate to the relationship between Northern Ireland and its nearest neighbour, the Republic of Ireland.

But we must deal with realities. The key to achieving a sound and beneficial relationship is mutual respect. For nationalists this means respecting Northern Ireland's constitutional position as part of the United Kingdom and for unionists it means recognising nationalists' special affinity with the Republic of Ireland.

Relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic have been undermined since their foundation by the failure to accept the outcome of an historic reality. This led to a failure to respect each other's existence. Unionist fears that the Republic's intention was to subsume Northern Ireland against its will into a united Ireland were fuelled by constitutional provisions as well as by political rhetoric and action. This bred hostility and hostility formed itself into resistance. The resistance expressed itself in opposition to virtually any and all ties between our two countries.

I believe – and the results from the 2001 census show – that there is no prospect of a united Ireland in the foreseeable future. I hope this will encourage people to concentrate on how we can best deal with the present actuality rather than chasing moonbeams, which only serves to undermine the prospect of better relations. It must be obvious that the best prospects for co-operation exist where both sides have constitutional certainty and confidence in their political position. Paradoxically, it is those who use the cover of greater co-operation to progress the goal of a united Ireland who create the greatest single limitation to maximising co-operation.

I represent a party which wants to see relations built with the Republic of Ireland on the basis of mutual benefit and respect. It is only when co-operation is driven by political ideology rather than practical

considerations, that unionists can take exception to it. In circumstances where the North-South axis is pushing towards a political goal not shared by unionists, then a foot will be applied powerfully to the brake. Nationalists have nothing to gain in those circumstances and unionists would have everything to fear.

What we are working towards are relations that deliver shared practical advantages for those involved. In those circumstances unionists would have nothing to fear and everyone, North and South, would have much to gain.

These are the foundations which must be laid in order that the benefits of co-operation can flow. With the foundations in place there are many areas where we can work together for the benefit of both jurisdictions.

The co-operation between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland will not remove the competition between the two states. In business Northern Ireland will continue to compete with the Republic to attract investment, as it also competes with the other regions of the United Kingdom, and as increasingly we all have to compete against the low-wage economies of the Far East.

An area such as energy provision is one where there is less likely to be competition, but where competition coming into Northern Ireland, whose citizens suffer from particularly high energy prices, can be of huge benefit to customers as well as opening up new markets for energy providers.

One area where my party has recognised the beneficial nature of relations with the Republic of Ireland is the area of transport. Under the control of the DUP Minister for Regional Development, Peter Robinson, the upgrading of remaining sections of the Belfast to Newry road to dual carriageway was announced. Road and transport initiatives cannot be developed by thinking that they will stop at the border. Roads in Northern Ireland will always meet roads in the Republic, and it is in everyone's interest to ensure there are speedy transport links so that the main corridors on a north-south and east-west basis are as efficient as possible.

Similarly there can be co-operation between the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Government and Dail on some agricultural issues, particularly in areas such as animal health. Diseases do not respect borders, and strategies to combat some of the main threats faced by livestock farmers, such as tuberculosis, brucellosis and foot-and-mouth disease, will have to involve co-operation from both jurisdictions if they are to work. There is absolutely no point in trying to combat disease on one side of the border in Fermanagh if a few miles away, on neighbouring farms in Monaghan, there is no strategy in place.

I believe the 'Comprehensive Agreement' published by the two governments in December would allow for that type of accountable co-operation to take place. Under the Belfast Agreement there was a

justifiable fear among unionists about the nature of what could be agreed by Ministers with their counterparts in the Republic of Ireland, as there was no way in which the Assembly could reverse their decisions. It allowed political motivation to be the driving force for decisions on North-South co-operation and not the benefit of the people of Northern Ireland.

The accountability introduced in the latest outline agreement is not just a unionist victory, it is a democratic victory. It applies not just to nationalist ministers in their dealings with ministers in the Republic of Ireland, but equally to all ministers in every decision that they take. As the DUP would be the largest party in any new Executive, it would apply more to my party than to any other, and we must all be very aware of that.

I believe what will most help North-South relations in the future will be a peaceful and democratic settlement within Northern Ireland. A settlement in Northern Ireland can allow us not just to focus on the problems which immediately face us, but to focus on the future and to build that future based on a respect not only for our differing constitutional positions but also for the differences in history between us.

That can allow Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland not to live as one harmonised area, but to engage in competition in some areas such as investment, while at the same time

working together on those issues where both sides benefit.

Mervyn Storey is a Democratic Unionist Party MLA for North Antrim.

WE ALL LEARNED (SLOWLY) FROM SUNNINGDALE

Steven King



If, as has been widely suggested, the so-called 'Comprehensive Agreement' of December 2004 alters the operation of the Belfast (Good Friday)

Agreement in such a way as to make it acceptable to the DUP, the negotiators of the original North/South architecture can be well pleased with themselves.

The changes envisaged are essentially procedural and non-substantive, with three exceptions. The DUP managed to achieve acquiescence to a review of the efficiency of the existing North/South implementation bodies. The very substantial *quid pro quo* was an examination of the case for additional bodies and DUP agreement to encourage the creation of a North-South parliamentary forum, an idea merely floated as a possibility in 1998. Truly, the Consultative Assembly attached to the Sunningdale Council of Ireland - attacked as an all-Ireland parliament in embryo by the DUP - has risen phoenix-like from the flames. The SDLP has long believed that such a body "should have the power to plan a constitution for a new Ireland".

If the 1998 drafters basically corrected what sank the Sunningdale Agreement,

then it is worth examining how the 1973 and 1998 agreements differ, textually and contextually, now that we have the benefit of access to the 1974 State Papers.

The political and security situation was far from propitious in 1973 and 1974. Troubles-related deaths had peaked in 1972, but the consequent radicalisation of both main communities was to endure long afterwards. With the death toll rising again in 1974, and the Irish government seemingly unable to respond effectively, the Council of Ireland, about which, as Brian Faulkner admitted, the unionist community was "unenthusiastic and indeed suspicious", lacked utility. Only 41% of the whole Northern population approved of it 'in principle' and while the SDLP were keen, internment still pertained and the 1973 Assembly had addressed few of their social and economic concerns.

Politically, the whole notion of an 'Irish dimension', initially repudiated by Edward Heath, was novel. Nor did unionists have in prospect partnership with a modern, remotely liberal or economically successful Republic of Ireland - far from it. Back in the 1970s, Northern Ireland was an issue between the two governments, not one they approached jointly. Not that it was the priority for Heath or Harold Wilson that it was for Tony Blair or even John Major. The then Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees, wrote a letter, released by the IRA, admitting: "We have not the faintest interest to stay in Ireland and the quicker we are out the better". Even Mo Mowlam would never have made

such a *faux pas*. The marginal benefit of US involvement was lacking too. Crucially, the 'hard men' of loyalism were (by choice) outside the system, unlike in 1998.

The UWC strike, though, only put out of its misery an agreement that was born terminally diseased. Effectively Sunningdale was a governmental fiat that never had the benefit of popular endorsement by means of a referendum, and at no stage could Brian Faulkner count on the majority of unionist opinion to support it. In the Assembly, he could only ever rely on 21 votes, while 27 unionists always opposed the White Paper. In 1998 the unionist balance was nominally 30-28 in favour of the Agreement and, while the UUP outpolled the DUP in the first major electoral test, the 2001 Westminster election, Faulknerites won just 13% and no seats in the February 1974 election to 51% and 11 seats for the UUUC.

The powers of the Council of Ireland were always deliberately - and, from a unionist stance, suspiciously - vague. The Sunningdale Agreement spoke only of a "Council of Ministers with executive and harmonising functions". Furthermore, the areas of the Council's competence - the environment, agriculture, trade and industry, electricity generation, tourism, roads and transport, public health, sport, culture and the arts - were much broader than those in the Belfast Agreement. No explicit veto over North-South decisions was granted to

the 1973 Assembly. The Council of Ireland appeared dynamic and lacking a 'ring-fence', unlike the 1998 arrangement. The SDLP eventually accepted a three-year delay in its full implementation, but by that time it had been identified as a Trojan horse by which, to use Hugh Logue's alleged words, the Northern majority would be "trundled into a united Ireland".

The Council of Ireland might have had half a chance were it not for confusion over status issues. In the Sunningdale Agreement, the Irish government "fully accepted and solemnly declared that there could be no change in the status of Northern Ireland until a majority of the people of Northern Ireland desired a change in their status." Unlike in the Belfast Agreement, that status was never specified nor asserted to be legitimate.

Subsequently, again and again, Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave attempted to 'fireproof', to use Garret FitzGerald's word, the Northern Ireland chief executive. In March 1974 he went as far as to state (in a letter to Faulkner) that "the factual position of Northern Ireland is that it is part of the United Kingdom" and that "the Government accepts this fact". Under pressure from Fianna Fail, however, he had previously given an interview suggesting otherwise. Heath even wrote to Cosgrave scolding him for giving the impression that Northern Ireland "was now part of the Republic". Brian Faulkner's apparent gains - the wording at Sunningdale and a Dail

motion passed returning the South to the pre-1937 position - had been devalued.

However when the Irish government's desire to maintain a degree of necessary obfuscation regarding status was thwarted by a High Court action taken by Kevin Boland, the former Fianna Fail cabinet minister, Faulkner was "robbed of all credibility". Boland sought to establish that Sunningdale ran contrary to Articles 2 and 3 of Bunreacht na hEireann.

The Irish government's only defence was a source of extreme political embarrassment. The Attorney General reluctantly had to argue that the Sunningdale communiqué did not constitute an 'agreement' either that Northern Ireland was part of the United Kingdom or that "reintegration of the national territory" was dependent upon the agreement of the majority in Northern Ireland. Sunningdale was "no more than a statement of policy" and "any person living in this island and knowing our history could not possibly construe the declaration as meaning that we did not lay claim over the Six Counties".

It was thus poignantly revealed how foolish it had been not to seek in a referendum an amendment to Article 3 along the lines proposed by Sean Lemass's ad hoc Committee on Constitutional Reform in 1967. As the Belfast *News Letter* editorialised 'What Did Dublin Give?'

The present Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, did not make the same mistake. Conceding an East-West, British Isles dimension by means of the British Irish Council further enabled David Trimble to present the Irish dimension in terms of a broader framework of relations that reflects the reality of life as it is lived in these islands.

A senior Irish civil servant noted that the February 1974 election fell at the point of the Sunningdale Agreement's "maximum weakness" in a strange mirror of the November 2003 Assembly election. Garret FitzGerald and James Callaghan were anxious for Sunningdale's earliest ratification but, as FitzGerald has recently accepted on RTE, Conor Cruise O'Brien was right to state that the Irish government overplayed its hand in 1973 and 1974.

The Belfast Agreement and the Sunningdale Agreement were both radical attempts at consociational democracy with a strong cross-border dimension, but we have all slowly learned from the latter. Whatever about the future viability of the Belfast Agreement, governments and parties would be irresponsible to tamper with a North-South relationship that works to everyone's benefit, socially, economically and, above all, politically.

Dr Steven King is Political Advisor to Ulster Unionist Party leader David Trimble and a columnist with the Belfast Telegraph and the Derry Journal.

Information about

THE CENTRE FOR CROSS BORDER STUDIES

January 2005

The Centre for Cross Border Studies receives financial support from the EU Programme for Peace and Reconciliation



January 2005

The Centre for Cross Border Studies, founded in September 1999 and based in Armagh and Dublin, researches and develops co-operation across the Irish border in education, health, business, public administration, communications, agriculture, planning, the environment and a range of other practical areas.

The Centre is an independent company limited by guarantee (UK charity no. XR 31047) and is owned jointly by Queen's University Belfast, Dublin City University and the Workers' Educational Association (Northern Ireland). Its principal financial contributors are the EU PEACE Two programme, the Atlantic Philanthropies, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs' Reconciliation Fund and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust. The Centre also raises a significant proportion of its income through sponsorship and selling its research and consultancy services to government and other agencies.

Controversy about relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland tends to obscure the broad consensus that exists in both jurisdictions about the value of cross-border co-operation on practical issues. This holds that the low level of contact and communication across the Irish border damages the well-being of both parts of the island, and there is a clear need to identify and overcome the

present barriers to understanding and co-operation.

Purpose

The pragmatic view, that co-operation should take place where it brings real benefits to both parts of the island, is weakened by an additional factor: there has been too little research to date on how this practical co-operation is to be achieved. The Centre for Cross Border Studies – itself a unique expression of cross-border co-operation – provides an objective, university-based setting for policy research into and development of such co-operation.

The Centre is a policy research and development institute, whose purpose is to:

- Identify gaps in cross-border information, research and mutual learning in Ireland;
- Commission and publish research on issues related to opportunities for and obstacles to cross border co-operation in all fields of society and the economy;
- Host events at which research findings can be discussed and disseminated, and at which policy formation in the area of cross border co-operation can be developed;
- Present the findings of such research and development projects to the EU, the two governments, the Northern Ireland Executive, employer,

trade union and social partnership bodies, and the wider public.

- Manage and provide administrative support for cross-border programmes and organisations which have a strong education and research dimension.

Current Research Projects

The Centre is currently working on three EU-funded educational 'action research' projects:

- **'Pride of our Place': a cross-border environmental project for primary schools**

This four-year project (2002-2006) has been extended for a year because of demand from teachers and parents. It brings together 10-12 year olds from a group of primary schools in the border regions of both jurisdictions to study a key environmental feature in their locality by looking at it historically and geographically, and then exploring it in the company of their cross-border partner schools.



- **The North-South Student Teacher Exchange Project**

This three-year project (2002-2005) brings together students from seven colleges of education in Belfast, Dublin and Limerick to study and do teaching practice in the other jurisdiction. It is based on the belief that young teachers have

a key role in overcoming prejudice and misunderstanding. In her 2004 report, the project evaluator called this "a courageous, inclusive and ground-breaking exchange" which "translates into reality some of the aspirations of the 1998 Belfast Agreement."

- **Citizenship and Science Exchange (CaSE): an 'action research' project for secondary schools**

This is a 30-month project (2003-2005) involving 12-14 years olds which will aim to deepen understanding of 'citizen science' subjects such as pollution and nutrition in both jurisdictions. It centres on a shared Web resource, joint curriculum materials and regular meetings between participating teachers. SafeFood/Food Safety Promotion Board will fund an end of project conference in autumn 2005.

Website: www.caseschools.org



Public Services to Ethnic and Immigrant Groups

The Centre has been commissioned by the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister in Northern Ireland to undertake an 18-month research project, beginning in January 2005, on how public authorities in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and

Scotland provide services for ethnic and immigrant groups within their respective legal frameworks. The study will look at how services such as health, social services, housing, policing, interpreting, information and advice are provided to these groups in the three jurisdictions, with a particular focus on how Northern Ireland public authorities can learn from the practice of their nearest neighbours. The research work will be carried out by a partnership led by the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) in Dublin together with the Institute for Conflict Research in Belfast and Social Development Consultants Ltd in Edinburgh.

BORDERIRELAND.INFO

The Centre is engaged in a three year (2003-2006) EU-funded project to develop an online central access point for information on North-South and cross-border issues in Ireland. **BorderIreland.info** will provide free access to an online searchable database of all cross-border information in the areas of Education, Health, Agriculture, Transport, Environment and Tourism.



A restricted-access version of the system will go online in summer 2005 and the full system will go live to the public in January 2006. It will act as a one-stop shop for researchers, policy makers, business people,

community leaders and the general public providing, for the first time, an electronic gateway to the full range of cross-border activities, research material, publications, funding opportunities, and other information available in Ireland, North and South. It will feature research summaries which are easy to read and understand, with an emphasis on policy relevance. It will provide e-mail addresses, telephone and fax numbers, hyperlinks and information about source materials to improve the flow of knowledge and interchange on cross-border issues between information generators and information users. The Centre's research manager, Dr Patricia Clarke, is leading a small team to bring this project to fruition.

The Centre is also involved in two major cross-border research projects, one Irish and one European, as a contributing partner:

Mapping Frontiers, Plotting Pathways: Routes to North-South Co-operation in a Divided Island

This is a two-year collaborative project, commissioned by the Higher Education Authority in the Republic, between University College Dublin (Institute for British-Irish Studies and Institute for the Study of Social Change), Queen's University Belfast (Institute of Governance and Centre for International Borders Research), the Centre for Cross Border Studies and Democratic Dialogue. The Centre's information officer, Dr Eoin Magennis, is contributing a mapping study of the extensive but fragmented programmes and projects aimed at promoting cross-border

co-operation since the mid-1980s. This will include programmes funded by the EU Peace and INTERREG Programmes, the International Fund for Ireland, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and a range of charitable foundations. The Centre is organising four project study days and a conference for this project, with the first study day, on the impact of partition on the border region, having taken place in Armagh in December 2004. The Centre's director, Andy Pollak, will contribute a research paper on North-South co-operation in education.
Website: www.mappingfrontiers.ie

Europe for Patients

The Centre, through its research associate Dr Jim Jamison, is collaborating with research institutes in Britain, Spain, France, Belgium, Slovenia and Estonia in the EU Sixth Framework-funded Europe for Patients research project. The aim of this project is to enhance the ability of patients across the EU to benefit from the cross-border health care advantages created by an increasingly integrated Europe.

Website:
www.iese.edu/en/events/Projects/Health/home/home.asp

Current Training Projects

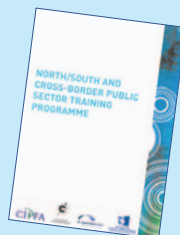
North-South and Cross-Border Public Sector Training Programme

The Centre has come together with Co-operation Ireland and the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (CIPFA), Northern Ireland's leading provider of training to the public

sector, to offer two pilot training courses to civil and public servants working on North-South and cross-border issues in North/South bodies, government departments and other public agencies in the two Irish jurisdictions. There are currently few opportunities for such people to undertake induction or training courses to work in this new, complex and sensitive area.

The two courses are being delivered between January and June 2005. They each feature four modules: North-South co-operation in the public and NGO sectors; North-South public finance and governance issues; North-South economic and business co-operation; and cross-border co-operation at local authority and community level.

The courses feature a list of prestigious guest lecturers including Sir George Quigley, chairman of Short Brothers (Bombardier Aerospace Group); North/South Ministerial Council joint secretaries, Tim O'Connor and Dr Peter Smyth; head of the Northern Ireland Review of Public Administration, Greg McConnell; treasury officer of accounts at the Northern Ireland Department of Finance and Personnel, David Thomson; director of the Institute of Public Health in Ireland, Dr Jane Wilde; Fermanagh businessman and former GAA president, Peter Quinn; chief executive of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council, Dr Duncan Morrow;



director of the Community Foundation for Northern Ireland, Avila Kilmurray; Professor John Bradley from the Economic and Social Research Institute; and the chief executives of four North/South bodies – Liam Nellis from InterTradelreland, Pat Colgan from the Special EU Programmes Body, Martin Higgins from safeFood/Food Safety Promotion Board and Derick Anderson from the Foyle, Carlingford and Irish Lights Commission.

Current Administration Projects

The Centre has filled an important niche by providing administrative support to North-South and cross-border initiatives, particularly in the field of education. Many cross-border projects are sustained largely through EU funding and the commitment of enthusiastic individuals, and when the money and enthusiasm runs out their lack of a proper administrative structure often dooms them to early closure. The Centre offers this cross-border administrative structure, and a detailed knowledge of support mechanisms in both Irish jurisdictions, which can ensure such projects' longer-term sustainability.

Universities Ireland

The Centre acts as the secretariat for Universities Ireland, set up in 2003 to promote co-operation and collaboration between the nine universities in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, and to enhance their reputations

internationally. Its chairman for the 2005-2007 period is Dr Iognáid Ó Muirheartaigh, President of National University of Ireland Galway.



Universities Ireland has undertaken work in the following areas:

- **A research project on harmonising regulations, awarding joint degrees and developing joint credit transfer arrangements** between universities on the island of Ireland. This study is being carried out by Lewis Purser of the European University Association. It will be delivered in spring 2005, and will make specific recommendations for closer collaboration between Irish universities in these areas in the context of the EU's Bologna process.
- **A symposium on 'eLearning as a Strategic Imperative for Universities in Ireland'** which took place in Dublin City University in November 2004 and was addressed by two leading international authorities on eLearning in education: Dr Andy DiPaolo of Stanford University in the USA and Professor Diana Laurillard of the Department for Education and Skills in the UK. A UI working group is formulating follow-up actions.

- **A workshop on Irish Universities and Southern and Eastern Africa**, which will take place in spring 2005 and will bring together interested people from the nine universities to discuss an inter-university co-operation project (or projects) with a poor country in Southern or Eastern Africa.
- **The first of a series of meetings with Universities UK**, the representative body of British universities. This took place in Dublin in September 2004 to discuss matters of mutual interest in the areas of governance, leadership and European issues. It was the first ever meeting between representative bodies of British and Irish universities. A second meeting will take place in London in November 2005.
- **A study to examine the feasibility of an all-island technology transfer and intellectual property service**, in collaboration with the Confederation of Heads of Irish Universities and InterTradeIreland.
- **University-Business collaboration events**. In June 2005, UI will organise the fifth North-South Higher Education conference (in Belfast) under the title 'Higher Education and Business: Beyond Mutual Incomprehension' (see page 35). In September 2005, also in Belfast, UI will organise a high-level private seminar on university-

business links, to be addressed by the director-general of the Confederation of British Industry, Sir Digby Jones, and the director-general of the Irish Business and Employers Confederation, Turlough O'Sullivan. This event, which is being organised in partnership with the Joint Business Council of IBEC-CBI, will be attended by university presidents, business leaders and heads of relevant government departments, North and South.

Universities Ireland is funded by an annual levy paid by the nine universities, and by grants from the Department of Education and Science in Dublin, the Department for Employment and Learning in Belfast and InterTradeIreland in Newry.

Website: www.universitiesireland.ie

Standing Conference on Teacher Education, North and South (SCoTENS)



The Centre also acts as the secretariat for the Standing Conference on Teacher Education, North and South. This was set up in 2003 by a group of senior teacher education specialists from colleges of education and other teacher education agencies in both jurisdictions. The joint chairs of SCoTENS are Professor John



Coolahan, Professor of Education at National University of Ireland Maynooth and Professor Anne Moran, Professor of Education at the University of Ulster at Jordanstown.

SCoTENS has held annual conferences in Malahide, Co Dublin, in October 2003 under the title 'Challenges to Teacher Education and Research, North and South', and in Armagh in November 2004 under the title 'The Changing Contexts of Teacher Education, North and South' (with a particular emphasis on Teaching Councils). Keynote addresses were delivered by David Istance of the OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, and Sean Feerick of the EU Expert Group on Teacher Education respectively.

SCoTENS has also provided 'seed' funding for all-island conferences on social, scientific and environmental education (two), initial teacher education, citizenship and diversity education, educational research, and special educational needs (two); for North-South research projects on continuing professional development, children with profound and multiple learning difficulties, student teacher exchanges, and student perceptions of history, geography and science; for a book of essays on school leadership in both Irish jurisdictions; and for a 'toolkit' for teachers and trainers working in the

area of linguistic and intercultural education.

A SCoTENS website, developed by Dolina Patterson and overseen by Dr Roger Austin of the University of Ulster (www.socsci.ulst.ac.uk/education/scte) highlights, in particular, resources on special education. It is now being extended to include citizenship education.

SCoTENS is funded by annual grants from the Department of Education and Science and the Department of Education (Northern Ireland).

International Centre for Local and Regional Development

In 2005 the Centre will take on an administrative support role to the new International Centre for Local and Regional Development. The ICLRD brings together urban and spatial planning institutes at Harvard University, National University of Ireland Maynooth, University of Ulster and Athlone Institute of Technology to explore and expand the contribution the planning and development of physical, social and economic infrastructures can make to improving the lives of people in both Irish jurisdictions, and particularly those in disadvantaged and divided areas. Its core activities will include action research projects in both Irish jurisdictions and abroad; teaching case studies based on these research projects; information workshops for national, regional and local decision makers; professional training

programmes for community leaders, public officials and planning practitioners, and the creation of 'good practice' networks in Ireland, Britain, other EU countries, and the US. In its initial phase, the ICLRD is funded by a 'seed' grant from the Irish government, and has submitted funding applications for the period 2005-2008 to the International Fund for Ireland and a number of potential private sector donors.

Cross Border Openings

The Centre is a partner with the Open University in Ireland and the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in Cross Border 'Openings', an EU-funded project which offers 250 free places on a return to study programme to socially and educationally disadvantaged people on both sides of the border. The project also involves the provision of training on cultural diversity issues, and joint work with the trade union movement to promote the concept of workplace learning in general and workplace learning agreements in particular. President Mary McAleese is launching this project in Dundalk in February 2005.

Completed Research Projects

In its initial phase, the Centre commissioned 12 cross-border research projects in the fields of telecommunications developments, health services, disadvantage in education, EU funding programmes, local government links, mental health promotion, waste management policies, local history societies, animal health,

the euro, sustainable development, and diversity in early years education.

These projects involved researchers drawn from 12 universities, colleges and independent research centres in Ireland and Britain: Queen's University Belfast, University of Ulster, University College Dublin, National University of Ireland Galway, National University of Ireland Maynooth, St Patrick's College Drumcondra, Stranmillis University College, the Institute of Public Administration, Belfast City Hospital, Dundalk Institute of Technology, the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the Centre for Cross Border Studies itself.

The Centre has published the following research projects:

The Evolution of Telecom Technologies: Current Trends and Near-Future Implications

A number of case studies of developments in mobile and wireless telephony across the Irish border from a research team led by two of Ireland's leading specialists in information retrieval, data analysis and image and signal processing: Professor Fionn Murtagh of Queen's University Belfast and Dr John Keating of National University of Ireland Maynooth. The project was sponsored by *eircom*. Among the project's outcomes were:



- The first comprehensive analysis of cross-border 'roaming' and other mobile phone charges in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland
- The creation of a unique online system – www.B4Ucall.com - to allow consumers to monitor the cost of mobile phone calls on the island of Ireland

Cross-Border Co-operation in Health Services in Ireland

A study of the past, present and potential for future co-operation in health services across the Irish border by a research team led by Dr Jim Jamison, formerly director of the Health and Social Care Research Unit at Queen's University Belfast, and including Professor Martin McKee of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, Dr Ciaran O'Neill of the University of Ulster, and Ms Michelle Butler of the Institute of Public Administration in

Dublin. Among the study's recommendations were:

- A thorough assessment of the potential for co-operation in specialist hospital services such as heart, lung and other transplants, paediatric cardiac surgery and renal dialysis
- An assessment of how emergency services close to the border might be improved by greater collaboration.



Ireland's Learning Poor: Adult Educational Disadvantage and Cross-Border Co-operation

A study of the needs of the more than a million people on the island who left school with few or no qualifications by Dr Mark Morgan of St Patrick's College and the Educational Research Centre, Drumcondra, and Mr Paul McGill, formerly education correspondent of the *Belfast Telegraph*. They concluded that current policies in both jurisdictions, by concentrating on largely middle-class school leavers, are "far removed from the vision of lifelong learning, where people of all ages and social classes drop in and out of education and training on an equal basis." Among the report's recommendations were:

- A North-South fund to encourage co-operation between Northern further education colleges and Southern institutes of technology, with special provision for community education groups
- A framework to develop the UK University for Industry/*learn direct* programme in the South, with joint learning centres along the border.



Creating Living Institutions: EU Cross-Border Co-operation after the Good Friday Agreement

A study by Professor Brigid Laffan and Dr Diane Payne of the Institute for

British-Irish Studies at University College Dublin, which analyses the interaction between the new North-South

Institutions set up under the Good Friday Agreement – notably the North/South Ministerial Council and the Special EU Programmes Body - and the EU's funding programme for cross-border co-operation, INTERREG. Among the report's conclusions were:

- Despite the crisis-prone nature of the peace process, the North-South institutions set up under the Good Friday Agreement "have the capacity to deliver the objective of routine public policy making between North and South."
- The greatest potential for the Special EU Programmes Body to play an all-island role lies in the Common Chapter of the two jurisdictions' 2000-2006 development plans.

Cross-Border Co-operation in Local Government:

Models of Management, Development and Reconciliation

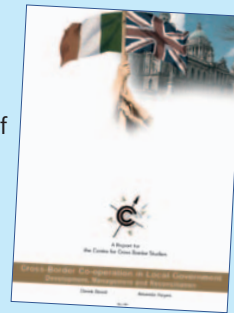
A study by Professor Derek Birrell and Amanda Hayes of the University of Ulster of the different kinds of cross border links between local authorities, including one-to-one linkages, local government cross border networks, and cross border partnerships involving other agencies. It also analysed the

project management methods used, the views of the councillors involved and the involvement of the European Union. Among the study's findings were:

- The most advanced model of cross border co-operation in this sector is the three local authority networks, ICBAN, EBRC and NWRCBG, which have received significant EU funding from the INTERREG III programme.
- Given the mismatch in functions between local authorities, North and South, the partnership model (which includes community groups, business groups, trade unions and statutory agencies) is particularly useful.

The Foot-and-Mouth Disease Crisis and the Irish Border

A study of the cross-border dimension of the 2001 foot-and-mouth disease outbreak by the Centre's research officer, Dr Patricia Clarke, with comments from the Departments of Agriculture in Belfast and Dublin. Issued exactly a year after the original outbreak in England, the report's findings were praised by the two Ministers, Brid Rodgers and Joe Walsh, as "extremely



valuable" in helping the Departments to formulate actions to deal with animal health emergencies. Among the report's conclusions were:

- The most successful way to avoid such emergencies in future is to utilise "the natural water barrier around the island by moving towards an all-Ireland animal health system."
- The convening of an all-island Expert Advisory Group, modelled on the successful group set up in the Republic, should be considered in any future emergency situation.

Promoting Mental Health and Social Well-being: Cross-Border Opportunities and Challenges

This is a two-part study by a team from National University of Ireland Galway led by Dr Margaret Barry and Ms Sharon Friel. It examined a number of cross-border projects in the areas of postnatal

depression, public awareness of suicide, cancer support services, the mental health of young men and mental health in rural communities.

The study also looked at the comparability and compatibility of mental health

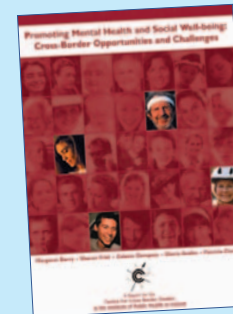
data sources in the two jurisdictions. Among the report's recommendations were:

The establishment of an all-island Mental Health Promotion Steering Group to develop mental health promotion in a co-ordinated fashion and avoid unnecessary duplication. The creation of an all-island information exchange mechanism and discussion forum in this area, including a live data base of mental health promotion activities in the Republic similar to that already produced in Northern Ireland.

The Local History Project: Co-operating North and South

This study, by Dr Jacinta Prunty, Dr Raymond Gillespie and Maeve Mulryan Moloney of National University of Ireland Maynooth, provided the basis for the first all-Ireland register of local history societies. They identified 330 societies, but estimated that a complete list would exceed 500 societies, North and South, involving an active membership of perhaps 28,000 persons. Recommendations were made on:

- Minimising the obstacles to cross-border co-operation
- The promotion of visits to repositories in the other jurisdiction
- The strengthening of the institutional basis for cross-border co-operation, notably through the local history federations. The Border Counties History Collective in Blacklion, Co Cavan, was



commended as an example of effective grassroots cross-border, cross-community collaboration.

Towards a Green Isle? Local Sustainable Development on the Island of Ireland

A study of local sustainable development as carried out (through the Local Agenda 21 process) by local authorities and social partners

throughout Ireland, by a cross-border team comprising Geraint Ellis and Dr Bill Neill of the Queen's University Belfast School of Environmental Planning, and Dublin-based researchers Una Hand and Brian Motherway. It found that 54% of local

authorities on the island had begun a process of LA21, but stressed that the main challenge is to move from debate to action. It outlined four examples of best local practice in the two jurisdictions.

Among the report's recommendations were:

- Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland should work together to create a local sustainable development brand or icon.
- An all-Ireland summit on local sustainable development should be convened, and an all-island LA21 practitioner network should be established.



Diversity in Early Years Education North and South: Implications for Teacher Education

The aim of this EU-funded study was to identify the difficulties facing teachers and children in areas of inter-community conflict and tension on both sides of the Irish border, with a view to developing a framework for preparing young teachers working with children in the early years. It was carried out by researchers at St Patrick's College Drumcondra in Dublin and Stranmillis University College in Belfast, Mairin Kenny and Helen McLaughlin, under the direction of Philomena Donnelly and Louise Quinn.

Among the recommendations were:

- Colleges of Education should foster research dedicated to promoting anti-bias and pro-diversity education theory, pedagogy and practice, and priority should be given to in-career provision to teachers in these areas.
- Given the similarity of the situations North and South, shared guiding principles should be developed and adopted
- Student teachers should experience a broad range of schools during teaching practice.



Commissioned Studies and Evaluations

The Centre has carried out **studies and evaluations for government and other public agencies**. These have included:

- A 'scoping study' of North-South School, Teacher and Youth Exchanges, for the Department of Education (Bangor) and the Department of Education and Science (Dublin).
- An evaluation of the Co-operation and Working Together (CAWT) cross-border network of health boards and trusts, for CAWT.
- A study into the feasibility of extending University for Industry/*learndirect* to the Republic of Ireland, for University for Industry.
- A preliminary study of the bureaucratic and other obstacles hindering the movement of people across the border to live and work, for the North/South Ministerial Council.
- A report on public feedback to the PriceWaterhouseCoopers/Indecon Obstacles to Mobility study, for the NSMC.
- 'Towards a Strategic Economic and Business Research Agenda for the island of Ireland', for InterTradeIreland
- A Review of Cross-Border Mobility Information Provisions in the South of Ireland for the North/South Mobility Information Group
- An Evaluation of the Education for Reconciliation Project (Year One and

Two) for the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee.

Seminars and Study Days

The Centre holds regular seminars and study days in Armagh and Dublin to examine strategic areas of interest to North-South policy makers. These bring together groups of policy makers, senior practitioners and academics to discuss a research paper prepared by the Centre under the chairmanship of a distinguished authority in the field. As the Centre's research programme has developed, these seminars have moved from studying broad policy fields to examining more focussed areas which have been the subject of specific research projects and commissioned work. Cross-border seminars and study days have been organised in the following areas:

- Agriculture
- Education
- Tourism
- Information and Communication
- Technologies
- Health Services
- Mental Health Promotion
- Developments in Telecom Technologies
- Local government links
- Foot and Mouth disease
- School, Youth and Teacher Exchanges
- European citizenship education
- The euro
- Business research
- The North-South Consultative Forum
- Ageing
- Border region history

Conferences

The first major conference organised by the Centre, jointly with the Centre for International Borders Research (CIBR), was held at Queen's University Belfast in autumn 2000 under the title **'European Cross Border Co-operation: Lessons for and from Ireland.'** This international conference



was opened by the Irish President, Mary McAleese, and was addressed by a wide range of distinguished speakers, including the First Minister of Northern Ireland, David Trimble; the Deputy First Minister, Seamus Mallon; the RUC Chief Constable, Sir Ronnie Flanagan; the head of the EU's cross-border INTERREG programme, Esben Poulsen; the international emergency communications expert, Professor Edward Johnson; Ambassador Hermann von Richthofen of the German-Polish Governmental Commission; and SDLP leader John Hume. Participants came from 13 countries to discuss cross border co-operation in five areas: administrative institutions, security and policing, business and the economy, the environment, and culture and the arts.

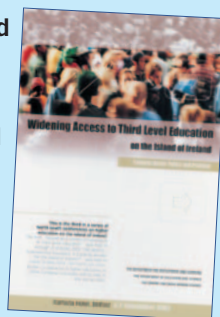
The Centre has also organised a series of North-South conferences on aspects of higher education on behalf of the Department for Employment and Learning (Belfast) and the Department of Education and Science (Dublin). The first of these, in October 2002 in Armagh, was on **'Ireland as a Centre**

of Excellence in Third Level Education.'

This conference, which was attended by the presidents of seven of the nine universities on the island of Ireland, was addressed by several world authorities on higher education. These included Professor Malcolm Skilbeck, the OECD's former Deputy Director for Education; former US Secretary of Education, Richard Riley; the Director-General for Education and Culture in the European Commission, Nikolaus van der Pas, and the Chief Executive of the English Higher Education Funding Council, Sir Howard Newby.

In May 2003, a second conference was held in Cavan on **'International Education: A Capacity Builder for the Island of Ireland?'** The keynote speakers were Lindy Hyam, Chief Executive of IDP Education Australia, a world leader in international education and development services, and Neil Kemp, director of the Education UK Division of the British Council. The conference was chaired by Sir George Quigley.

In November 2003, a third conference was held in Belfast on **'Widening Access to Third Level Education on the Island of Ireland: Towards Better Policy and Practice'**. The keynote speakers were Dr Arnold Mitchem, President of the Council for Opportunity in Education in Washington DC, a champion of access to



higher education for low income and disabled Americans for 35 years, and Samuel Isaacs, Executive Officer of the South African Qualifications Authority.

A fourth conference – entitled **'Cross-Border Higher Education Co-operation in Ireland and Europe'** – was held in Cavan in May 2004. This examined examples of good practice in cross-border higher education



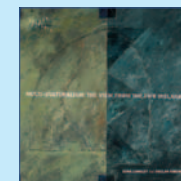
elsewhere in Europe, notably in the Oresund region of Denmark and southern Sweden (with keynote speaker Professor Linda Nielsen, Rector of the University of Copenhagen), and the EUCOR network between French, German and Swiss universities in the Upper Rhine region. The conference was co-chaired by Sir Kenneth Bloomfield and Noel Dorr.

A fifth conference will be held in Belfast in June 2005 under the title **'Higher Education and Business: Beyond Mutual Incomprehension'**. The keynote speaker will be Richard Lambert, former editor of the *Financial Times* and author of the seminal Lambert Review of Business-University Collaboration for the British Government.

Publications

In 2001 the Centre published, in association with Cork University Press, a series of short books containing essays by leading writers on key issues of interest to both Irish jurisdictions:

- *Multi-Culturalism: the View from the Two Irelands* by Edna Longley and Declan Kiberd, with a foreword by President Mary McAleese
- *Can the Celtic Tiger cross the Irish Border?* by John Bradley and Esmond Birnie, with a foreword by Peter Sutherland
- *Towards a Culture of Human Rights in Ireland* by Ivana Bacik and Stephen Livingstone, with a foreword by Mary Robinson



What they say

The Centre for Cross Border Studies has played an invaluable role in the development of North/South co-operation over the past five years. It has complemented the work of the new North/South institutions created at governmental level under the terms of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement. Under the guidance of its director Andy Pollak and his dedicated team, and

through its networks, targeted research, and administrative support for initiatives in various professional sectors, the Centre has served to enhance greatly the level and quality of co-operation between the two parts of the island. The innovative spirit in which the Centre has approached its task has succeeded in establishing lines of communication to an extent that would have been thought impossible even a few years ago, and has made a real contribution to the process of normalising relationships on the island of Ireland.

Dr Peter Smyth and Tim O'Connor, Joint Secretaries, North/South Ministerial Council, January 2005

The Irish Government has been hugely impressed by the work of the Centre for Cross Border Studies. It has in a very short time become a key focal point of analysis and debate for matters which impact upon the North/South relationship on the island of Ireland.

Former Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Brian Cowen TD

The Centre is a unique institution, playing a crucial role in North/South co-operation in the higher education sector.

Permanent Secretary of the Department for Employment and Learning, Will Haire, May 2004

President McAleese paid tribute to the "mould breaking" Centre for Cross

Border Studies which opened a year ago in Armagh.

The Irish Times, 30 September 2000

Ignorance has marred relations between Ireland, North and South, but the Centre for Cross Border Studies is seeking common ground on both sides of the divide.

The Times Higher Education Supplement, 8 February 2001

The Centre for Cross Border Studies is an important initiative and I wish all involved every success in their work.

Former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson

The Centre is considered to be dynamic, entrepreneurial, value for money, effective, independent, credible, non-partisan, producing reports which are substantial and strike the right tone...Its work is valuable and recognised as a vital adjunct to the political settlement achieved over the past four years... The Centre has been right to focus on practical issues of co-operation in a pragmatic way and this has brought on board a significant element of unionist thinking...Many commented on the remarkable volume of output in a short period with only limited funding."

2002 Independent Evaluation (Brian Harvey)

Board Members and Staff



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Pauric Travers



Andy Pollak



Patricia Clarke



Mairéad Hughes

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Joseph Shields



Patricia McAllister



Eoin Magennis

The director of the Centre is **Andy Pollak**, formerly religion and education correspondent of *The Irish Times*, and in the early 1990s co-ordinator of the Opsahl Commission.

The Centre's research manager is **Dr Patricia Clarke**, formerly a senior researcher with the London Ambulance Service, and its communications leader is **Joseph Shields**, a former software developer with Fujitsu and consultant with PriceWaterhouseCoopers.

Its information and research officer is **Dr Eoin Magennis**, formerly information officer with InterTradeIreland. The Centre's administrator is **Mairéad Hughes** and its administrative assistant is **Patricia McAllister**.