

The British and Peace in Northern Ireland

How did the British Government and Civil Service shape the Northern Ireland peace process? What kind of tensions and debates were being played out between the two governments and the various parties in Northern Ireland? Addressing texts, negotiations, dialogues, space, leverage, strategy, ambiguity, interpersonal relations and convergence, this is the first volume to examine how senior British officials and civil servants worked to bring about powersharing in Northern Ireland. With a unique format featuring self-authored inside accounts and interview testimonies, it considers a spectrum of areas and issues that came into play during the dialogues and negotiations that led to the 1998 Good Friday Agreement and political accommodation in Northern Ireland. This book provides a compelling insight into what actually happened inside the negotiating room and how the British tried to shape the course of negotiations.

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'Principles and rules are intended to provide a thinking man with a frame of reference' — Carl von Clausewitz

'The world of theories is not my world. These are simply the reflections of a practitioner'

— Milan Kundera



The British and Peace in Northern Ireland

The Process and Practice of Reaching Agreement

Edited by

Graham Spencer







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For Lynn



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Notes on contributors

LORD ROBERT ARMSTRONG was educated at the Dragon School, Oxford, Eton, and then Christ Church, Oxford. He served as the prime minister's personal representative for the Economic Summit from 1978 to 1984, and is also a former secretary to the British Cabinet. He served as principal of the Treasury from 1955 to 1957, and again from 1959 to 1964; as principal private secretary of state to the prime minister from 1970 to 1975; as permanent undersecretary of state from 1977 to 1979; and as head of the Home Civil Service from 1982 to 1988. He was raised to the peerage as Baron Armstrong of Ilminster, of Ashill in the County of Somerset in 1988.

SIR KENNETH BLOOMFIELD KCB, was born in Belfast in 1931, the son of English parents. He was educated at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution and St Peter's College, Oxford, where he read Modern History. On the basis of the Open Competition 1952, he opted to serve in the Northern Ireland Civil Service, where for almost forty years he served as private secretary to three finance ministers, as a cabinet secretary to unionist and power-sharing cabinets, as permanent secretary to local departments, and from 1984 to 1991 as head of the Northern Ireland Civil Service. Thereafter, he has held a wide range of public and other appointments, including authorship of his report *We Will Remember Them* on victims of terrorism. He is a member of the Royal Irish Academy, and the recipient of honorary doctorates from the Open University, the University of Ulster and Queen's Belfast. He is the author of four published books: *Stormont in Crisis, A Tragedy of Errors, A New Life* and *The BBC at the Watershed*.

SIR JOHN CHILCOT was permanent secretary at the Northern Ireland Office from 1990 until he retired from a career as a senior civil servant at the end of 1997. Since then he has been a (non-party) member or chairman of a number of reviews, inquiries and other bodies, including the Independent Commission on the Voting System (1997–8), the Lord Chancellor's Advisory Council on Public Records and its successor National Archives Council (1999–2004), a review of Royal and VIP security, an inquiry into the PIRA break-in at the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) Special Branch HQ

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(2002), and the Review of the Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction by a Committee of Privy Counsellors, chaired by Lord Butler (2004). He was staff counsellor to the Security and Intelligence Agencies (1999–2004) and the National Criminal Intelligence Service (2002–6). He is currently head of the Iraq War Inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the March 2003 invasion of Iraq and its aftermath. He was interviewed three times in London between 2012 and 2013.

DAVID COOKE was a civil servant from 1977 to 2004, based mainly in the Home Office, the Northern Ireland Office and the Cabinet Office. Since then he has been CEO of the British Board of Film Classification under the presidency of Sir Quentin Thomas, who stepped down in 2012. David Cooke was a head of division in the Northern Ireland Office from 1990 to 1993, and then associate political director from 2002 to 2004, working closely with Jonathan Powell and Jonathan Phillips on policy and negotiations as part of the political process at that time.

WILLIAM FITTALL was principal private secretary to Peter Brooke and Patrick Mayhew 1992–3, in charge of the Home Office Counter-Terrorism Division 1993–5, cabinet office chief of the Assessment Staff and a member of the Joint Intelligence Committee 1995–7, Director of the Crime Reduction and Community programmes in the Home Office 1997–2000, and associate political director of the Northern Ireland Office from August 2000 until he left the Civil Service at the end of September 2002 to become the secretary general for the Church of England, where he is still in post. He was interviewed twice in London in 2014.

SIR DAVID GOODALL GCMG was born in 1931 and educated at Ampleforth College and then at Trinity College, Oxford, where he read Classical Mods and Greats. After two years' military service (in Kenya, Aden and Cyprus), he joined the Foreign (now Diplomatic) Service in 1956, serving in Jakarta, Nairobi, Vienna and twice in Bonn. From 1982 to 1984 he was a deputy secretary in the Cabinet Office, and from 1984 to 1987 deputy undersecretary of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. From 1987 to 1991 he was British high commissioner to India. After retirement from the Diplomatic Service, he was chairman of the Leonard Cheshire Foundation (now Leonard Cheshire Disability) from 1995 to 2000; and chairman of the British–Irish Association from 1997 to 2001.

DAVID HILL was head of the Constitutional and Political Division of the Northern Ireland Office from October 1989 to May 1993, and again from December 1995 to February 1999. As such, he was centrally involved in the initiation and management of the Northern Ireland talks process, from its formal inception in January 1990 through to the Belfast Agreement of April



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1998, the ensuing referenda and the establishment and first meetings of the new Northern Ireland Assembly. He is one of the very few people to have participated in virtually every meeting of the 'talks about talks', the 'Brooke' and 'Mayhew' talks of 1991 and 1992, and the multiparty talks that ran from June 1996 to April 1998. Apart from advising ministers on the underlying strategy to promote a political settlement and the tactical handling of the talks process, he had lead responsibility within the Northern Ireland Office for constitutional matters.

- SIR JOHN HOLMES GCVO, KBE, CMG is the director of the Ditchley Foundation and co-chair of the International Rescue Committee UK. He is the former UN undersecretary-general for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief coordinator. A career diplomat, he has served the British Government for more than thirty years and has extensive experience on conflict. Having worked on the Lebanon and Middle East peace processes, he was awarded a knighthood in 1998 primarily for his role in the Northern Ireland peace process and the Good Friday Agreement. He served as private secretary (Overseas Affairs) to John Major before becoming principal private secretary to Tony Blair in 1997.
- SIR BILL JEFFREY was political director at the Northern Ireland Office from early 1998 until November 2002, following a career spent mainly in the Home Office. He subsequently headed the Immigration and Nationality Directorate of the Home Office, was permanent secretary and Security and Intelligence coordinator at the Cabinet Office at the time of the attacks on London in July 2005, and for the last five years of his service was permanent secretary at the Ministry of Defence.
- CHRIS MACCABE began his career as a researcher in the Northern Ireland Cabinet Office. Between 1973 and 1977, he was a private secretary to chief minister of Northern Ireland Brian Faulkner and to several Northern Ireland Office ministers, including the deputy secretary of state. After various appointments, including special assistant to the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and a director in the Northern Ireland Prison Service, he became head of the Northern Ireland Office's Political Affairs Division at the beginning of 1992. Between 2000 and 2008 he was British joint secretary of the British–Irish Intergovernmental Conference and the political director of the Northern Ireland Office. He is currently a member of the International Verification Commission monitoring the ETA ceasefire.
- SIR JONATHAN PHILLIPS worked at Whitehall for some twenty-five years in areas of economic policy before moving to the Northern Ireland Office in 2002, where he became political director. He was then appointed as permanent secretary in 2005, and left the Civil Service in 2010 after devolution



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of policing and justice powers to the Northern Ireland Executive. He is now warden of Keble College, Oxford. He was interviewed three times in Oxford between 2012 and 2013.

SIR JOSEPH PILLING has served as a member of the Board of Trustees of Macmillan Cancer Relief since December 2005. He previously worked in the Home Office, the Department of Health and the Northern Ireland Office. He was the director general of HM Prison Service in England and Wales, and then permanent secretary of the Northern Ireland Office from 1997 until his retirement in 2005. He was educated at King's College, London, and at Harvard University, and is currently chair of the Church of England Bishops' Review on Human Sexuality. He was interviewed three times in London between 2012 and 2013.

JONATHAN POWELL worked for the BBC and Granada TV before joining the Foreign Office in 1979. He then became a diplomat based at the British Embassy in Washington before joining Tony Blair's 'kitchen cabinet' as chief of staff in 1995; a position he occupied until 2007. Jonathan Powell played a central role in the negotiations leading to the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, and continued as a key player coordinating and managing New Labour policy in Northern Ireland until he left office in 2007. He was interviewed three times, initially in 2009, then in 2012 and 2013.

SIR QUENTIN THOMAS had a Whitehall career in the Home Office, the Northern Ireland Office and the Cabinet Office, where he headed the Constitution Secretariat (1998–9). He served in the Northern Ireland Office as political director (1991–8). He chaired the BBC Governors' Impartiality Review of the BBC's coverage of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. He was president of the British Board of Film Classification (2002–12).



Acknowledgements

It goes without saying that I want to thank all those who have contributed to this book. Each gave their time and showed great patience in dealing with my requests for further interviews or amendments to chapters. I also want to thank the Centre for Creative and Cultural Research Group at the University of Portsmouth for supporting this project until July 2013, and the many people I have interviewed across Ireland, both north and south, over the years about the peace process. I have always been met with courtesy, respect and consideration by the hundreds I have spoken to and interviewed, and this book is as much a reflection of my relationship with Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland as it is anything else. My fascination has always been with the extended interview and the mysteries of interaction that can reveal moments of insight or unknown tension. The interview is ultimately about experience and emotion, and both are essential for understanding relationships and decision-making processes. For those who have shared this with me over the years I am eternally grateful. I would also like to thank Irish Political Studies for allowing me to use part of an interview with Jonathan Powell published in 2010. Importantly, I want to thank my very good friends Lincoln Geraghty and Van Norris for the constant hilarity, Sue Harper and Keith Tester for their generosity and advice and Revd Chris Hudson for support and friendship. The book though is dedicated to Lynn Evans who has been an inspiration.

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November 1987

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Brief chronology of the peace process

injures many more at a Remembrance Sunday service in Enniskillen. January 1988 Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) leader John Hume meets Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams. October 1988 British Government imposes broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin and other groups linked to paramilitaries. March 1989 Gerry Adams comments on the need for a 'non-armed political movement to work for self-determination'. November 1989 Northern Ireland secretary Peter Brooke states that the PIRA cannot be militarily defeated and that talks could follow an end to violence. November 1990 Peter Brooke states that the United Kingdom has 'no selfish strategic or economic interest' in Northern Ireland. Brooke goes on to say that 'It is not the aspiration to a sovereign, united Ireland against which we set our face, but its violent expression.' March 1991 Talks begin chaired by Peter Brooke. Talks end when the Intergovernmental Conference, which emerged from the Anglo-Irish Agreement, is resumed. The talks focus on Strand 1 only and the process of talks is constructed long the lines of three strands: relations in Northern Ireland, relations between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland and relations between Dublin and London. February 1992 Sinn Féin publishes the document Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland setting out a political peace strategy. May 1992 Strand 2 talks chaired by Patrick Mayhew on North–South

cratic Unionist Party (DUP) does not.

The Provisional IRA (PIRA) kills eleven people and

relations are launched in Dublin and last until November. The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) attends but the Demo-

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| Brief chronol | logy of the | e peace | process |
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| April 1993 | John Hume and Gerry Adams make a joint statement about the Irish people as a whole requiring a right to self-determination. The statement is made after Gerry Adams is seen visiting the home of John Hume in Derry. |
|-------------------------------|--|
| October 1993 | Ten people are killed when a PIRA bomb explodes in a fish shop on the loyalist Shankill Road. |
| November 1993 | Secret communications between the PIRA and London are revealed. |
| December 1993 | Downing Street Declaration is released stating that Irish unity would require the 'double consent' support of majorities in both parts of Ireland and that no constitutional change would occur without the consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland. |
| January 1994 | President Clinton agrees a visa for Gerry Adams to visit the United States. |
| June 1994 | Loyalists kill six Catholic men at a bar in Loughlinisland, Co. Down. |
| August 1994 | The PIRA announces 'a complete cessation of military activities'. |
| September 1994 | The British Government lifts the broadcasting ban on Sinn Féin. |
| October 1994 | The Combined Loyalist Command (an umbrella body for the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Defence Association) announces a ceasefire. |
| February 1995 | British and Irish governments release the Frameworks Document. |
| March 1995 | Northern Ireland secretary Patrick Mayhew reveals a three-point plan to try to remove PIRA weapons in advance of talks, making decommissioning a key condition for reaching agreement. |
| May 1995 | Sinn Féin meet British Government minister Michael Ancram after exploratory dialogue with senior officials. |
| July 1995 | Drumcree parade becomes flashpoint of the marching season after members of the Orange Order are prevented from marching through a nationalist area. |
| November 1995 January 1996 | President Clinton visits Northern Ireland. The <i>Mitchell Report</i> is published. It canvasses for elections to round table talks and stresses a commitment to non-violence as a basis for participation. |
| February 1996 | The PIRA ends its ceasefire with a bomb in Canary Wharf, London, killing two. Sinn Féin is excluded from talks. |



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| AVI Brief emonology of the peace process | | | |
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| May 1996 | Elections take place do decide participants at talks. Sinn Fein gets 15.5 per cent of the votes but does not take part having not made the necessary commitment to non-violence. The PIRA ceasefire is not renewed. Talks take place in Castle Buildings, Belfast and are chaired by senator George Mitchell. | | |
| June 1996 | The PIRA plants a bomb in Manchester city centre. | | |
| July 1996 | Drumcree creates a stand-off, but police allow marchers | | |
| July 1990 | to complete route. This is followed by major rioting. | | |
| April 1997 | The PIRA creates hoax bomb alerts in the United Kingdom, targeting motorways and the Grand National horse race. | | |
| May 1997 | Tony Blair is elected as British prime minister. | | |
| July 1997 | The PIRA announces a renewal of its ceasefire after the | | |
| July 1777 | British Government resumes contacts with Sinn Féin. | | |
| August 1997 | Independent International Commission on Decommis- | | |
| August 1777 | sioning (IICD) is established to oversee decommissioning | | |
| | of paramilitary weapons. | | |
| September 1997 | Unionists, including the DUP, boycott talks because of | | |
| September 1997 | the decision to allow Sinn Féin re-entry. Sinn Féin sign up to the <i>Mitchell Principles</i> . | | |
| October 1997 | Gerry Adams meets Tony Blair. | | |
| January 1998 | Northern Ireland secretary Mo Mowlam visits loyalist | | |
| January 1998 | inmates in the Maze prison to convince them to continue supporting the peace process. | | |
| January 1998 | Tony Blair announces the Bloody Sunday Inquiry. | | |
| April 1998 | The Good Friday Agreement (GFA) is reached. The DUP | | |
| April 1770 | opposes the Agreement. | | |
| April 1998 | The PIRA announces there will be no decommissioning. | | |
| May 1998 | 'Dissident' republicans opposed to the Agreement and | | |
| May 1990 | the Sinn Féin strategy form the Real IRA. | | |
| May 1998 | A referendum to gauge support for the Agreement pro- | | |
| 1/1 a j 1//0 | duces a 71 per cent 'for' vote in Northern Ireland, although | | |
| | there is a large 'no' vote from unionists. | | |
| June 1998 | Elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly lead to the | | |
| Julie 1990 | UUP and the SDLP being elected as the biggest parties. | | |
| July 1998 | Drumcree stand-off leads to widespread violence. | | |
| August 1998 | Real IRA bombing in Omagh kills twenty-nine people | | |
| 1105400 1770 | and unborn twins. | | |
| September 1998 | President Clinton visits Northern Ireland to try to bolster | | |
| ~-P.00 | the peace process. | | |
| | I I | | |



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September 1998 Gerry Adams and UUP leader David Trimble lead first talks between unionists and republicans for seventy-five vears. September 1998 Early prisoner releases made possible by the GFA take place. September 1998 Demolition of security installations and checkpoints takes place under the auspices of 'confidence-building' measures and demilitarisation. David Trimble and John Hume receive the Nobel Peace October 1998 February 1999 Disagreement between the parties over decommissioning continues to hamper power-sharing. Sinn Féin states that PIRA decommissioning cannot take **April** 1999 place before the Assembly is up and running. July 1999 Attempts to nominate ministers for the Assembly fail as the UUP rejects Sinn Féin's inability to deliver PIRA decommissioning. Patten Report is released recommending root-and-branch September 1999 reform of policing. Recommendations include changes to the name, badges and symbols used by police and the setting up of a Policing Board, which would be 'communityled'. Patten also recommends a 50:50 recruitment of Catholics and Protestants to the police service. Sinn Féin agrees to talk with the IICD on decommission-November 1999 November 1999 Assembly meets and nominates ministers as powersharing commences. February 2000 Northern Ireland secretary Peter Mandelson suspends the Assembly because of no progress on decommissioning. March 2000 Bloody Sunday Inquiry begins in Londonderry. May 2000 The PIRA announces it will open some arms dumps for inspection. This corresponds with a proposed sequence of events to facilitate a return to power-sharing, but is also linked to a PIRA commitment to decommission. Any PIRA action on weapons to run parallel with movement on policing reform and demilitarisation. For republicans

this would create the 'context' within which arms would

Unionists agree a return to the Assembly on the understanding that arms would be dealt with parallel to the

be 'completely and verifiably put beyond use'.

Assembly being up and running.

May 2000



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June 2000 The IICD confirm that they have inspected some PIRA

arms dumps and that arms could not be removed without

detection.

September 2000 'Dissidents' attack MI6 headquarters in London.

March 2001 'Dissidents' plant a car bomb outside the BBC in London. May 2001 The slow progress on decommissioning leads to grow-

ing tensions within the UUP, and David Trimble threatens to resign as first minister one month after the forthcoming elections if decommissioning is not dealt

with.

June 2001 The DUP, under leader Revd Ian Paisley, becomes the

dominant unionist party at the elections, and Sinn Féin overtake the SDLP to be the largest nationalist party.

July 2001 David Trimble stands down as leader of the UUP to create

a six-week negotiating space.

August 2001 The IICD announces that the PIRA has a plan to put arms

'beyond use'.

August 2001 Assembly is suspended for twenty-four hours. The effect

of this is to allow the parties another six weeks to agree who would be first minister and deputy first minister (by

22 September 2001).

August 2001 Three men arrested in Colombia are accused of being

in the PIRA and training Marxist rebels. The PIRA announces that it is withdrawing its plan to put weapons

beyond use.

September 2001 Clashes and violence occur in Belfast between loyal-

ists and republicans outside Holy Cross Girls' Primary

School.

September 2001 Suspension of the Assembly because of slow progress

leads to another six-week hiatus (until 3 November 2001) to give the parties more time to reach agreement and elect

a first and deputy first minister.

October 2001 The IICD announces that it has witnessed a first act of

PIRA decommissioning.

November 2001 Initial deadline of 3 November for the election of first

and deputy first minister passes, with Northern Ireland secretary John Reid proposing 5 November as another

deadline.

November 2001 Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) renamed the Police

Service of Northern Ireland.

March 2002 Suspected PIRA involvement in break-in at Castlereagh

police headquarters.



| Brief chronology of the peace process xix | | | |
|---|----------------|--|---|
| C | October 2002 | Police raid Sinn Féin Stormont offices on sur the PIRA is running a spying operation and evidence of republican intelligence-gathering | search for |
| C | October 2002 | Devolution is suspended and power-sharin amid allegations over continuing PIRA activi | g collapses |
| C | October 2002 | Tony Blair makes a keynote speech on 'acts tion' at Belfast Harbour, telling the PIRA th be 'half in, half out' of the process. | |
| A | April 2003 | London and Dublin propose a way forward Joint Declaration document. | through the |
| | May 2003 | The Joint Declaration is released. Assembly e postponed. | |
| S | September 2003 | Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC) role of examining the dismantling of paramitures and the transition to stable democratic in | litary struc- nstitutions. |
| C | October 2003 | Moves are initiated to choreograph a return sharing based on positive verification of PII missioning. However, an IICD statement on a PIRA decommissioning is seen as not suffici parent by David Trimble and a return to powe postponed. | RA decom- third act of ently trans- |
| N | November 2003 | DUP and Sinn Féin emerge from Assembly dominant parties, but Paisley refuses to sit is ment until the PIRA has disarmed. | |
| N | March 2004 | Substantive talks between the Irish and Brit ments and the parties fail to bring about a bre | |
| S | September 2004 | Talks at Leeds Castle. Sinn Féin name two i clergy witnesses who will verify decommission Harold Good and Father Alec Reid). The DUP proof of decommissioning, which is rejected by | ndependent oning (Revd want visual |
| Γ | December 2004 | A record £26.5 million is stolen from the North Belfast. Security chiefs point towards the PIF responsible, and believe the money is to be a fund' for PIRA personnel as well as used funding. | ern Bank in RA as being 'retirement |
| J | anuary 2005 | Robert McCartney is murdered by PIRA me pub in Belfast. McCartney's sisters launch a ca justice that leads to international pressure for be brought to an end. | ampaign for |
| _ | | | |

The PIRA withdraws an offer to complete the decommis-

sioning of weapons.

February 2005



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| March 2005 | American pressure on the PIRA to disarm intensifies following McCartney's murder. |
|----------------|--|
| September 2005 | The IICD announces that it is satisfied that the PIRA has decommissioned all arms. |
| January 2006 | Proposed legislation to allow around 150 'On-the-Run' republican fugitives – accused of paramilitary crimes before 1998 – to return to Northern Ireland is widely rejected by the parties. |
| April 2006 | Tony Blair and Irish taoiseach Bertie Ahern unveil blueprint for restoring devolution, confirming that the Assembly will be reformed on 15 May, with the parties given six weeks to elect an Executive. A fall-back position is that if this fails a further twelve weeks will be given to get a multiparty government up and running or salaries will be stopped. |
| May 2006 | Assembly operates for the first time since its suspension in 2002. |
| June 2006 | The two governments restate that 24 November is the last chance for devolution to be restored. |
| October 2006 | The IMC announce that some of the PIRA's most important structures have been dismantled. |
| October 2006 | DUP leader Revd Ian Paisley takes part in formal talks with Catholic Archbishop Sean Brady and deems conversations to be 'helpful and constructive'. |
| October 2006 | Three days of intensive multiparty talks designed to restore devolution take place at St Andrews, Scotland. May 2008 is called for as the deadline for the transference of policing and justice affairs from London. St Andrews Agreement ratified. |
| December 2006 | The Sinn Féin Executive meets to discuss backing the police service. |
| January 2007 | Sinn Féin members vote to support policing in Northern Ireland |
| January 2007 | Assembly elections are confirmed for 7 March and a transitional Assembly at Stormont is dissolved to allow this to take place. |
| March 2007 | Assembly elections return DUP as the largest party with thirty-six seats, with Sinn Féin taking twenty-eight, the UUP taking eighteen, the SDLP sixteen and the Alliance Party seven. |



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| March 2007 | Devolved government is restored in Northern Ireland after DUP and Sinn Féin leaders hold breakthrough meeting. |
|---------------|---|
| May 2007 | The DUP's Revd Ian Paisley is sworn in as first minister and Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness is sworn in as deputy first minister. |
| October 2007 | The Executive agree a new legislative programme with a ten-year investment strategy. |
| July 2008 | Slow progress on policing and justice brings the Assembly to a standstill. |
| November 2008 | Executive meetings resumed after a DUP–Sinn Féin agreement is reached on the process for devolving authority for policing and justice. |
| March 2009 | British soldiers and a policeman are killed by 'dissident' republicans. Both the DUP and Sinn Féin condemn the killings. |
| June 2009 | Ulster Volunteer Force decommissions weapons. |
| December 2009 | Legislation passed by the Assembly to pave the way for the transfer of policing and justice powers to Northern Ireland. |
| January 2010 | British and Irish governments meet Northern Ireland par- ties to finalise steps for the devolution of authority over policing and justice. |
| January 2010 | Ulster Defence Association and Irish National Liberation Army decommission weapons. |
| February 2010 | The IICD stands down. |
| February 2010 | Ten days of negotiations lead to the Hillsborough Agreement with Sinn Féin and the DUP finally agreeing a deal on the devolution of authority over policing and justice. A deadline of 12 April 2010 is set for devolution. |
| March 2010 | The Assembly formally recognises the Hillsborough Agreement. |
| April 2010 | Authority for policing and justice is devolved with David Ford of the Alliance Party elected as justice minister. |
| April 2011 | Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) officer Ronan Kerr killed by 'dissident' republicans. |
| May 2011 | Queen Elizabeth II makes state visit to Ireland. |
| June 2012 | Queen Elizabeth II on visit to Northern Ireland shakes hands with Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness. |
| July 2012 | Extensive rioting in Ardoyne, Belfast, following rival |

Protestant and Catholic parades.



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> November 2012 Prison officer David Black is killed by a 'dissident' repub-

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lican group claiming to be the 'new IRA'.

December 2012 Decision taken by Belfast City Council to move Union

flag from flying permanently over Belfast City Hall to designated days sparks protests and riots by loyalists which

continue throughout 2013.

July 2013 Formation of the Panel of Parties in the Northern Ireland

Executive with ambassador Richard Haass as chair and Meghan L. O'Sullivan as vice chair to initiate consensual recommendations on parades, protests, flags, symbols,

emblems and related matters, and the past.

December 2013 Haass and O'Sullivan produce proposed agreement,

which is accepted by nationalists and republicans but

rejected by unionists.

May 2014 Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams is arrested, questioned

> and detained for four days by police in Antrim, Northern Ireland over the abduction, murder and disappearance of Jean McConville in 1972 and for membership of the

PIRA. He is released without charge.



Abbreviations

AP Alliance Party

CLMC Combined Loyalist Military Command DFA Department of Foreign Affairs, Ireland

DUP Democratic Unionist Party EC **European Community**

FCO Foreign and Commonwealth Office

Independent International Commission on Decommissioning **IICD**

IMC Independent Monitoring Commission INLA Irish National Liberation Army **IRSP** Irish Republican Socialist Party LVF Loyalist Volunteer Force

MoD Ministry of Defence

NICS Northern Ireland Civil Service Northern Ireland Office NIO

'On-the-Runs' **OTRs**

Political Affairs Belfast PAB

PIRA Provisional IRA

Police Service of Northern Ireland **PSNI**

PUP **Progressive Unionist Party**

RIRA Real IRA

RUC Royal Ulster Constabulary

Social Democratic and Labour Party **SDLP**

UDA Ulster Defence Association UDP Ulster Democratic Party **UKUP UK Unionist Party**

UPRG Ulster Political Research Group

UUP Ulster Unionist Party

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Key documents

Sunningdale Agreement 1973 (SA) Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985 (AIA) Downing Street Declaration 1993 (DSD) Frameworks Document 1995 Good Friday Agreement 1998 (GFA) Joint Declaration 2003 (JD) St Andrews Agreement 2006 (SAA) Hillsborough Agreement 2010

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