From Sunningdale to Good Friday: Power Entrenchment and Paramilitary Inclusion

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and Paramilitary Inclusion

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Abstract

The central question that guides my research is: how do civil wars end? In answering

the question, I focus on the case of Northern Ireland to emphasize the importance of

history in political outcomes. My argument isolates variables that determined the

outcomes of the Sunningdale and Good Friday Agreements. The first variable, power

entrenchment, derived from legal, economic, political, and social arrangements that dated

to the Cromwellian settlement. These arrangements permitted the loyalists/unionists of

Northern Ireland to wield hegemonic power over the Irish Catholic community for over

three centuries. The entrenched power of the unionists, present during the

implementation of the Sunningdale Agreement, enabled the unionists to bring down the

power-sharing executive. In 1985, the British government signed the Anglo-Irish

Agreement (AIA) with the Irish Republic. The AIA transformed the historical power

relationships in the conflict. Without their historical support from the British

government, the unionists faced the reality of their political destiny being determined

without them. In contrast to Sunningdale, the development and implementation of the

Good Friday agreement did not meet with a Unionist revolt. The second variable –

paramilitary inclusion in the Good Friday peace process – ensured a durable settlement

to the civil war in Northern Ireland.

Dedication

For my Parents

Acknowledgments

As with all scholarly endeavors, I owe many people a debt of gratitude for their guidance, inspiration, and support. My professors during my time at Harvard provided sources of intellectual stimulation that will always remain with me. Specifically, I would like to thank: the late Delba Winthrop, Professor Daniel Ziblatt, and Professor Nadine Weidman. Special thanks to Professor Donald Ostrowski for his valuable lectures in history and his advice and support as my Research Advisor. For his advice on the methodological approaches to political science, I am indebted to Professor Peter Hall. For his work on contentious politics that inspired my work and for his encouragement in this and other research, I will always be grateful to the late Charles Tilly (Columbia University). I would also like to thank Professor Mari-Fitz Duff (Brandeis University) for her guidance on the conflict in Northern Ireland. My discussions with Judith Van Raalten about conflict resolution proved invaluable. I will always be grateful for her contributions to this research. The intellectual environment fostered at Harvard's Center for European Studies provided me with insights into the history and politics of Europe that contributed to this research. Finally, I owe special thanks to my Thesis Director, Professor Monica Toft for her expertise on civil war termination and valuable critiques of my research.

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Chapter I

Introduction

My research focuses on the civil war in Northern Ireland that began in 1971 and
ended with a negotiated settlement in 1998. In the course of the conflict, the British
government attempted three approaches to end the violence. These approaches included
military responses, settlements arranged by the British government and Northern Ireland
political parties, and intergovernmental agreements inclusive of all active parties to the
conflict. Only the latter approach produced a peaceful settlement.

The research question asks: What explains the divergent outcomes between the
Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 and the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) of 1998.[1]
Specifically, why did the Sunningdale Agreement fail to secure peace while the Good
Friday Agreement succeed in ending the violence? In addition, what do the contours of
the conflict in Northern Ireland tell us about ending civil wars? My hypothesis identifies
a causal mechanism[2] – power entrenchment[3] – in the history of Northern Ireland that
fueled social cleavages and precluded the Sunningdale Agreement from securing a

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[1] The Good Friday Agreement, signed on 10 April 1998, is also known as the Belfast Agreement.

[2] Causal "mechanisms form a delimited class of events that change relations among specified sets
of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations." See: Charles Tilly,
"Mechanisms in Political Processes," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 25-26.

[3] Julie Lynch and Tulia Falleti, "Context and Causal Mechanisms in Political Research,"
Comparative Political Studies 42.9 (forthcoming September 2009): 4. The term "power entrenchment"
derives from power reproduction found in Lynch and Falleti. Both terms are synonymous with "circular
flow of power" and "boundary control." See Robert Vincent Daniels, *Is Russia Reformable? Change and
Resistance from Stalin to Gorbachev* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1988): 88. Edward Gibson, "Boundary
Control: Sub-national Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries," *World Politics* 58.1 (2005): 10-11.

durable political settlement. In contrast to normal efforts to preserve political power, the term "power entrenchment" assumes local domination or hegemonic rule by sub-national political units. In this way, "power entrenchment" refers to illiberal methods to preserve power.

From the seventeenth century through the twentieth century, Unionists positioned themselves, with the implicit approval of the British government, in a hegemonic role that enabled them to control the political development of Northern Ireland. The failure of the Sunningdale Agreement resulted from the historical power structure between the ethnic communities in Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the Republic of Ireland. The signing of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement (AIA) abruptly ended Unionist control of Northern Ireland's political destiny. In addition to creating a new context for negotiation, the AIA ended the Unionist's ability to veto political arrangements that did not conform to their goals.

The new negotiating context included an independent variable – inclusion of paramilitary groups in peace process – absent during the Sunningdale talks.[4] The inclusion of paramilitary groups in the Good Friday peace process secured a durable settlement to the civil war. The historical context of Sunningdale included a situation where the paramilitary groups lacked sufficient political ties for useful talks between

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[4] The paramilitary groups considered as "included" in the peace process: the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), the Ulster Defense Association (UDA), and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). The primary paramilitary group responsible for the majority of the violence was the Provisional IRA. Hence, in the present study, the Provisional IRA represents the key group that requires consultation in the peace process.

themselves and the British government.[5] Therefore, the Sunningdale process did not

include any indirect talks between political elites and leaders of the paramilitary groups.

In protest of the signing of the Sunningdale Agreement, a virtually unknown group – the

Ulster Worker's Council (UWC) – announced a general strike. Although the UWC

existed in name only (no meetings ever took place), the announcement of the strike

received support from loyalist paramilitaries. The loyalist paramilitaries used roadblocks,

threats, and violence to enforce the strike. Paramilitary efforts combined with the impact

of Harold Wilson's "spongers" speech[6] served to bring down the power-sharing

executive. In contrast, the Blair government opened indirect communication channels

with paramilitary groups from both sides during the Good Friday peace process. British

efforts to include the paramilitary groups removed the possibility of either another

loyalist strike or violence by the Provisional IRA to derail the Good Friday peace

process.

In order to test my hypothesis, I will construct a "causal narrative" based on

primary sources related to the outcomes under investigation. I will analyze the historical

record using memoirs of political elites involved in the peace processes, newspaper

accounts of the negotiations, and relevant primary sources from the Irish and British

governments. In order to describe the emergence and impact of power entrenchment in

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[5] Following the guidance of Tilly, my research does not employ the terms "terror", "terrorism", or "terrorists" when describing those involved in political violence. See Charles Tilly, "Terror, Terrorism, Terrorists," *Sociological Theory* 22.1 (2004): 5-13.

[6] During the UWC strike, Prime Minister Harold Wilson referred to those supporting the strike as "spongers" who expected Britain to pay for their lifestyles. Unionists who had not been supportive of the strike were outraged and immediately began to support the strike.

the conflict, I will reconstruct key events that preceded and followed the Cromwellian settlement. The historical analysis describes how the presence or absence of power entrenchment affected the events and actors during Sunningdale and in the aftermath of the AIA. In addition, qualitative evidence demonstrates the importance of the variable – inclusion of paramilitaries during the peace process – in securing a durable peace in Northern Ireland.

In my research, the outcomes of political settlements in an ethnic internal armed conflict (Northern Ireland) represent the dependent variable. A signed agreement by the actors involved in the conflict followed by cessation of violence signifies a successful settlement. Signed agreements that fail to stop the violence equal failed settlements.[7] The restoration of political order, based on power sharing by the groups previously at war, is a key indicator of a successful settlement. In my thesis, the two primary independent variables that determine the success or failure of the settlements include power entrenchment and paramilitary inclusion.

My thesis is important for three reasons. First, the research seeks to present a theory of civil war termination that places the temporal dimension of the conflict, particularly the power structures,[8] at the forefront of the analysis. The case of Northern Ireland provides strong evidence that negotiated settlements to some civil wars do not

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[7] Violence acts by groups that split from the primary paramilitary group may continue intermittently. For example, following the signing of the GFA, the Real IRA carried out the Omagh bombing on 15 August 1998. Nevertheless, the GFA restored political order and ushered in a new power sharing arrangement.

[8] For a discussion of power asymmetries and path dependence, see Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 36.

depend on the elements of a "resolution process" that begins with negotiations and terminates in a treaty.[9] Instead, negotiated settlements to certain civil wars unfold sequentially over time.[10] In other words, to understand why some negotiated settlements succeed while others fail, one must examine the socio-political mechanisms surrounding the resolution process. Path dependent power entrenchment represents one such mechanism. Therefore, the probability of success or failure for a negotiated political settlement depends on how much of a role history plays in the conflict itself. Second, my thesis challenges claims that governments should "not talk to terrorists." I find that the inclusion of paramilitary groups in the peace process represents a necessary condition for a durable political settlement. My research questions the utility of erecting pre-conditions for inclusion of paramilitary groups in a peace process. Third, my research seeks to encourage scholars to re-conceptualize the definition of civil war to include important cases like Northern Ireland.

Literature Review

Explaining the outcomes of civil wars remains one of the puzzles in understanding the nature of political order.[11] Specifically, why do some attempts at

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[9] Barbara F. Walter, *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 160.

[10] For a discussion of the importance of time in politics, see Pierson, 1-16.

[11] Roy E. Licklider, *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (New York: New York University Press, 1993). David T. Mason and Patrick J. Fett, "How Civil Wars End: A Rational Choice Approach" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40.4 (December 1996): 546-568. Barbara Walters, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51, no. 3.3 (summer, 1997): 336-364.

negotiated political settlements succeed while others fail? Three important theoretical

disputes emerge from these questions. First, political scientists do not agree on an

operational definition of "civil war." In the absence of scholarly consensus on what

constitutes a civil war, recent literature on civil war outcomes produces ambiguous

results and excludes important conflicts – most notably, Northern Ireland. Second, what

type of theoretical explanation best explains how civil wars end? Third, and most

important for the present research, why does a civil war end when it does? In situating

my thesis within the current literature on civil wars, I will consider each of these

questions in turn.

As Sambanis notes, scholarly debate on the value of specific civil war lists pivot

on three central questions: What threshold of violence distinguishes civil war from other

forms of internal armed conflict? How do we know when a civil war starts and ends?

How can we distinguish between intrastate, interstate, and extra-state wars?[12] The

Correlates of War Project (COW) represents the most widely used data on civil war

occurrence. However, the COW dataset excludes the Northern Ireland conflict because it

fails to meet the one thousand battle deaths per year criteria.[13]

I concur with the critique of Gleditsch, et al., regarding the disadvantages of

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[12] Nicholas Sambanis, "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48.6 (December 2004): 815.

[13] Note: The Correlates of War project does not code Northern Ireland as an intrastate war because it does not meet the threshold of battlefield deaths. Sambanis does code Northern Ireland as a civil war, although he refers to it as an "ambiguous case." See: Meredith Reid Sarkees, "The Correlates of War Data on War: An Update to 1997," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 18.1 (2000): 123-144. Also Nicolas Sambanis, "Coding Notes for the Civil War List," Yale University, http://pantheon.yale.edu/~ns237/index/research.html#data.

excluding such well-known wars from a dataset.[14] There are too few wars in shorter periods for scholars to do either meaningful statistical or comparative historical analysis. This problem is especially acute when disaggregating the dependent variable – civil war – to focus on a specific sub-set of internal conflicts. In addition, when scholars extend the historical periods under analysis, they risk diluting the explanatory power of key variables.

My research follows the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP) in coding and defining the conflict in Northern Ireland. The primary unit of analysis in the UCDP is "Armed Conflict." "Armed Conflict," as defined by the UCDP is: "a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths."[15] The UCDP further distinguishes conflict types by following the definitions used in the Correlates of War (COW) project.[16] Using the COW definitions, the UCDP codes the Northern Ireland conflict as an "internal armed conflict."[17]

An "internal armed conflict" is defined as a conflict "between the government of

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[14] Nils Peter Gleditsch, et al., "Armed Conflict 1946-2001: A New Dataset," *Journal of Peace Research* 39.5 (September 2002): 616.

[15] Gleditsch et al., 618-619.

[16] Melvin Small and David J. Singer, *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1982).

[17] Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), "UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset.Version 4-2007," Uppsala University, http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/data_and_publications/datasets.htm.

a state and internal opposition groups without intervention from other states."[18] The term "internal armed conflict" approximates what other scholars refer to as civil war. To distinguish the Northern Ireland conflict from other types of internal war, the term "ethnic internal armed conflict" indicates a "dispute about important political, economic, social, cultural, or territorial issues between two or more ethnic communities."[19] Combining definitions from the UCDP with scholarly work on ethnic conflict, I gain an operational definition of civil war in Northern Ireland.

Methodological debates about what type of research design best explains political outcomes remain contentious to this day. In explaining the outcomes of civil wars, international relations theorists utilize cross-case, large-N analysis, regression models, and game theory. Inherent in their analysis is the ontological belief that strategic preferences weigh heavily in determining political outcomes. Theorists from the field of comparative politics contend that adherents of rational choice produce microlevel ahistorical accounts that miss causally important processes. In analyzing how civil wars end, my research seeks to move the lens above the moments immediately before and after peace negotiations. In doing so, I intend to demonstrate that a fuller understanding of how civil wars end is only possible if scholars embrace methodological pluralism.

Within the field of political science, the majority of theoretical explanations for how and why civil wars end originate from the work of international relations scholars. Table 1 includes the major theories within the IR discipline that seek to explain how

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[18] Gleditsch et al., 619.

[19] Michael E. Brown, "Causes and Implications of Ethnic Conflict" in *Ethnic Conflict and International Security*, ed. Michael E. Brown (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 5.

conflict ends, as well as my thesis that derives from comparative politics. With the exception of explanations that cite ethnic identity as the crucial variable, the majority of hypotheses derive from rational choice theory. The variables outlined below provide good explanations for why civil wars end. However, taken alone, none of the variables adequately explains the successful political settlement in Northern Ireland. I define successful civil war termination as any political arrangement signed by the primary actors that brings a cessation of violence and restores political order. In this section, I will address competing theories, discuss their contributions and shortcomings as they relate to Northern Ireland, and situate my theory within the literature.

The "costs of war" and "balance of power" theories attempt to explain the optimum conditions for a negotiated settlement. Mason and Fett construct a utility model that utilizes decision calculus with data from the COW. Their results attribute the likelihood of a negotiated settlement to "war weariness" linked to the duration of the conflict. The logic of this theory contends that the likelihood of a negotiated settlement correlates with "the rate at which the participants absorb costs."[20] Mason and Fett also contend that their findings support Zartman's notion of a "hurtling stalemate" that underpins the balance of power theory. Zartman argues that successful negotiation processes require "ripe moments" where combatants find themselves in "conditions of equality" that prevent either side from overcoming the other.[21]

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[20] David T. Mason and Patrick J. Fett, "How Civil Wars End: A Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 40.4 (December 1996): 563.

[21] Zartman, in Licklider, 24.

Although the costs of the war in Northern Ireland did rise for the British over time, the Unionists demonstrated no urgency for a settlement – regardless of how long the conflict lasted or who they had to fight to preserve power. The changing dynamics between the Unionists and their historical supporters in Westminster further complicated the impact of conflict costs. The real and perceived costs of continuing the conflict for the British and the Unionists were not parallel. Indeed, the Unionists operated on the principle that favored stalemate over any recognition of an Irish dimension to the conflict – a view expressed in their slogans "No surrender" and "Ulster Says No."

The costs of the war for the Irish Catholics did play a role in bringing them to the negotiating table. Over time, the paramilitary and political factions of the nationalist movement (Irish Republican Army and Sinn Fein) made overtures to the British government indicating a willingness to negotiate. Nevertheless, Mason and Fett's argument stipulates that both parties must be sensitive to the costs of the conflict. In Northern Ireland, the Unionist position throughout the conflict remained one of intransigence. The AIA spread so much fear and uncertainty within the Unionist ranks that some considered breaking away from Britain entirely or resisting the agreement through violent means directed at the British.

As I argue below, the successful outcome of the GFA derived from the cessation of Unionist power entrenchment brought about by the signing of the AIA. Mason and Fett argue that: "the choice for both parties becomes one between indefinite bloodletting without foreseeable conclusion or a settlement that established peace and gives both

combatants some but not all the payoffs they sought from war."[22] In the case of Northern

Ireland, and prior to the AIA, the Unionist choice for the trajectory of the conflict was

one of indefinite costs. Therefore, in some conflicts, the desire of one party to preserve

power trumps "war weariness" in determining when a civil war will end.

In addition, Fett and Mason's utility model of civil war resolution suffers from a

familiar criticism of orthodox rational choice theory. In short, the notion of collective

cost/benefit decision-making as the prime determinant in a peace negotiation truncates

the temporal aspects of the conflict. Furthermore, their contention that "the variety of

political, economic, and social factors that have been depicted as causes of civil wars may

have little to do with determining the outcome of the war"[23] represents a statement at

odds with my thesis.

Zartman's notion of a "hurtling stalemate" does feature power as the central

variable in deciding the outcome of a conflict. Some commentators do attribute the end

of the conflict to the belief, shared by certain members of the IRA and the British

government, that military victory for either side was not possible. The balance of power

between the IRA and the British did reach a point of stalemate.[24] If the IRA represented

the sole obstacle to a peace settlement, then Zartman's argument would align with the

outcome in Northern Ireland.

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[22] Mason and Fett, 563

[23] Mason and Fett, 564.

[24] The British government conceded that the IRA could not be defeated through military means
alone. The IRA admitted that their political goals were not achievable by force.

Table 1

Theoretical Overview of Political Settlements in Civil Wars

Theory	Hypothesis	Causal Variables
Costs of War	As the costs of the war rise, the willingness of combatants to negotiate a settlement increases. Therefore, the likelihood of a successful political settlement increases as costs of war rise.	duration of war
Balance of Power	Neither side possesses the ability to achieve enough military superiority on the battlefield to ensure victory. Successful political settlements emerge from military stalemates.	Military stalemate
Ethnic Identity	Civil wars fought over issues of ethnic identity produce intense conflicts where each side believes existential issues are at stake. Therefore, successful political settlements become more difficult when ethnicity factors in the conflict.	Ethnic divisions
Divisibility of Stakes/Spoilers	Successful political settlement hinge on the divisibility of the stakes. If the goals are perceived as indivisible, spoilers arise in the peace process to derail the settlement.	The type of goals sought by the combatants. The divisibility of the goals.
Credible Commitments	Successful political settlements require a third party to guarantee that commitments kept by both sides.	power-sharing arrangements Third-party security guarantee Strength of third-party commitment
Mutual Benefit/Mutual Harm	Success political settlements to civil wars require variables associated with negotiated settlements and military victories.	Security Sector Reform
Power Entrenchment Paramilitary Inclusion	Power entrenchment prohibits the successful implementation of political settlements. Successful political settlements require paramilitary inclusion as a necessary condition.	Paramilitary Inclusion

However, the evidence clearly demonstrates that the Unionists, not the Irish political parties or the IRA, represented the greatest obstacle to peace.

Zartman's balance of power theory relies on conditions between the combatants themselves, while ignoring causal mechanisms and variables (linked to history and policy) that play a role in negotiated settlements. The GFA peace process derived from new political realities tied to the AIA agreement. These realities went beyond military conditions on the ground. In conflicts like the one in Northern Ireland, military stalemate provides a level of certainty for some actors that proposed peace initiatives cannot. By raising the analytical lens to consider historical power relationships among the actors in a conflict, one may detect seismic shifts in such relationships. Substantial power shifts create new levels of uncertainty for actors engaged in a conflict. In the case of Northern Ireland, the "ripe moment" for peace arrived in a period of uncertainty for each side.

"Ethnic identity" and "divisibility of stakes" theories place an emphasis on what prevents combatants from striking a bargain. In *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Horowitz maintains that ethnic civil wars end only under unique circumstances, otherwise, "the whole structure of ethnic politics conspires to make the problem of conflict intractable."[25] Another proposed obstacle to a peaceful settlement focuses on the divisibility of the stakes fought over. One variant of this argument claims, "peace processes create spoilers."[26] Spoilers represent actors, either inside or outside the peace process, who vary

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[25] Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 566.

[26] John Stephen Stedman, "Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes," *International Security* 22.2 (autumn, 1997): 7.

in their commitment to achieving certain goals. In this typology, stakes and goals are synonymous. Therefore, a spoiler with a limited goal of sharing power is easier to manage than a total spoiler who seeks to obtain or maintain absolute power.

In my initial research, I investigated the logical correlative of Horowitz's hypothesis. If ethnic identity politics prevents negotiated settlements to civil war, then a change in identity – that is an alteration in how collective identity is constructed in the ethnic community – might enable political elites to enter into a peace process. Aside from the methodological concerns involved in operationalizing ethnic identity as a variable, my research encountered source material that quickly deflated the notion of ethnic identity change during the conflict in Northern Ireland. Although it is likely that both ethnic communities – Irish Nationalists and Unionists – experienced generational changes in beliefs and values, the primary political identities that supported a United Ireland, a power-sharing arrangement, or a return to a Unionist-dominated government did not change.

The consistency in political goals derives from the fact that many of the political actors in Northern Ireland remained actively engaged for the duration of the conflict. David Trimble, Gerry Adams, Ian Paisley, Martin McGuinnes, and John Hume among others all played key roles in their communities' politics from the 1970s through the late 1990s. Most of these men remain engaged with Northern Ireland politics today. In addition, throughout the conflict, both communities participated in actions of increasing returns regarding the construction of their identity. For example, the routing of the

Orange Parades remained an extremely contentious issue for both sides. Violence

surrounding the Orange parade in Drumcree occurred as late as 2002.

Moreover, the argument that ethnic identity, as a variable, determines the

trajectory of the conflict comes dangerously close to a primordialist argument. Power

entrenchment represents the main variable in my argument. Hegemonic political power

contains various socio-political mechanisms. Although the mechanisms used by elites

and the mass public to ensure the continuation of the power may include claims of

ethnicity, the tensions and conflict produced by these claims do not determine the

outcome of political settlements. In this regard, the testing of civil war types and

frequency of settlement does mark one contribution of the rational choice theorists. As

Walter states, "wars with strong ethnic underpinnings appear to be no more difficult to

resolve than those fought over nonidentity issues."[27]

Evidence in the Northern Ireland case does exist for the "spoiler" argument put

forth by Stedman. In both the Sunningdale Agreement and the AIA,[28] the Unionists took

the position of total spoilers – a group committed to maintain hegemonic power. In the

case of the Sunningdale Agreement, Unionist paramilitaries joined the Provisional IRA in

utilizing violence to demonstrate their opposition to the agreement. Regardless of IRA

activity in the wake of Sunningdale, the collapse of the power-sharing executive resulted

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[27] Barbara Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," *International Organization* 51.3 (Summer 1997): 356. Also: Roy Licklider, Where Do We Go from Here? in Roy E. Licklider, *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 304-306. And: Mason and Fett, 563.

[28] Strictly speaking, the AIA was not a peace agreement. Nevertheless, the AIA created institutions and mechanisms for diplomacy widely understood to be the sources for a settlement. Hence, following the AIA, the emergence of a spoiler strategy on the part of Unionists develops.

from the impact of the Ulster Worker's Council strike – supported by loyalist paramilitaries.

Although the "spoiler" typology suffices to explain why some agreements fail, the categorization does not explain why agreements succeed in ending violence. In my research, I narrowed Stedman's "spoiler" typology to identify groups that were excluded from the failed Sunningdale agreement and included in the GFA. In the case of Northern Ireland, paramilitary units, the ones most likely to use violence, civil disruption, or intimidation to oppose an agreement, represented the groups excluded from Sunningdale and included in the GFA. Once power entrenchment ceases to operate in favor of the Unionists, the inclusion of paramilitary groups in the peace process becomes the critical variable in the peace process.

Finally, the credible commitment theory emphasizes the ability of third parties to guarantee the terms of negotiated settlements. Walter isolates two causal variables for the outcomes of negotiated settlements to civil war. For successful negotiated settlements, she cites the intervention of an outside power to "guarantee the safety of the belligerents during the ensuing transition period."[29] For negotiations that fail to end the war, she cites the "credible commitment theory of civil resolution." In this theory, adversaries avoid negotiated settlements because of the perceived benefits of cheating and the costs of being cheated upon.[30] The credible commitments theory put forth by Walter contains two problems that my research seeks to correct. First, similar to the

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[29] Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," 341.

[30] Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," 360.

rational choice arguments, credible commitments focus on a "snapshot" in history that excludes antecedent social processes. Second, in terms of explaining how a civil war ends, credible commitments do not explain the necessary sequencing required for a civil war to end in a negotiated settlement.

Explaining the success of a settlement in terms of "credible commitments" erases the history that brought the actors to the negotiating table in the first place. In the Sunningdale Agreement, no third parties intervened. In the GFA peace process, the US special envoy to Northern Ireland, George Mitchell, did contribute to a successful agreement. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that Mitchell's mediation in the GFA peace process ensured a successful settlement. In the case of Northern Ireland, the credible commitments from third parties regarding demobilization and decommissioning did not play a critical role in the final settlement.

Toft's approach to civil war termination features a hybrid strategy of ensuring lasting peace.[31] By combing the best properties of a negotiated settlement with those that correspond to a military victory, the likelihood of a durable settlement increases. Toft's strategy for a durable settlement includes mutually beneficial provisions – development and reconstruction aid, and mutually harmful components – security sector reform (SSR). In Toft's argument, SSR represents the crucial variable in a successful settlement.

Of the theories focusing on the resolution process for variables that explain a successful settlement, Toft's SSR strongly corresponds to the case of Northern Ireland. Indeed, reform of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) was a major provision in the

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[31] Monica Duffy Toft, *Securing the Peace* (Princeton: forthcoming 2009).

GFA. Until the GFA, the Catholic community viewed the RUC as a sectarian organization that resembled a paramilitary unit more than a police force. The GFA established an independent commission for the reform of the RUC. The commission recommended, among other things, that the recruitment policy of the police force be set at 50% Protestant, 50% Catholic for 10 years. The GFA provision for reform of the police force of Northern Ireland led to the creation of an independent commission. The commission provided its findings and recommendations for police reform in the Patten Report. Both the provision in the GFA and the Patten report provide strong support for Toft's theory.

Toft's approach brings up the importance of timing and sequencing in civil war termination. In the case of Northern Ireland, my argument tracks a variable – power entrenchment – that precedes the beginning of the civil war. The presence or absence of power entrenchment affects the impact and the possibility of other variables. For example, my theory postulates that even if the Sunningdale agreement included SSR as a provision, the agreement would not have secured peace. As long as the Unionists retained their "veto" of any arrangement that threatened their power, no variable(s) associated solely with the resolution process would lead to peace. In addition, citing the inclusion of SSR in the GFA as the critical variable to an enduring peace would have removed the variable from its temporal context.

A better explanation for the success of GFA – and one that affirms Toft's argument and mine – reveals the following sequence: absence of power entrenchment, inclusion of paramilitaries in peace process, and SSR in the agreement. This sequence

aligns with Tilly's statement: "the temporal ordering of events or processes has a significant impact on outcomes."[32] Analyzing civil war termination utilizing variables that derive from historical processes and the resolution process raises the lens to consider the social world as a moving picture instead of a snapshot.

My research builds on the work of Ruane and Todd. Ruane and Todd first identified the properties of path dependence in the Northern Ireland conflict.[33] In refining their theory, my analysis specifies a causal mechanism, locates a critical juncture, and adds a causal variable overlooked in their narrative of the conflict. Drawing from the work of Ruane and Todd, my research utilizes the concepts of path dependence to explain the "historical cause" that precluded political settlement of the conflict in Northern Ireland.

My research differs from Ruane and Todd in three important ways. First, I identify a critical juncture – The Act of Settlement – in the seventeenth century that ensured the dominance of the Protestant Ascendancy. Second, my research confirms Ruane and Todd's conclusion that the Anglo-Irish Agreement had "potentially radical effects."[34] However, in contrast to Ruane and Todd's emphasis on geopolitical drivers for the Anglo-Irish agreement, my research focuses on the historical meaning of the agreement to the actors in Northern Ireland. Specifically, the decision by the British

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[32] Charles Tilly, *Large Big Structures Processes, Huge Comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1884), 14.

[33] Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd, "Path Dependence in Settlement Processes: Explaining Northern Settlement in Northern Ireland," *Political Studies* 55 (2007): 442-458.

[34] Ruane and Todd, 450.

government to work with the Irish state transformed the historical power relationships thereby forcing the Unionists and Republicans into a position once believed unthinkable.

Finally, a comparison of the two settlement processes reveals another important independent variable overlooked by Ruane and Todd. During the negotiations leading up to the GFA, the British government actively engaged paramilitary groups from both sides – a tactic not pursued during Sunningdale. In summary, the historical analysis of Northern Ireland describes events that, over three centuries, triggered a power disparity between Catholics and Protestants in Ulster. Subsequent events served to reinforce the sectarian divide in Ulster. The Anglo-Irish agreement severed the historical power relationships and created an opportunity for a negotiated settlement. In addition, the comparison of agreements reveals an important variable crucial to an enduring political settlement in ethnic civil wars – inclusion of paramilitaries in peace process.

Research Methods

My thesis seeks to satisfy the two criteria set forth by King and Verba for research in the social sciences.[35] First, the thesis poses a research question that is important in the real world. Although the incidence of interstate war since 1946 remains low, intrastate conflicts continue to plague the world. Understanding how civil wars end represents an important empirical question for political scientists, historians, and diplomats engaged in

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[35] Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sydney Verba, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 15.

ending the violence. Second, my research endeavors to contribute to the scholarly literature.

My research employs methods derived from comparative historical analysis. In particular, the following elements mark this study: a concern with causal analysis, an emphasis of processes over time, and the use of systematic and contextualized comparisons.[36] In advancing my own thesis, I compare the historical contexts that surrounded the 1974 Sunningdale Agreement and the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.

I model the case study on John Stuart Mill's method of difference to determine the presence or absence of causal variables that led to the success of the GFA.[37] The comparison of two virtually identical agreements with different outcomes ameliorates the problem of selection bias on the dependent variable associated with case studies. I am aware of the limitations of case studies for theory generation. This research is limited to a specific sub-type of civil wars – ethnic internal armed conflicts. This restriction assumes that civil wars fueled by ethnic cleavages contain causal mechanisms with longer historical trajectories.[38]

The second chapter outlines the theoretical framework of my argument. The third chapter describes the origins and contours of power entrenchment in Northern Ireland

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[36] James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6.

[37] John Stuart Mill, "Two Methods of Comparison" (1888) reprinted in Amitai Etzioni and Frederic L. Dubow, eds., *Comparative Perspectives: Theories and Methods* (Boston: Little Brown 1970), 205-13. See Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, "The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry" *Comparative Studies Society and History* 22.2 (Apr. 1980): 183-184.

[38] Note: This is not to imply that ethnic civil wars are more intractable than other types of internal wars.

beginning in the seventeenth century through the late 1980s. The fourth chapter describes the failure of the Sunningdale Agreement, the significance of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and the reasons for the success of the Good Friday Agreement. The final chapter includes a summary and concluding remarks.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

My research compares two political settlements implemented in Northern Ireland during the course of the civil war that took place between 1971 and 1998. The first, the Sunningdale Agreement,[39] implemented on 1 January 1974 failed to secure a lasting settlement to the conflict. The power-sharing executive set up under the agreement quickly unraveled in the face of fierce Unionist opposition and a strike organized by the United Worker's Council. The second political arrangement, known as the Good Friday Agreement (GFA),[40] was signed on 10 April 1998. Despite issues involving paramilitary disarmament and policing, the agreement succeeded in ending the violence. The complete withdrawal of British troops in July 2008 marked the end of the longest conflict in British history. The similarities between the agreements prompted Seamus Mallon, then deputy leader of the Social and Democratic Party, to call the GFA "Sunningdale for slow learners." Table 2 illustrates the similarities and differences between the agreements.

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[39] CAIN Web Service, "The Sunningdale Agreement, (December 1973), Tripartite agreement on the Council of Ireland – the communique issued following the Sunningdale Conference" (CAIN, 2008) http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/sunningdale/agreement.htm (accessed December 14, 2008).

[40] CAIN Web Service, "The Agreement, Agreement reached in the multi-party negotiations (10 April 1998)" (CAIN, 2008) http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/agreement.htm (accessed December 14, 2008).

My research seeks to explain why the Sunningdale Agreement failed to secure

peace while the Good Friday Agreement succeeded in ending the violence. My

hypothesis identifies a causal mechanism – power entrenchment – in the history of

Table 2

Sunningdale and Belfast (Good Friday Agreement) Compared

	Sunningdale Agreement	Belfast Agreement
Signatories	UK, RoI, UUP, SDLP APNI	UK, RoI, PUP, NIWC L, APNI, SF, SDLP
Consent principle	X	X
Self-determination	O	X
Reform of the policing system	X	X
Prisoners	X	X
Bill of Rights	X	X
Abandonment of violence	X	X
Security co-operation	X	X
Recognition of both identities	O	X
Intergovernmental cooperation	X	X
Institutional role for the RoI	X	X
Power-Sharing	(X)	X
Inter-island co-operation	O	X
Devolution of powers	X	X

Notes: X-issue addressed; (X)-issue implicitly addressed; O-issue not addressed
UK-United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, RoI-Republic of Ireland,
UUP-Ulster Unionist Part, UDP-Ulster Democratic Party, PUP-Progressive Unionist
Partry, NIWC-Northern Ireland Women's Coalition, L-Labour, APNI-Alliance Party of
Northern Ireland, SF-Sinn Fein, SDLP-Social Democratic and labour Party[41]

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[41] Rick Wilford, ed. *Aspects of the Belfast Agreement* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 13.

Northern Ireland that fueled social cleavages and precluded political settlement during the "troubles." The failure of the Sunningdale Agreement resulted from the historical power relationships between the political parties in Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the Republic of Ireland. Specifically, the presence of the Unionist "veto" of any political arrangement that threatened their power doomed the Sunningdale Agreement.

The signing of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement between Great Britain and The Republic of Ireland severed the historical power relationships between the active parties to the conflict. The new power relationship between Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland represents a variable not present during the implementation of the Sunningdale Agreement. More importantly, the institutional realities of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in Northern Ireland represented the greatest threat to Unionists since partition. Indeed, when Margaret Thatcher and Garret Fitzgerald signed the agreement, the attribute that made it so historic was the British recognition of an Irish dimension in Northern Ireland. Table 3 depicts the theoretical framework of my argument.

Table 3

Causal Variables and Political Settlements in Northern Ireland

Paramilitary Inclusion?

		Yes	No
		Yes	No
Power Entrenchment?	Yes		Sunningdale Agreement
	No	Good Friday Agreement	

My argument is primarily about historical power entrenchment in Northern Ireland. The next section depicts a polity where the minority population, Irish Catholics, did not participate in government for nearly three centuries. From the Cromwellian settlement through the Anglo-Irish civil war, the Protestant Ascendancy maintained power in Ulster. When partition occurred in 1921, the Unionists devised various illiberal methods to exclude Irish Catholics from political and economic life. Through the entire period of Protestant rule, the British government explicitly and implicitly supported the Unionists. However, the "Troubles" in the North in the early 1970s soon became a source of international embarrassment for the British. The British decided that the "Unionist veto" was no longer acceptable. In 1985, through the AIA, the British formerly ended Unionist rule in the North.

Ending the Unionist veto changed the context of the relationship for all parties. The power re-alignment also enabled communication with paramilitary groups. Prior to the AIA, Unionists refused to sit at the negotiating table with Sinn Fein – the political

arm of the IRA. In the years following the AIA, the British began to circumvent Unionist approval. Over time, the overtures to the Sinn Fein and the IRA began to be met with a positive response. In 1993, Prime Minister John Major took the first such step when he announced that the response of the British government to a cessation of IRA violence would be "bold and imaginative." The threat of violence in the wake of any political settlement would severely diminish any chance of success. The British had learned a hard lesson from the Ulster Workers Council (UWC) strike in 1974. Any final settlement required paramilitary consultation. The potential for a split within the paramilitary groups was also feared. With these considerations, communication with loyalist and republican paramilitary leaders was established. Their inclusion in the peace process was crucial to the success of the GFA.

The identification of causality in the social sciences ignites many debates. In order to clarify the intent of my research, I intend to offer a causal explanation of why two nearly identical political settlements produced different outcomes. The outcomes of the Sunningdale and the Good Friday agreements represent the dependent variable. Both the Sunningdale and Good Friday Agreements were signed political settlements to end the civil war in Northern Ireland. The Sunningdale Agreement failed to end the violence, whereas the Good Friday Agreement succeeded in ending the war. A successful outcome to a political settlement restores political order. The independent variables include a causal mechanism – power entrenchment – and a causal variable – inclusion of paramilitary groups in peace process.

In my research, properties associated with path dependence mark the distinction between a causal mechanism and a causal variable. These properties include critical junctures in history and increasing returns. Power entrenchment represents a series of socio-political processes that emerged from a critical juncture in the history of Northern Ireland. In the aftermath of the critical juncture, the continuous reinforcement of power entrenchment over time derives from a collection of events, illiberal practices, and social processes. In terms of explaining political power arrangements, increasing returns demonstrate that the probability of further steps along a specific institutional path increase with each move down the path.

Unionist power entrenchment emerges in the aftermath of the critical juncture in the historical development of Northern Ireland – the Cromwellian settlement. Subsequent events and socio-political processes "locked in" the arrangement of power in Northern Ireland. In assessing the impact of power entrenchment on the agreements, the presence of the causal mechanism and the absence of the causal variable prevented the Sunningdale agreement from succeeding. In contrast, the absence of the causal mechanism and the presence of the causal variable led to a successful GFA.[42]

I am aware of the need to demonstrate internal consistency when employing causal mechanisms.[43] In this regard, I attempt to trace the historical origins of power entrenchment by focusing on social, economic, and political processes and event. In terms of meeting the requirements for estimating causal effects, I submit that my research

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[42] For more on path dependence and political outcomes, see: Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review* 94.2 (2000): 251-267.

[43] King and Verba, 86.

design meets the criteria for unit homogeneity (similarity of the political settlements

across time and space) and conditional independence.[44]

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[44] King and Verba, 91-97.

Chapter III

Power Entrenchment in Northern Ireland

This section provides a historical narrative of the emergence of the power entrenchment in Northern Ireland. At the outset of this section, the term "historical" requires clarification. My research goes beyond citing "historical causes" in explaining the failure and success of two political settlements. In this section, I employ analytical concepts derived from political science in order to understand why the history of Northern Ireland matters. The causes of the conflict from 1971 to 1998 were modern, not archaic. However, the power relationships between the central actors in the conflict contained long temporal trajectories.

The problem of order, both internal and external, constitutes the primary task for political actors engaged in governing a polity. Internal order refers to the domestic tranquility necessary for a state to project legitimate authority in a given territory. Civil wars represent a breakdown of internal order that require states to reassert their right to monopolize violence in a given territory. Since the end of the World War II, 127 internal armed conflicts have been active throughout the world (see figure 1).[45]

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[45] Uppsala Conflict Data Program, UCDP Database: www.ucdp.uu.se/database, Uppsala University, Department of Peace and Conflict Research (accessed May 11, 2008).

Figure 1
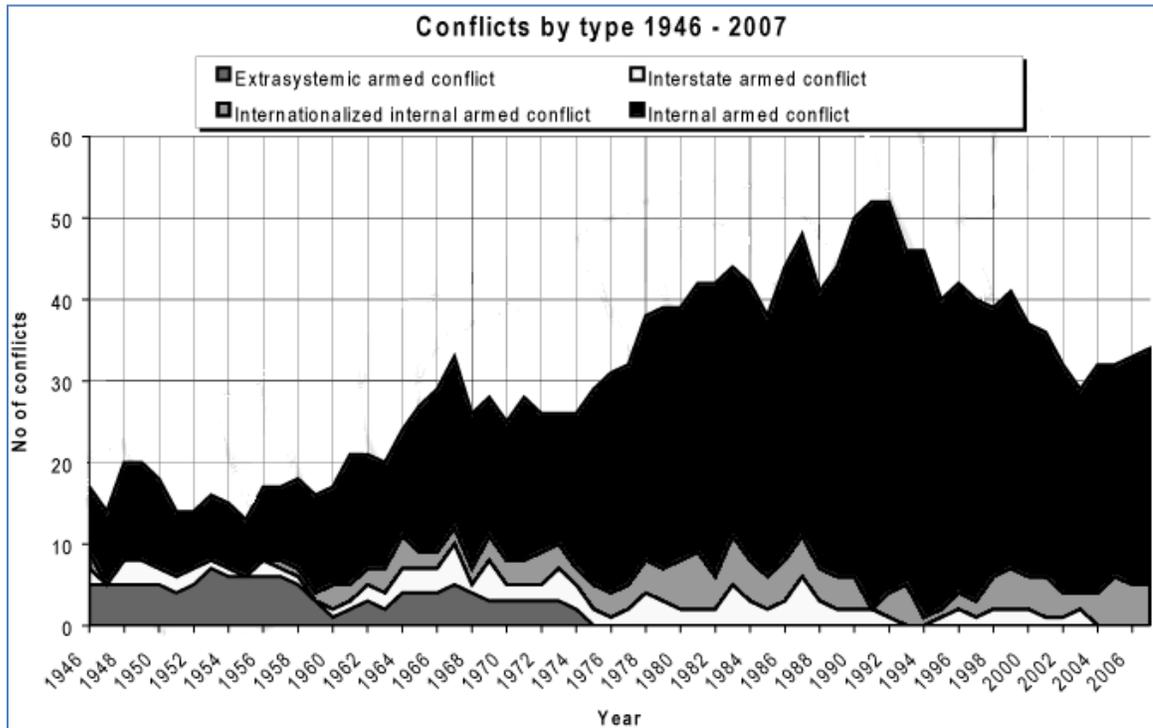
Source: Uppsala Conflict Data Program, "Conflicts by Type 1946-2007,"
http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/graphs/type_year.gif

From 1971 through 1998, one of the seemingly most intractable of these conflicts took

place in Northern Ireland. This chapter describes the origins of power entrenchment in

Northern Ireland. The practice of power entrenchment includes arranging the political,

social, and economic spheres of a polity in favor of one group.

The political, social, and economic divisions in Northern Ireland (Ulster)[46] began

to take shape in the early seventeenth century. The Tudor conquest of Ireland that

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[46] Note: The original six counties of Ulster include: Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone. Today Northern Ireland is comprised of the following counties: Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Derry, and Tyrone. Modern Ulster contains nine counties, three of which belong to the Republic of Ireland: Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan.

spanned most of the sixteenth century constituted a success for the English with one

important exception – Ulster. In 1595 Hugh O'Neill, a lord of Ulster, ignited a war with

the English in an effort to preserve the sovereignty of Ireland. The battle of Kinsale in

1601 formerly ended this phase of Irish resistance to English rule. In the aftermath of the

battle, the English developed a policy of colonization for Ulster to ensure loyalty to the

crown. Catholic properties were confiscated for Protestant settlers thereby removing

from Catholic possession the most important source for wealth and power – land. In

addition to dispossession of land and colonization, the English maintained military

garrisons throughout Ulster to prevent further rebellion.

After the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, the Stuart monarchy sought

permanent means of controlling the Irish. The decisive defeat of the Irish at the battle of

Kinsale represents a significant moment in the political development of Ulster. The

mechanism that gave rise to power entrenchment emerged in the aftermath of the battle.

The Gaelic Earls facilitated English strategy by boarding boats and fleeing to Spain in

1607 – the infamous "Flight of the Earls." The absence of the Gaelic aristocracy

presented the English with an opportunity to secure political control over Ireland. Lord

Deputy Sir Arthur Chichester, the crown official who governed Ireland from 1604 to

1616, wrote the following to King James I following the flight of the Earls:

> If His Majesty will, during their absence, assume the countries into his
> possession, divide the lands amongst the inhabitants…and will bestow the rest
> upon servitors and men of worth here, and withal bring in colonies of civil people
> of England and Scotland…the country will ever after be happily settled.[47]

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[47] Charles William Russell and John P. Prendergast, eds.*Calendar of the State Papers, Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I. 1603-1625* (Public Record Office, Great Britain. London: Longman, 1872), 2:276.

Although Chichester's statement did serve to encourage the Crown to confiscate Irish lands for the purpose of plantation, it would be misleading to cite the settling of Protestant English and Scottish settlers in Ulster as the critical juncture that triggered the power entrenchment over the next three centuries. Beyond "plantation" of Protestant settlers loyal to the Crown, contingent events and English policies served as increasing returns that fueled the political and social arrangement in Ulster.

The Ulster rising in 1641 begun by the Catholic gentry depended upon the cooperation of the Gaelic peasantry. The Gaelic lords sought to limit the amount of bloodshed. However, within two weeks the gentry had lost control of the situation. The privations of the peasants coupled with rumors of an impending massacre by Protestants ignited a nationwide attack on the settlers. In the event, thousands perished as both sides committed atrocities. In 1642, the English civil war began and Ireland experienced several years of turmoil and political uncertainty. Following the end of the English Civil War in 1649, Oliver Cromwell invaded Ireland in order to deal with the Irish Catholics who had taken the opportunity to revolt against England. During this period, it is important to understand the impact of the war on Ireland combined with famine, plague, and the effects of Cromwell's campaign that culminated in the Act for the Settlement of Ireland (1652). The population of Ireland before the Ulster rising of 1641 is estimated between 1.5 and 2 million.[48] William Petty, a surveyor in Ireland during this period, estimates that between 1641 and 1652 the population in Ireland declined from 1.4 million

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[48] James Scott Wheeler, *Cromwell in Ireland* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 225.

to 850,000. In other words, in a span of 11 years, Ireland experienced a population drop of 42 percent or 616,000 people. The factors that contributed to this decline during this period include war, famine, plague, and the transportation of Catholic soldiers and civilians to the armies of France and Spain.[49] Cromwell's campaign in Ireland included both military conquest and further displacement of Catholic landowners from their properties. The effect of Cromwell's actions was the creation of a Protestant aristocracy to rule the Irish-Catholic population. The key legislative action resulting from Cromwell's conquest was the Act for the Settlement of Ireland. The Act emerged as an idea to compensate the 34,128 English soldiers that remained Ireland at the end of the conflict. The idea that the soldiers would settle on the land was a unique tactic meant to keep the Catholic population in check. Prior to the English civil war, Catholic landowners in Ireland owned approximately 60 percent of the land.

By 1688, Catholics owned approximately 22 percent of the land in Ireland. As Bardon explains: "The Gaelic aristocracy, already shattered by the Ulster plantation, was all but wiped out and the foundations of the Protestant Ascendancy had been laid."[50] The effects of Cromwell's policies on Ireland in general, and Ulster in particular, greatly enhanced the emergence of power entrenchment in Ulster (see figure 2). By 1688, Catholics owned less than 4 percent of the counties in Ulster. The Act for the Settlement of Ireland represents the critical juncture that shaped political development of Ulster from the seventeenth through the twentieth century.

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[49] Wheeler, 225-227.

[50] Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster* (Northern Ireland: Blackstaff Press, 1992), 142

Figure 2

Effect of Cromwell on Land Ownership in Ireland

☐	0-24% Catholic
☐	25-49% Catholic
■	50-100% Catholic

1641

1703
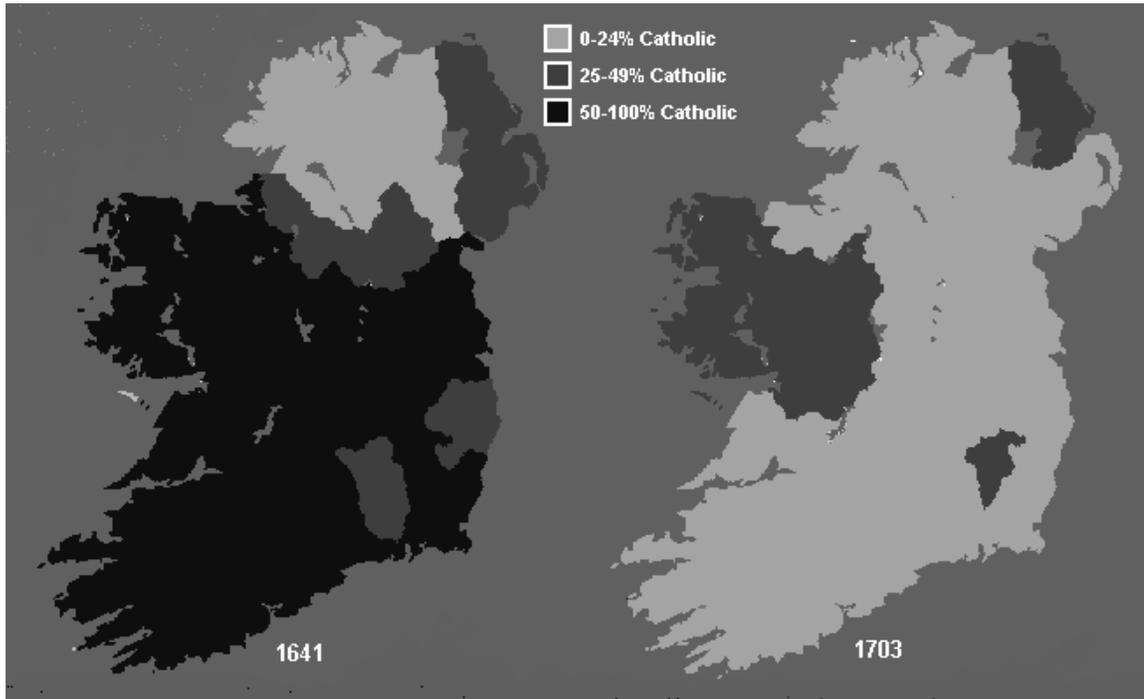
Source: The Ireland Story, "Cromwell in Ireland"
http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/maps/historical/mapcromw.gif

The Act initiated the mechanisms of power entrenchment in Ulster that remained in place

until the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement. Specific civil and social processes, including

laws, land confiscations, organizations, parades, and electoral designs formed and

developed during the period under analysis. Beginning with the Cromwellian settlement,

the processes that supported Unionist power entrenchment began to develop.   At this

stage of the analysis, it is necessary to understand why the Cromwellian settlement

corresponds with a critical juncture. The Act for the Settlement of Ireland (the

Cromwellian settlement) displays the two important characteristics that correspond to

critical junctures in history – the adoption of a specific institutional arrangement from two or more alternatives and contingency.[51] First, the outcome of the Act produced an institutional arrangement that favored the Protestant settlers in Ulster. The displacement of Catholics from their land ensured that political power remained in the hands of the Protestants for years to come. Second, although the English government decided as early as 1642 to confiscate Irish land as a means to fund the military expedition to Ireland, implementation of the settlement depended on the outcome of the Irish rebellion and the English civil war that followed. In this way, the Cromwellian settlement was a contingent event.

Beyond bringing Europe's geopolitical problems into Ireland, the ascension of James II, a Catholic, in 1685 greatly alarmed the Ulster Protestants. These fears appeared justified when James II began to appoint Catholics to leadership positions in Ireland. After alienating parliament, James II fled to France in late 1688. In March 1689, James II invaded Ireland with a French army. At the request of the English nobility, and in order to save the Dutch Republic from French domination, William of Orange invaded Ireland in 1690. During William's engagements in Ireland, two battles took place, at the Boyne and Aughrim that ensured the hegemony of the Protestant settlers over the Irish Catholics. In addition, from these two Protestant victories (fused into one Protestant celebration known as the "The Twelfth") the practice of parading developed in the eighteenth century as means to express the historical image of the "Protestant Ascendancy" in Ulster.

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[51] Mahoney, "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology," 513.

In the immediate aftermath of the Williamite victory, the confiscation of Catholic property by Protestants began anew and the enactment of penal laws directed at Catholic men of property codified the oppression of Catholics throughout Ireland. Beginning in 1695, Catholics in Ireland could not: bear arms, educate their children, own a horse above £5 in value, buy land, vote, or work in public office, the army, and the legal profession. Nor could Catholics be members of parliament, municipal corporations, or sit on grand juries.[52] Edmund Burke championed the removal of the penal throughout his career. Burke wrote: "I think I can hardly overrate the malignity of the principles of Protestant ascendancy as they affect Ireland…."[53] Burke described the penal laws as "well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."[54] Over the next 100 years, groups formed in Ireland that sought to reform the political relationship with England and undo the penal laws. In 1782, Britain granted the Irish parliament the ability to make its own laws, but Catholic emancipation remained elusive. The confiscation of property and penal laws represent provide evidence of increasing returns aimed at reinforcing the path set in the wake of Cromwell's decisive campaign. In 1795, Lord Fitzwilliam and Henry Grattan sought to remove the last of the penal laws,

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[52] Bardon, 169.

[53] Edmund Burke, "A Second Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, 26 May 1795," in *Edmund Burke on Irish Affairs,* ed. Regina Janes (Bethesda: Academica Press, 2004), 363.

[54] Edmund Burke, "A Letter to Sir H. Langrishe, Bat., M.P., on the Subject of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and the Propriety of Admitting them to the Elective Franchise, Consistently with the Principles of the Constitution as Established at the Revolution, 1792," in *Edmund Burke on Irish Affairs,* 306.

those that prevented Catholics from sitting in the Irish parliament. Their efforts failed. William Pitts' government, initially receptive to the reform, decided to support the Protestant ascendancy. Bardon believes Pitt's decision to reject the bill is "one of the most fateful moments in Irish history."[55] Pitt's decision represents an example of England's support for the Protestants in Ulster that would continue with little deviation until the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985.

The emergence of sectarian organizations in Ulster represents nodes of increasing returns that reinforced the power symmetries in Ulster. The first significant organization, the Orange Order, formed in reaction to sectarian violence that erupted in the late eighteenth century. Through an increase in industry and population, Ulster enjoyed a peaceful start to the century. However, revolution in America and France combined with an economic downturn in 1780s stoked political and social unrest. The toxic mix of events ignited sectarian violence in Ulster to a level not seen in a hundred years. The Orange Order, a defensive association of lodges, pledged to "defend the King and his heirs so long as he or they support the Protestant Ascendancy."[56]

The Irish rebellion of 1798, brought into being by Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen, sought to "unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denomination of Protestant, Catholics, and dissenter."[57] Tone's egalitarian aims did not take hold when

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[55] Bardon, 222.

[56] Bardon, 226.

[57] Wolfe Theobald Tone, *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Written* (London: H. Colburn, 1827), 64.

the insurrection reached Ulster. The initial uprising in Antrim and Down contained atrocities perpetrated against the Protestants. In the remaining counties, the Orange Order ferociously attacked the Catholic population – while the government armed Protestants – ensuring that whatever happened in the rest of the island, denominational differences would remain politically imbalanced in Ulster.

The nineteenth century brought increased prosperity to Ulster and an influx of people from the countryside into the urban center due, in large part, to the success of the linen industry. For the first half of the century Ulster experienced peace. However, by mid-century, Bardon reports: "steady growth of national feeling amongst Catholics…reawakened Protestant fears."[58] On July 12, 1849, the Orange Order decided to parade through (commemorating the Williamite victories) the townland of Magheramayo – inhabited almost exclusively by Catholics. Marchers opened fire killing at least thirty Catholics. No Orangemen were wounded. The government responded by conducting an inquiry and enacting the Party Processions Act.   The sectarian violence associated with the Orange parades in Ulster date back to the nineteenth century. According to Jarman, parade violence began to increase beginning in 1818.[59] Understanding the link between parading in Ulster and power entrenchment is important. For Protestants and Catholics, parading "rapidly became sedimented as the popular expression of cultural identity and difference."[60] In a calm political climate, parades

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[58] Bardon, 307.

[59] Neil Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (New York: Berg, 1997), 53.

[60] Jarman, 56.

marked territory and displayed ethnic identities within the group and to the opposing group. In times of political turmoil, parades served as an outlet for grievances. Jarman states: "parades were local expressions of power and dominance, assertions which needed constant reaffirmation, and the threat of violence remained as constant undercurrent, even if it was not always realized."[61] From the eighteenth century through the twentieth, loyalist parades served as increasing returns that reinforced and symbolized the political arrangement of Northern Ireland. On July 12, 1857, Reverend Thomas Drew of Christ Church in Belfast included the following invectives towards Catholics in his sermon:

> The cells of the Pope's prisons were paved with the calcined bones of men and cemented with human gore and human hair….The Word of God makes all plain; puts to eternal shame the practices of persecutors, and stigmatises with enduring reprobation the arrogant pretences of Popes and the outrageous dogmata of their blood-stained religion.[62]

These words combined with the Orange Order parades led to ten days of rioting in Belfast. The second half of the nineteenth century marked the beginning of a new wave of sectarian violence where battles raged between the Protestant and Catholic enclaves of the city. Riots flared again in Belfast in 1864, 1872, and 1886. According to Bardon, these riots resulted in more deaths than all the nationalist uprisings of the nineteenth century combined.[63] In addition, Bardon provides evidence for an imbalanced power structure that favored Protestants at the end of the nineteenth century: "The 1887 report on the Belfast riots of the previous year seemed to confirm the fear of oppression of

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[61] Jarman, 57.

[62] Andrew Boyd, *Holy War in Belfast* (Tralee: Anvil Books, 1969), 12.

[63] Bardon, 306.

Catholics in a separately ruled Ulster: Catholics had received most of the compensation for property destroyed….and of eighty-nine men employed by the Belfast Corporation only two were Catholics, and they were in low paid positions."[64]   Moreover, the Protestants dominated the economic life of Northern Ireland. Protestants owned most of the land and all but a small proportion of the small businesses. Most of the better-paid skilled workers were Protestant. Under these political and social arrangements, Protestants feared the proposed Home Rule Bills proposed in Westminster. Besides the political ramifications, a Dublin parliament controlling the affairs of the Ireland might upset the privileged position of the Protestant workforce. This description of increasing returns supporting an imbalanced power relationship generates another question in ethnic civil wars. What explains the ideological continuity of animosity between these two ethnic groups over such a substantial period? The answer links recent work in cognitive science with the study of political culture. The ideology of the Protestant population, that originated with the inception of power entrenchment in Ulster, represented a "shared framework of mental models" that provided Protestants with "an interpretation of the environment and a prescription as to how that environment should be structured."[65] In turn, the Irish Catholic community of Northern Ireland cultivated a narrative with opposing views regarding the political structure of the contested territory.

I argue that the "mental models" active within the Protestant community, the ideology of Unionism, served to confirm negative information about Irish Catholics and

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[64] Bardon, 403.

[65] Arthur T. Denzau and Douglass C. North, "Shared Mental Models: Ideologies and Institutions" *Kyklos* 47 (1994): 4.

disconfirm information that appeared to threaten the prevailing power structures. Denzau and North state these "systems of mental models exhibit path-dependence such that *history matters*, and…suboptimal performance (imbalanced power structure) can persist for *substantial periods of time*"[66] (italics added). The notion of "shared mental models" is not analogous to a primordial or "ancient hatreds" explanation of ethnic conflict.

Other scholars support the idea that history played a significant role in the actions of Unionists. Cochrane notes:

> The Ulster loyalist tradition…is firmly rooted in their Presbyterian ancestry, and the ideals and values which permeate radical loyalist behavior are heavily influenced by this historical legacy. The environmental circumstances of the Presbyterian settler community left an indelible stamp on their collective psyche which has influenced their subsequent activity.[67]

The increasing returns of Unionist ethnic identity, represented by the events, laws, institutions, and political arrangements, provided the raison d'tere for the continuation of Unionist power. McGarry and O'Leary confirm the path dependent nature of Unionism: "there has been a persistent Ulster 'loyalist' tradition"[68] that reinforces their imagined community.

Again, the argument for "shared mental models" does not equate with a view that Unionism represents a monolithic ideology or a homogenous unit where values and interests remain constant and identical. Both Unionism and loyalism represent complex,

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[66] Denzau and North, 27.

[67] Feargal Cochrane, *Unionist Politics and the Politics of Unionism since the Anglo-Irish Agreement* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 38.

[68] John McGary and Brendan O'Leary, *Explaining Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Blackwell Publsihers, 1995), 111-112.

multi-layered identities that changed considerably over the centuries. However, the one constant element of the Loyalist/Unionist identity corresponds to their historic link with Britain and the political power it yields. Nigel Dodds, DUP chief whip, expressed his view of Unionism in these terms:

> Well, the general principle of Unionism, I suppose, is the maintenance of Union with Britain. My view is that at the end of the day, we have got to preserve a British way of life in Northern Ireland. That means seeking at all times to preserve the Union, but if we are forced out of the Union or the Union becomes untenable, then we must preserve that by looking as some form of independence, but certainly not being absorbed by the Irish Republic.[69]

Cochrane provides this analysis of Dodds' statement: "The subtext of this rhetoric is that unionists have a strategic political allegiance to Britain for so long as it guarantees the existing Protestant hegemony." From the time of the Cromwellian settlement until the AIA, the calculus of Loyalist/Unionist behavior rested on the assumption that Britain explicitly or implicitly supported their rule in Northern Ireland. In short, if one peels away the Unionist argument for the link with Britain – one finds a determination to retain power.

In 1916, the Easter Rising ended in failure for the Irish. However, the methods employed by the British after the Easter Rising ensured that the revolutionary spirit would remain a salient feature of Irish society for the next several years. Executions, martial law, and the continued threat of conscription for Britain's involvement in the First World War all served to increase the stature of Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Brotherhood. The former committed to passive resistance to British rule, while the latter

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[69] Cochrane, Interview with Nigel Dodds, Dec. 2, 1991, 44.

sought to use force to establish an Irish republic. When Sinn Fein won 73 seats in the

December 1918 election, the stage was set for a violent confrontation.[70]

The Anglo-Irish war (1919-1921) ended with a treaty that split the Irish and

ignited a civil war. Prior to the treaty itself, Britain had passed the Government of

Ireland Act in 1920. By 1923, the pro-treaty forces in Ireland won the civil war and

ratified the Government of Ireland Act that partitioned Ireland into North and South. The

institutionalized sectarianism of Ulster/Northern Ireland that emerged after Cromwell's

settlement continued with the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. The uncertainty that the

Act brought for the North ushered in a new period of intense sectarian violence. By

1922, the two communities in Belfast were essentially at war. "Isolated Catholic and

Protestant families were particularly vulnerable and intimidation, house-burning, rioting,

and assassination drew the lines between the two communities in the city more tautly

than ever."[71]

O'Leary and McGarry identify seven mechanisms of control utilized by Unionists

to maintain power over the Catholic minority: territorial, constitutional, electoral,

coercive, legal, economic, and administrative. I will utilize these categories to

demonstrate the corresponding mechanisms of power entrenchment employed by the

Unionists. The territorial partition of Northern Ireland contributed to the control that

Unionists could exercise over the Catholic minority. The borders of the six counties

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[70] T.W Moody F.X. Martin, Dermot Keogh and Radio Telefis Eireann, *The Course of Irish History* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2001), 256-57.

[71] Bardon, 488.

"guaranteed an in-built Protestant majority"[72] for the foreseeable future.

With the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, the British government provided the Unionist community with constitutional control over Northern Ireland. The Act itself legitimized the entrenchment of power by the Unionists. It is likely that the framers of the Act believed that politics in Northern Ireland would take the form of Westminster. In other words, executive power would alternate between competing parties over the course of time. However, during the existence of Stormont (1921-1972) all Prime Ministers and all members of the cabinet were members of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP). Between 1920 and 1969, there were only four Prime Ministers of Northern Ireland, and from 1920 to 1940, no major changes to the Cabinet were made.[73] Of the 149 UUP MP's elected to the Northern Ireland parliament, 139 were members of the Orange Order.

In the early 1920s, amidst the turmoil of civil war, the Unionists in the North took steps to ensure electoral control of the North. Beyond the manipulation of the electoral boundaries and the reorganization of local government, the abolition of proportional representation (1929) assured elections favorable to Unionist politicians. As O'Leary and McGarry note: "whereas Unionists represented at most 66 percent of the population in the later 1920s they controlled 85 per cent of all local authorities."[74] The Catholics supported Nationalist candidates in the rural areas and Republican or Labour candidates

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[72] Brendan O'Leary & John McGarry, *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland* (London and Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone Press, 1996): 111.

[73] O'Leary and McGarry, *The Politics of Antagonism*, 107-134.

[74] O'Leary and McGarry, *The Politics of Antagonism*, 120.

from Belfast. These parties formed a permanent minority that only passed one piece of legislation (Wild Birds Protection Act (N.I) 1931). Although not classified as a state in his classic work on party systems, Sartori notes: "Northern Ireland would qualify as a predominant polity: For the Unionists have won every election from the first one in 1921 to the one in 1969."[75] Rose captured the notion of how electoral control of the polity represents increasing returns of power for the Unionists. Writing in 1971, he stated: "Northern Ireland is a society in which party loyalties reinforce discord rather than allegiance to the regime….Insofar as the Constitution is the major issue, reflecting and reinforcing religions differences, there is no motive for voters to change their party allegiances at election time."[76]

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[75] Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 201.

[76] Richard Rose, *Governing without Consensus: An Irish Perspective* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), 219. Note: Roses' claim that party allegiance reinforced "religious differences" is not completely accurate. The constitutional issue involved a national question – Do you want to be a part of the United Kingdom or the Republic or Ireland? Therefore, electoral outcomes were really reinforcing the ethno-national identities of the two communities.

Figure 3

Northern Ireland Parliamentary Election Results

1921-1969
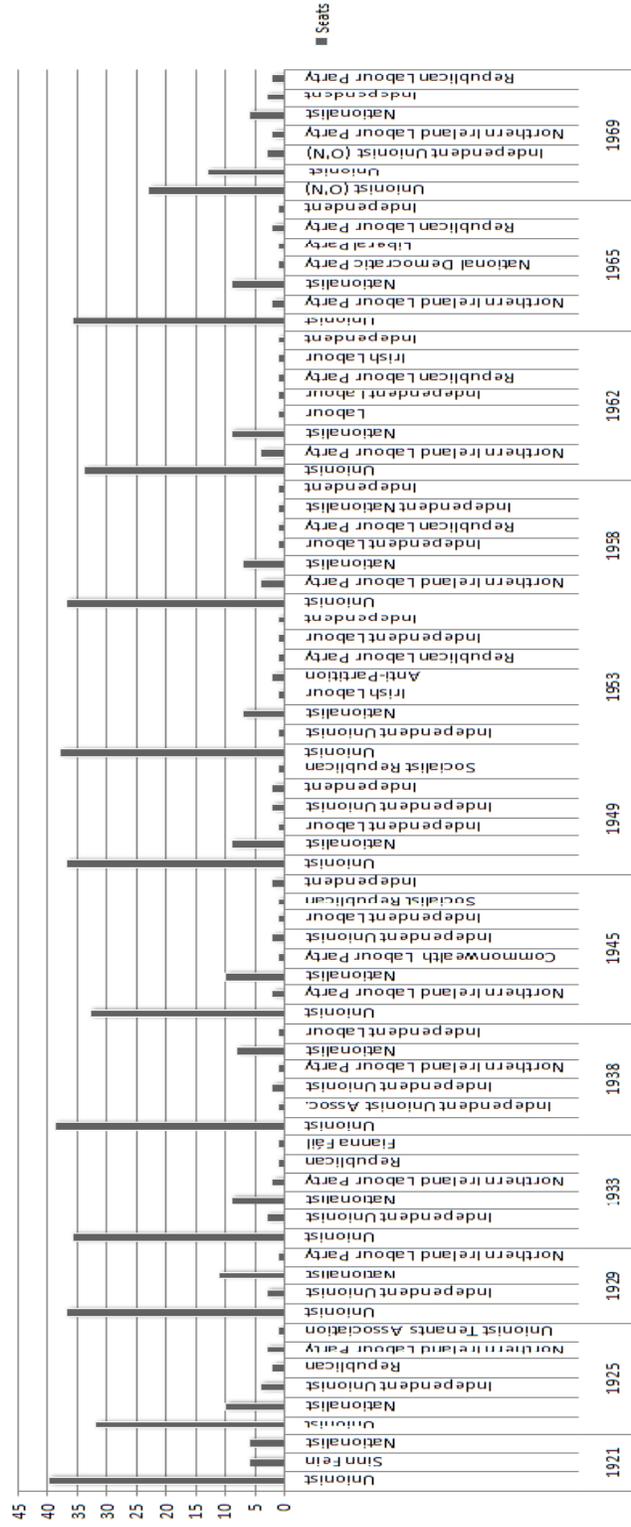
Source: United Kingdom Election Results, David Boothroyd, "Northern Ireland House of Commons Election Results," http://www.election.demon.co.uk/stormont/stormont.html.

The right of states and polities to retain a monopoly on the use of physical force represents a public concession for the establishment of political order. However, when the police force is ethnically imbalanced, law enforcement takes the form of coercive control. The police force established in Northern Ireland, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, was made up of mostly Protestants (only a tenth of the force were Catholic in the late 1960s). In addition, the RUC developed institutional affiliations with Orange lodges. The ethnic composition of the force combined with links to the Orange Order served to confirm Catholic suspicions that the RUC only sought to protect and serve the Protestant community. The evidence that coercive control, employed by the RUC, served to aggravate sectarian divisions is convincing (see table 4). The table captures attitudes toward policing as represented by the Protestant and Catholic communities. The data derive from surveys done in the 1990s. Given the obvious disparities between these groups in the 1990s, it is plausible that the differences were much greater when the conflict began in 1971. Based on my research, these surveys represent the first time attitudes toward counterinsurgency policing were measured.

The links between politicians, police and the Orange Order demonstrate the important role that history plays in the Northern Ireland case. The "imagined community" constructed by the Protestants in Northern Ireland contained the national narrative that the Orange Order, from its inception, sought to preserve. At the moment of partition in 1921, the active members of the Orange Order established themselves in politics and policing. Their worldview, threatened by the new parliament in Dublin, needed to find a means to survive the liberal trends in the south.

Table 4

Attitudes toward Counterinsurgency Policing

	Protestants	Catholics
Confidence in RUC's ability to provide ordinary policing (1996)		
Total or lot of confidence	61	23
Some confidence	30	36
Little or no confidence	9	40
Police do a bad job in controlling sectarian crime (1990)	12	40
Vehicle checkpoints are used too much (1990)	8	40
Random searches of pedestrians are used too much (1990)	3	41
All parades and demonstrations should be banned for a time (1996)	29	74
Persons who kill police officers should get the death penalty (1990)	76	19
Police Treat Protestants better	12	55

Sources: 1990 poll (N=324 Catholics, 436 Protestants): Social Attitudes Survey; 1996 poll: Northern Ireland Omnibus Survey.[77]

The Special Powers Act of 1922 best exemplifies legislation, enacted by Unionists, to control the Catholic population.[78] O'Leary and McGarry refer to this act as "one of the most draconian pieces of legislation ever passed in a liberal democracy."[79] The extraordinary powers provided by the provisions of the act included: warrantless arrest,

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[77] Sources: Social Attitudes Survey, 1990. Northern Ireland Omnibus Survey, 1996.

[78] Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act (Northern Ireland), 1922. http://www.cain.ulst.ac.uk/hmso/spa1922.htm (accessed December 7, 2008).

[79] O'Leary and McGarry, *The Politics of Antagonism*, 127

curfews, prohibition of inquests, internment without trial, and the control of non-violent forms of political opposition. As Donohue notes, these powers were used "almost exclusively on the minority population."[80] In the Special Powers Act, we find the legal control used against the Catholics as a means to demonstrate Unionist power.

The economic and administrative control exercised by the Unionists took the form of discrimination in both public and private industry. The evidence of discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland is well documented. Basil Brooke, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland (1943-1963), once proclaimed: "I recommend those people who are Loyalists not to employ Roman Catholics, 99 per cent of whom are disloyal; I want you to remember one point in regard to employment of people who are disloyal….You are disenfranchising yourselves in that way."[81] Brooke's position, like other views about Catholics, contributed to the "shared mental models" that supported a subordinate position for Catholics. Evidence that Brooke's appeal coalesced into a social principle is presented in unemployment statistics prior to the outbreak of major hostilities. Figures 4 and 5 capture the disproportionate unemployment figures between the two ethnic communities. The evidence demonstrates that the entrenched power of the Unionist community directly affected the income earning potential of the Catholic community.

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[80] Laura K. Dohonue, "Northern Ireland: The Special Powers Acts, 1922-1972," *Historical Journal* 41.4 (1998): 1090.

[81] Londonderry Sentinel, 20 March 1934. Quoted in O'Leary and McGarry, *The Politics of Antagonism*, 129.

Figure 4

## % Unemployment in Northern Ireland 1971
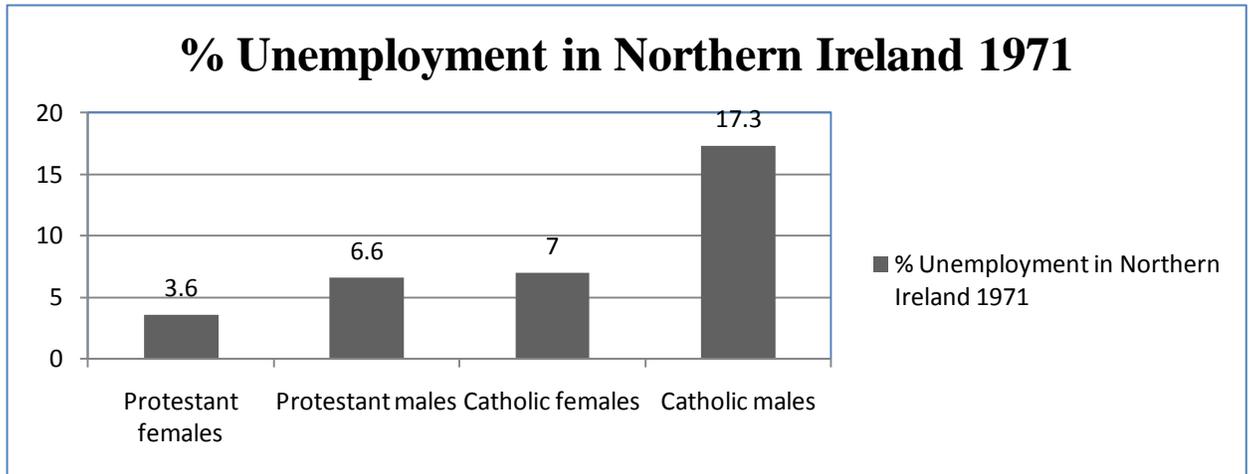
Sourece: D. Smith, *Religion, Sex, and Unemployment in Northern Ireland*, 1971 (London: PS1, 1987), Table 2.1.

The two aspects of administrative control included the allocation of housing into segregated districts and public employment. The manipulation of housing linked with electoral-districting strategies. Wherever Catholics constituted a majority, the allocation of housing coincided with political considerations. The representation of Catholics in the Northern Ireland civil service provides further evidence of the methods utilized by Unionists to reproduce their power.

By the late 1960s, social changes in the United States initiated by the civil rights campaign inspired the Catholic community to attempt similar efforts for reform in their community. In 1967, members of the Catholic community formed the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA). The police and the Protestant right wing, led by Ian Paisley, viewed the NICRA marches as an attempt to undo partition and unite with the Republic of Ireland. Over the next several months, the NICRA marches became scenes

Figure 5

Representation in Northern Ireland Civil Service 1969
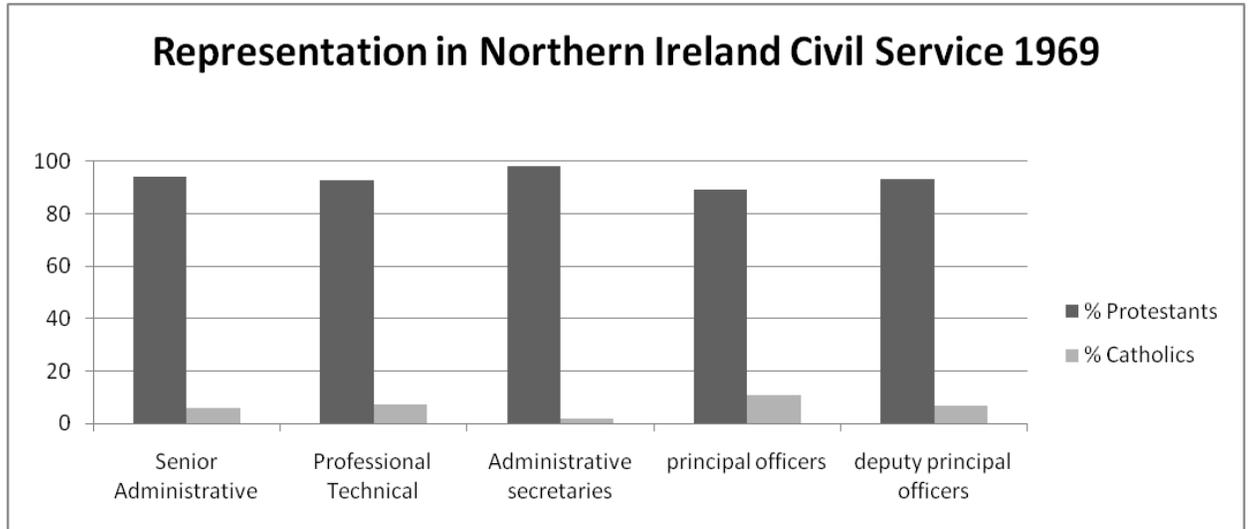
E.A. Aunger, "Religion and Occupational Class in Northern Ireland," *Economic and Social Review* 7.1 (1975): 10.

of violence drawing international attention. The government of Northern Ireland appealed to the British government for troops to restore order. The first British troops entered Northern Ireland in August 1969 under Operation Banner. Each side believed the presence of troops represented a short-term solution to a civil problem. British troops remained in Northern Ireland for 38 years.[82]

It is important to review the significance and scale of the conflict in Northern Ireland. At the height of British military involvement in "The Troubles" there were 28,000 troops deployed. Over 10,000 soldiers were deployed on the streets of West Belfast, the Bogside, the Creggan in Londonderry, East Tyrone, Fermanagh, and South

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[82] Kevin Connolly, "No fanfare for Operation Banner," (BBC News, 2007), http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/6923421.stm (accessed June 2, 2008).

Armagh. Over a quarter million members of the regular army served in Northern Ireland during Operation Banner. During Operation Banner, Britain deployed the largest number of infantry troops since the Second World War

Between 1971 and 1998, the conflict claimed the lives of over 3300 people in Northern Ireland and injured more than 30,000.[83] In terms of lives lost in a population of one and a half million, the figures are equivalent to the killing of 84,000 in Britain, 83,000 in France, and 350,000 in the United States.[84] The "Troubles" represented the greatest threat to political order in British politics for an entire generation. The conflict included bombings, massacres, armed robberies, the militarization and oppression of an entire ethnic community, and the distortion of Britain's international relationships due to wrongful convictions and human rights violations. By 1972, sectarian violence engulfed Northern Ireland. In the same year, Britain suspended the Northern Ireland government and instituted direct rule from Westminster.

This section described the emergence of loyalist/unionist power entrenchment as it unfolded from Cromwell's settlement until the outbreak of the civil war in 1971. The institutions, laws, electoral practices, and illiberal policies represent the increasing returns that supported the path of power entrenchment. The events detailed in this section do not constitute an exhaustive list nor do all the processes included support power

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[83] Malcom Sutton, *An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland 1969-1993* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 1994). "Revised and Updated Extracts from Sutton's Book," http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/book/index.html#append (CAIN Web Service), (Accessed: June 7, 2008). See also: Mari Fitzduff and Liam O'Hagan, "The Northern Ireland Troubles: INCORE Background Paper," (CAIN Web Service), http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/incorepaper.htm#costs (Accessed: June 8, 2008).

[84] Dermot Keogh and Andrew McCarthy, *Twentieth Century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan 2005): 308.

entrenchment in the same way. In addition, the degree of power entrenchment exercised by the loyalist/unionists changed considerably over time. Nevertheless, I argue that power entrenchment, as a causal mechanism, retains internal consistency insofar as the minority population (Irish Catholics) was unable to access the levers of political power during this period. The next section demonstrates the causal effect of power entrenchment in the context of the Sunningdale Agreement and how the AIA abruptly ended Unionist power. Finally, the importance of the causal variable – inclusion of paramilitary groups – is introduced.

Chapter IV

The Agreements

In this section, the impact of power entrenchment on negotiated political settlements is discussed. The examination of three agreements demonstrates the importance of history and entrenched power in negotiated political settlements. In addition, I provide evidence regarding the impact of paramilitary groups on the outcome of negotiated political settlements.

Things Fall Apart: Sunningdale

The first attempt to design a solution for Northern Ireland began with a referendum to determine the future political status of the territory. The referendum of 8 March 1973, known as the "border poll," asked voters to decide whether Northern Ireland should remain in the United Kingdom. The Catholic boycott of the referendum produced a result where 97.8 percent of the participating voters chose to maintain the Union. Despite the fact that only one ethnic community participated in the referendum, the British government published a White Paper that outlined new constitutional arrangements for the region. The White Paper titled *Northern Ireland Constitutional Proposals*[85] quickly became law by way of the Northern Ireland Constitution Act of

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[85] Northern Ireland Constitutional Proposals, Presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland by Command of Her Majesty, March 1973, Published in London by, HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE, 1973 SBN 10 152590 7 Cmnd. 5259.

1973.[86]

The Act called for the devolution of power through three governmental branches: a power-sharing executive of Unionist and nationalists, an assembly, and a Council of Ireland. The Sunningdale conference was the first meeting of the governments of Britain, the Republic of Ireland and the major political parties of Northern Ireland since 1925. The agreement brokered at Sunningdale in December 1973 faced immediate opposition from Unionists and nationalists. The Irish dimension to the agreement, embedded within competencies assigned to the Council of Ireland, brought criticism from the Unionists. In addition, despite the agreement by the Republic of Ireland that the status of Northern Ireland would not change without the consent of its citizens, the Unionists remained unconvinced since Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution still claimed sovereignty over Northern Ireland.

Beyond the constitutional problems of the Sunningdale Agreement, more ominous defects were present. At no time during the deliberations of the Sunningdale Agreement were the paramilitary groups advised or consulted on the process. The result of excluding these groups was an escalation of violence once the Agreement was implemented. The mutual violence radicalized each side against the other and impeded the voices of the moderates. Finally, the Ulster Workers Council (UWC) strike that began on 14 May and lasted for two weeks brought down the power-sharing executive and the Sunningdale Agreement collapsed.

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[86] Stefan Wolf, "Context and Content: Sunningdale and Belfast Compared," in *Aspects of the Belfast Agreement*, ed. Rick Wilford, 11-27 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

The success of the UWC strike requires elaboration. Prior to the strike itself, the UWC did not exist. The 21 members of the UWC committee, drawn from the six counties, had never met. When Harry Murray, chairman of the Ulster Worker's Council, announced to journalists at Stormont that his organization planned to strike against the Agreement, few took him seriously. The observers of Northern Ireland political scene may have taken Murray more seriously if they linked his comments with the statement issued by the Ulster Army Council[87] the day before: "If Westminster is not prepared to restore democracy…then the only other way it can be restored is by a coup d'état."[88] In the two weeks following Murray's strike announcement, Unionist paramilitary organizations took over the shell of the organization know as the UWC. Initially, the strike was based on work stoppage supported by "persuasion" from the paramilitary groups. In the end, anti-Agreement Unionist politicians and the majority of the Protestant community supported the strike. The UWC strike represents one of the most successful rebellions in British history.

The Sunningdale Agreement failed for two reasons. First, no alteration to the power entrenchment described in the preceding section took place prior to the implementation of the power-sharing executive. Therefore, the Unionists retained their

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[87] Ulster Army Council: An umbrella group of Loyalist paramilitaries that was set up in 1973. Andy Tyrie who at the time was commander of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) headed the UAC. The UAC covered the following groups: UDA, Orange Volunteers, Down Orange Welfare, Ulster Special Constabulary Association, Ulster Volunteer Service Corps, and Red Hand Commandos. The main aim of the UAC was to set up a Loyalist army of 20,000 men to take control of Northern Ireland if needed. Source: http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/organ/uorgan.htm

[88] Robert Fisk, The *Point of No Return: The Strike Which Broke the British in Ulster*, (London: Times Books, 1975): 33.

veto over any political settlement that threatened their position. Second, the exclusion of

paramilitary groups in the Agreement process virtually assured violent resistance. The

content of the veto assured that the Unionists determined the political destiny of Northern

Ireland. Paddy Devlin, a founding member of the Social and Democratic Party and

member of the 1974 Executive, placed the blame on Britain's acquiescence to the

Unionists: "Alas the Orange Card was played once again, as it will be in the future, to

prevent a humane and efficient administration from changing the evil, ugly and

unacceptable face of the North."[89] John Hume, another member of the Executive and the

SDLP, blamed the British government as well: "The British government backed down to

the strike." and encouraged Unionists that they could "resist and jettison any British

policy for Northern Ireland which involved conceding power to the minority."[90]

Because Northern Ireland remained under direct rule, the security forces, police

and all law enforcement powers resided with Westminster. Without local control over

the police, the new power-sharing executive lacked legitimate power to confront the

strikers. The results were predictable. Loyalist paramilitary groups put up barricades on

major roads and forced businesses to close. Brian Faulkner describes the modus operandi

of the Unionist paramilitaries: "In one Country Down all the shopkeepers were called

together by the local strike committee and told the hours during which particular shops

could be open. At the end of the meeting two gunmen walked in, asked what had been

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[89] Paddy Devlin, *The Fall of the Northern Ireland Executive* (Belfast, UK: Blackstaff Press, 1975), 72-73.

[90] John Hume. *Personal Views: Politics, Peace and Reconciliation in Ireland* (Dublin, Ireland: Town House, 1996). 38-39.

agreed, said it would not do and ordered a more complete closure."[91] Buses and lorries

were hijacked and County Antrim "had been totally taken over by uniformed UDA men

and virtually cut off from the outside world."[92]

The mechanisms of rebellion, utilized by the strikers and paramilitaries, included

hijackings, road blocks, threats, violence, and the complete take-over of utilities. The

Daily Mail described the state of Northern Ireland during the strikes second week in these

terms:

> You can't have a breakfast egg or bacon – the shelves are bare. You can't make a
> hot drink because there's no electricity. You can't catch a bus because there
> aren't any. You can't post a letter because it won't arrive. Petrol is so scarce
> that some people are trying to run their cars on paint fillers.[93]

In addition to protest within Northern Ireland itself, paramilitary violence surged and

spread across borders. On 17 May, Loyalist paramilitaries detonated bombs in Dublin

and Monaghan killing 33 people. The behavior of the UWC, the unionist politicians who

rejected the agreement and the loyalist paramilitaries conforms to Stedman's definition of

"spoilers" of peace agreements. Peace agreements bring risk "from disgruntled followers

who see peace as a betrayal of their values, and from excluded parties who seek either to

alter the peace process or to destroy it."[94] The recognition of the Irish dimension within

the agreement – institutionalized with the Council of Ireland – represented a concession

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[91] Brian Faulkner and John Houston, ed. *Memoirs of a Statesman* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1978), 261.

[92] Faulkner and Houston, 261.

[93] Fisk, 221.

[94] Stedman, 5.

anathema to the Unionists and loyalist paramilitaries. The perceived dilution of ethnic

identity combined with universal resistance regarding power-sharing incited the "spoiler"

agenda within the Protestant community.

All observers of the conflict agree that Prime Minister Wilson's broadcast on 25

May fueled support for the strike within Protestant community. In the speech, Wilson

accused the Protestants of setting up a "sectarian and undemocratic state" and "sponging

on Westminster and British democracy."[95] Wilson's words infuriated the Protestant

community and galvanized support for the strike. The outcome of the aforementioned

mechanisms of rebellion and Wilson's speech was the transfer of power from political

leaders to the UWC. The minutes from a meeting with the Prime Minister report

Faulkner conveying the following message: "With every hour that passed ...it became

increasingly evident that the administration of the country was in fact in the hands of the

Ulster Workers Council...."[96] Two weeks after the strike commenced, Northern Ireland

ceased to function both politically and economically. On 28 May 1974, Faulkner

resigned and the Sunningdale Agreement collapsed.

Writing a history of Ulster prior to the 1998 Belfast Agreement, Bardon explained

the significance of the collapse of Sunningdale in these terms:

> The creation of the power-sharing executive has been the most successful of the
> British political initiatives in Northern Ireland in more than twenty years of the
> Troubles. Having wrecked Whitelaw's handiwork, the loyalists concluded that
> they had the power to destroy any political arrangement made by the British
> government which did not suit them (712).

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[95] Bardon, 710.

[96] National Archives, Prem 16/147.

The ability of the Unionists to dismantle a constitutional solution that threatened their ability to reproduce power stagnated the politics of Northern Ireland for nearly a decade.

The failure of the Sunningdale Agreement derives from the two primary variables under examination – power entrenchment and paramilitary exclusion. Neither variable, taken alone, explains the collapse of the power-sharing arrangement. Nevertheless, the absence of any change in the historical power symmetries between the groups severely diminished the likelihood of a successful political settlement. Political and paramilitary leaders on both sides recognized the nature of the historical links. Hume framed the problem as a failure on the part of the British government and the 'Orange Card.' "That is the nub of political deadlock in Northern Ireland. Only when the "Orange Card" of threat, violence, and sectarianism is denied political currency can that deadlock really be broken."[97] The deadlock relied on the unionists preserving their power via Westminster to acquiescence to their illiberal policies, threats, violence, strikes, and other forms of protest. The line in the sand for Unionists began with power-sharing and included any recognition of Irish identity in the North. As long as Unionists believed the British guaranteed (however reluctantly) their power in the North, constitutional compromise was unnecessary.

The second variable linked to the failure of the Sunningdale Agreement is paramilitary exclusion from the talks preceding the political settlement. The violence perpetrated by republican and loyalist paramilitary groups undermined the agreement from the beginning. Without engaging the paramilitary groups in the process, the British

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[97] Hume, 39.

government and the politicians of the Executive exposed the Agreement to "spoiler"

tactics. The actions of the loyalist paramilitaries in support of the UWC strike were

decisive in bringing down the Executive. Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for Northern

Ireland during Sunningdale, recounts the collapse of the Executive: "The UWC had won

a great victory….Whereas in 1972 the old Stormont system had been brought down by

the violence of the Provisional IRA, by the SDLP and the minority community, in 1974

the power-sharing Executive was brought down by the UWC, The United Unionist

Council and the majority community."[98] The fact that paramilitary action brought down

two governments in two years indicated that any peace process must include these

groups.

<center>The Anglo-Irish Agreement</center>

The Anglo-Irish Agreement, the most important initiative of the British

government in Ireland since the Government of Ireland Act of 1920, began to take shape

on 8 December 1980. On that day in Dublin castle, amidst the turmoil of the Maze

Prison hunger strike,[99] Prime Minister Thatcher and Taoiseach Charles J. Haughey met to

discuss Northern Ireland. The communiqué issued by the governments contained the

following statement:

> They accordingly decided to devote their next meeting in London during the
> coming year to special consideration of the totality of relationships within these
> islands. For this purpose they have commissioned joint studies, covering a range

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[98] Merlyn Rees, *Northern Ireland: A Personal Perspective* (London: Metheun, 1985), 89.

[99] On this day, the Maze Prison strike was in its forty-fourth day. Two days prior to the meeting, 20,000 people had marched on the British Embassy in Dublin protesting Britain's handling of the strike.

<center>62</center>

of issues including possible new institutional structures, citizenship rights, security matters, economic cooperation and measures to encourage mutual understanding.[100]

The communiqué itself meant nothing in practical terms. Some viewed it as nothing more than satisfying the short-term domestic interests of the Prime Ministers. Nevertheless, the stage was set for another meeting in London the following year. The second meeting took place on 6 November 1981 at 10 Downing Street. Thatcher met Taoiseach Fitzgerald at 10 Downing Street. The outlines of the talks produced institutional mechanisms for further collaboration, specifically:

> The establishment of an Anglo-Irish intergovernmental council to provide the overall framework for inter-governmental consultation, at head of government, ministerial and official levels, on all matters of common interest and concern with particular reference to the achievement of peace, reconciliation and stability and   the improvement of relations between the two countries and people's….[101]

Despite the innocuous sound of the communiqué, Ian Paisley issued this statement: "With firm confidence we will go forward, regardless of the consequences, to bring down this fresh attempt to hand us over to the enemy."[102] Any perceived threat to the Unionist position of power brought immediate condemnation from the Unionist leaders.

Some Unionists believe the Anglo-Irish talks represented a return to Sunningdale. John McMichael, chairman of the Ulster Loyalist Democratic Party, remarked: "The Anglo-Irish talks are seen by us as a great danger. We believe that the British

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[100] "Thatcher-Haughey Dublin communiqué," Times (News) Wednesday, Dec 10, 1980; pg. 2.

[101] "Outlines for Anglo-Irish Talks," *Times* (News) Saturday, November 7, 1981, 2.

[102] Julian Haviland , "Anglo-Irish Council Aims at New Impetus," *Times*, Saturday, November 7, 1981, 1.

parliamentary parties are moving positively towards a united Ireland solution. The

Anglo-Irish talks are trying to bring about the resurrection of the Sunningdale

Agreement…."[103] The remarks by Paisley and McMichael indicate that as far as the

Unionist elites were concerned, the preservation of their power trumped efforts for peace.

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's response to a 1984 *New Ireland*

Forum Report appeared to signify the historic impasse about the status of Northern

Ireland would continue:

> I have made it quite clear – and so did Mr. Prior when he was Secretary of State
> for Northern Ireland – that a unified Ireland was one solution that was out. A
> second solution was a confederation of two states. That is out. A third solution
> was joint authority. That is out. That is derogation from sovereignty.[104]

Despite the tone of Thatcher's comments, the British and Irish governments were

engaged in serious talks about devising a joint agreement to address the conflict.

Margaret Thatcher and Taoiseach Garret Fitzgerald signed the Anglo-Irish Agreement

(AIA) on 15 November 1985. By the end of November, both the Dail and the House of

Commons approved the agreement.[105]

The AIA set up an Intergovernmental Conference (IGC) headed by the secretary

of state and the Irish foreign minister. Political, legal, security matters and the promotion

of cross-border cooperation represented the primary tasks of the IGC. In addition, the

AIA addressed the status of Northern Ireland in article 1: "The two Governments

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[103]Padraig O'Malley, *Uncivil Wars: Ireland Today*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Beacon Press: 1997), 43-44. Interview with John McMichael, December 30, 1981.

[104] Margaret Thatcher, "Press Conference following Anglo-Irish Summit ('out ... out ... out')," (Margaret Thatcher Foundation, 2005), http://www.margaretthatcher.org (accessed June 28, 2008).

[105] The margins were as follows: Dail: 88-75, House of Commons 473-47. See Bardon, 759.

(a) affirm that any change in the status of Northern Ireland would only come about with

the consent of a majority of' the people of' Northern Ireland."[106] Article 1 combined with

the recognition of an Irish dimension in article 4 represented a significant and historical

shift in how Britain approached the conflict. The realignment of power brought swift and

intense protest from the Unionists.

Thatcher's comments regarding the New Ireland Forum Report created a sense of

complacency among Unionists. They did not believe an agreement between the two

governments was possible. Michael McGimpsey, member of the Ulster Unionist Party,

states: "I think certainly the accepted wisdom in the party was that time was on our side,

and all we had to do was sit back and wait and Margaret Thatcher would never do

anything to harm the unionists."[107] Thatcher's initiative to work with the Republic of

Ireland astounded Unionists. John Alderdice, leader of the Alliance Party, summed it up:

> It was an extraordinary shock for them. For some reason they didn't believe it
> was coming. My predecessor and colleagues told unionists over a long period of
> time that if they did not reach an accommodation with nationalists that
> something like this was going to happen and they had created the circumstances
> for it inevitability. And yet, nevertheless, they seemed completely shocked.[108]

The shock soon turned to rage and the Unionists began their attempt to dismantle the

AIA. According to Hume, "Unionist politicians seemed to object (to the Agreement)

because membership of the UK would no longer be solely on the terms demanded by

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[106] CAIN Web Service, "Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985 between the Government of Ireland and the Government of The United Kingdom," CAIN Web Service, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/aia/aiadoc.htm.

[107] Cochrane, 125. Interview with Michael McGimpsey, 16 October, 1991.

[108] Cochrane, 123. Interview with John Alderdice, 7 February, 1996.

them."[109] However, the structure of the AIA, in contrast to the Sunningdale Agreement, assured that the historic Unionist veto would not prevail.

The *Belfast News-Letter's* editorial in the wake of the AIA produced these ominous words: "At Hillsborough yesterday the ghosts of Cromwell and Lundy walked hand in hand to produce a recipe for bloodshed and conflict which has few parallels in modern history." [110] Unionist anger derived not only from the content of the AIA, but also from the fact that the British completely excluded the Unionists from the talks that led to the agreement. The exclusion of the Unionists from the Anglo-Irish talks signaled Westminster's decision to break the Unionist veto once and for all. That the British government intentionally left the Unionists out of the process is supported by Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald relates, "we (the Irish) were inhibited from telling them what was in the Agreement by virtue of the fact that the British would not forgive us if we did. They took the view that the unionists should not be told. When we pressed them in September (1985) that perhaps more briefings should be given, they said 'no.'"[111]

A speech made in the commons by Official Unionist Harold McCusker captured the sentiment of many Unionists regarding the content of the AIA and their exclusion from the talks:

> I stood outside Hillsborough, not waving a Union Flag – I doubt whether I will ever wave one again – not singing hymns, saying prayers or protesting, but like a dog and asked the Government to put in my hand the document that sold my

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[109] John Hume, *Personal Views: Politics, Peace, and Reconciliation in Ireland* (Dublin: Town House), 46.

[110] Cochrane, 67. *Belfast News-Letter*, 16 November 1985.

[111] Cochrane, 2. Interview with Garret Fitzgerald, 8 April, 1992.

birthright….Having never consulted me, never sought my opinion or asked my advice, they told the rest of the world what was in store for me.[112]

Paisley prophesized impending violence in the wake of the AIA: "If the British government force us down the road to united Ireland we will fight to the death.…This could come to hand to hand fighting in every street in Northern Ireland. We are on the verge of civil war."[113] Even David Trimble, then a law lecturer at Queens University Belfast indicated that in order to overturn the AIA, a "certain amount of violence may be inescapable."[114] Despite these threats, the Unionist campaign to destroy the AIA never materialized. The power alignment between the Irish Republic and Great Britain overrode Unionist protests.

O'Leary identifies two important components of the Agreement that explain how it reshaped power symmetries in the settlement process. First, the AIA signaled the "formal end of Unionist supremacy within Northern Ireland."[115] The AIA stripped the Unionists of their veto power over the political structure of the union. If the Unionists agreed to devolution, they could participate in policy formulation. Otherwise, the British government represented Unionism in the IGC. Second, in terms of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, the AIA signified "the end of a united front among

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[112] Anthony John Patrick Kenny, *The Road to Hillsborough: The Shaping of the Anglo-Irish Agreement* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1986), 102-103.

[113] Cochrane, 158. Source: *Belfast News Letter* 2 July 1986, 9.

[114] Cochrane, 154. Source: *Belfast News Letter*, 6 November 1986, 6.

[115] John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagement.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004): 66-67.

constitutional nationalists."[116] Constitutional nationalism referred to those groups who adhered to the articles in the Irish constitution that claimed sovereignty over the entire island.

In the event, Fianna Fáil (FF) in the Republic of Ireland and the Irish Independence Party (IIP) in Northern Ireland opposed the agreement. In Ireland, Fine Gael (FG), the Irish Labour Party (ILP), and the Progressive Democrats supported the agreement. In the North, the Social Democratic and Labour Party supported the agreement. By supporting the agreement, the Irish parties indicated they would be satisfied with reform over unification. In contrast, FF and the IIP found themselves as allies of Sinn Fein (SF) and the Irish Republican Army in goals, but not methods.

In Northern Ireland, Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein (SF) described the AIA as a disaster for "copper-fastening partition." The Unionists correctly concluded that the AIA severed the historical British support they relied on for centuries. On 23 November, the Unionists organized a massive protest in the Belfast city center. An estimated 200,000 people listened as Ian Paisley shouted "Never, Never, Never" and thousands carried signs that read "Ulster Says No."[117] Despite another Belfast protest on the first anniversary of the AIA and a petition with 400,000 signatures against the Agreement, the British government refused to yield to Protestant pressure.

The structure of the AIA prevented both sides, nationalist and Unionists, from sabotaging the new arrangement. O'Leary discussed the resilience of the AIA in its

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[116] McGarry and O'Leary, *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements,* 67-68.

[117] Bardon, 758.

immediate aftermath: "One reason why British and Irish officials like the Anglo-Irish Agreement is that its survival seems much less dependent upon the actors within Northern Ireland than previous attempted solutions."[118] The ability of the AIA to withstand the Unionist protests demonstrated that the Agreement did shift power in Northern Ireland. Cochrane echoes O'Leary's sentiments by indicating that the AIA relied on the "diplomatic harmony between governments." Cochrane states: "This was the central genius of the AIA …the ability of the two sovereign governments to manipulate externally a framework for an internal solution insulated their policy from attack by those most likely to be unhappy with it."

In the context of the AIA, those mostly likely to attack it were the Unionists. And Fitzgerald relates their dilemma: "They (the Unionists) couldn't challenge the agreement. They had no means of challenging the Agreement, except by revolutions, and they rightly were not prepared to go toward revolution."[119] With two strokes of the pen, the AIA destroyed the power entrenchment in Northern Ireland that originated with the Cromwellian Settlement (see figure 6).
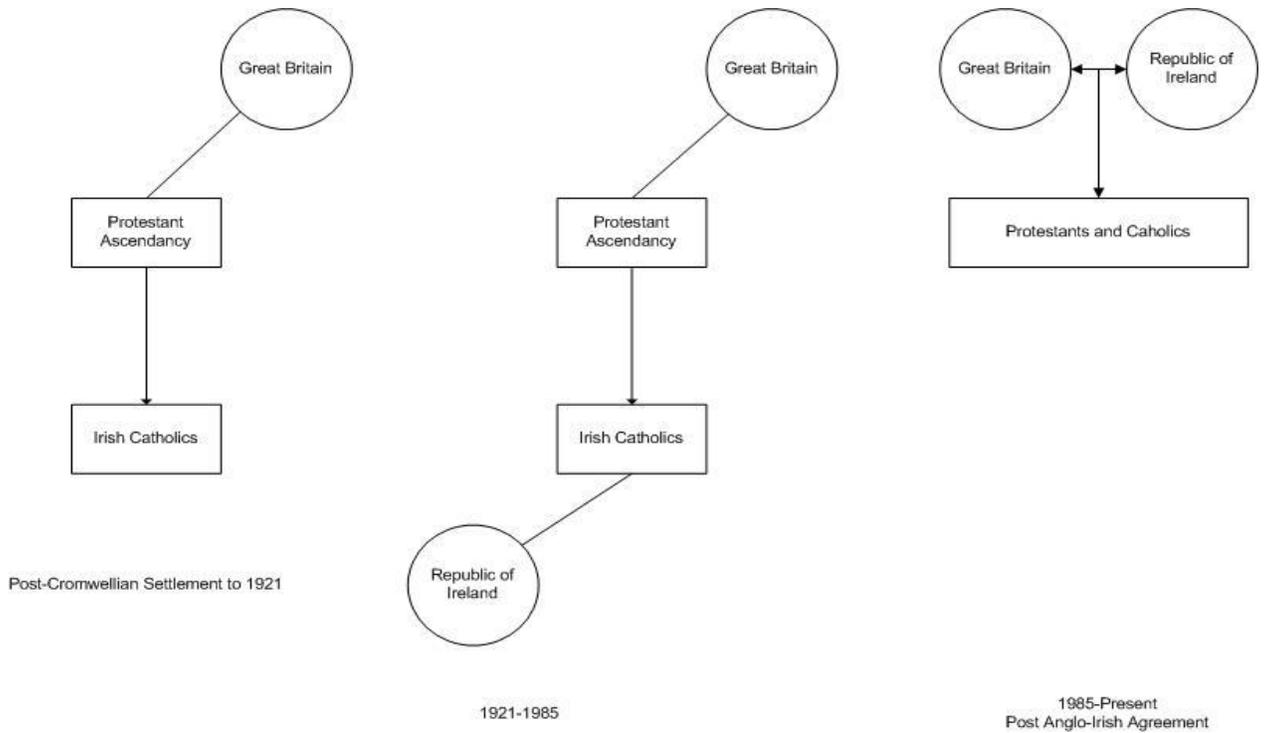
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[118] Brendan O'Leary, "The Anglo-Irish Agreement: Statecraft or Folly? *West European Politics*, 10.1 (1987): 25.

[119] Cochrane, 139. Interview with Garret Fitzgerald, 8 April, 1992.

Figure 6

Historical Power Structures in Northern Ireland (Ulster)

Post-Cromwell to Present

Paramilitary Inclusion and the Good Friday Agreement

In the years between 1985 and 1998, a new reality for the Unionists began to take shape. Fears that the AIA represented the end of their power entrenchment, based on their historic veto, were confirmed. As the institutions created by the AIA strengthened, the Unionists and the nationalists recognized the new power arrangement. Dodds articulated this view about the impact of the AIA:

> There is no doubt that the Anglo-Irish Agreement is firmly in place, and if we don't get a replacement for it, and if you talk to the civil servants and if you talk to the NIO, they are in no doubt that every day that passes the Anglo-Irish process gets stronger and more it will get stronger and more entrenched. You only have to look at the issues, I mean look at the UDR decision, the fair employment....[120]

It is particularly revealing that Dodds cites civil servant employment reform as a dangerous sign that the AIA is working.

In 1997, Adams issued statements on the politically contentious issue of Loyalist parades on Garvaghy Road. Present in Adams' remarks were the two realities that derived from the AIA, the absence of the Unionist's power entrenchment and the necessity of having both governments engaged in the North. First, on the absence of Unionist political control: "Nationalists are not prepared to let the Orange Order walk over them. The days of Orange supremacy are long gone." Second, on the necessity of having two governments involved in intercommunity disputes: "The onus however, should not be on the people of the area but on the two governments to uphold their rights and to prevent a repetition of the disgraceful events of last year." These remarks by a Sinn Fein politician align with the views expressed by the Unionists in the years since the AIA. The statement about the responsibility of both governments confirms that the nationalists recognized the new power configuration that now shaped the political trajectory of Northern Ireland.

The paramilitary groups on both sides demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the new political arrangement by increasing the level of violence over the next few years. The early 1990s saw violence from both sides begin to spiral out of control. The Ulster

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[120] Cochrane, 90. Interview with Nigel Dodds, 2 Dec. 1991.

Freedom Fighters warned they were prepared to inflict carnage "to a ferocity never imagined." In 1993, the IRA once again targeted Britain. On 24 April, a bomb detonated in London's financial district, Bishopgate, killing one, injuring forty, and causing an estimated £1 billion in damage. That same spring revelations surfaced that regular talks between John Hume and Gerry Adams were taking place. After Taoiseach Albert Reynolds responded favorably to the talks, Loyalist extremists launched ferocious attacks against the Catholic community.

However, amidst the violence, a new variable slowly emerged – inclusion of paramilitary groups in the peace process. London and Dublin responded to this cycle of violence by issuing a joint declaration on 15 December 1993 that invited Sinn Fein (the political arm of the Provisional IRA) to participate in talks if the IRA declared a ceasefire. After a few months where each side clarified their position while the killings continued, the long-awaited moment came on 31 August 1994.

On that day, the media received the following statement: "The IRA have decided that as of midnight, 31 August, there will be a complete cessation of military operations."[121] Significantly, the cessation of violence did not arise from British pre-conditions for entry into peace negotiations. Adams notes: "Had a surrender of IRA weapons been imposed as a pre-condition to peace negotiations prior to the cessation, there would have been no IRA cessation announced at all."[122] The incremental

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[121] CAIN Web Service, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) Ceasefire Statement, 31 August 1994," CAIN Web Service, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/ira31894.htm.

[122] Gerry Adams, *Hope and History: Making Peace in Northern Ireland* (London: Brandon, 2003), 213.

confidence building measure employed by the British government encouraged the IRA that their struggle could continue by other means.

In late 1994, the Combined Unionist Loyalist Military Command announced a cease-fire. At the end of the 1994, the broadcast ban on Sinn Fein was lifted in the Republic of Ireland and the Clinton administration issued a visa to Gerry Adams. These confidence-building measures developed into a mechanism for negotiations. Wolff relates how the crucial variable for eventual peace in Northern Ireland unfolded:

> Thus, within a year of the Joint Declaration, cease-fires had been announced by the major paramilitary organizations that, unlike those of the past, seemed, if not permanent, at least longer term. In addition, the British government had entered into official and formal talks with representatives of the paramilitary organizations of both communities.[123]

In sharp contrast to the Sunningdale process, the paramilitary groups participated informally in the peace process at an early stage. By involving the paramilitary groups, the Irish and British governments hoped to avoid the violence that followed the signing of the Sunningdale Agreement.

The ceasefire held for one and a half years as the peace process intensified. In February 1996, an IRA bomb exploded at Canary Wharf in London. Beyond this activity, the 1996 marching season in Northern Ireland produced a crisis that nearly derailed the peace talks. Again, Britain offered Sinn Fein the ability to participate in political talks if the IRA announced a ceasefire. On 19 July 1997, the IRA declared a ceasefire that included a "complete cessation of military operations from 12 midday,

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[123] Wolff, *Sunningdale and Belfast Compared* in Wilford, 16.

Sunday, 20 July 1997." The statement included the IRA's desire to find "a democratic peace settlement through real and inclusive negotiations."[124]

In September 1997, multi-party talks began at Stormont. Two Unionist parties, Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and United Kingdom Unionist Party (UKUP) boycotted the talks due to the presence of Sinn Fein. After a series of paramilitary killings, the expulsion of both Sinn Fein and the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP) for cease-fire violations, and a venue switch from Belfast to London, progress toward a final agreement began to take shape in early spring 1998. In March 1998, George Mitchell, the independent chairman for the multi-party talks, issued a deadline of 9 April for the parties to settle on a final agreement. On 10 April 1998, Good Friday, all parties to the talks signed an agreement at Stormont ending the negotiations for a political settlement in Northern Ireland.

A copy of the Good Friday Agreement was posted to every home in Northern Ireland. A referendum in the North and South would decide the fate of the peace process. On 22 May 1998, in the highest turnout since 1921, the people of Northern Ireland voted overwhelmingly for the Agreement. In the Irish Republic, approximately 95% approved the Agreement and changes to articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution. Despite violence from a splinter group of the PIRA, the contentious issue of decommissioning, two episodes where direct rule was re-established, and severe disillusionment from many Unionists, the GFA delivered the long sought-for peace to Northern Ireland.

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[124] CAIN Web Service, "Irish Republican Army (IRA) Ceasefire Statement, 19 July 1997," CAIN Web Service, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/ira19797.htm.

During the peace process, a major concern for paramilitary representatives was a split in the ranks that would lead to a new wave of violence. Adams worried that an agreement that did not contain full consent might create an "Irish Hamas."[125] For Adamns and McGuinness, any split in the Republican because of an agreement would likely place Northern Ireland back on the path of violence. Adams repeated the concerns for a split in the IRA on several occasions during the talks.

Jonathan Powell, Tony Blair's Chief of Staff and chief negotiator, played an instrumental role in the Northern Ireland peace process. Powell captures the outcome of including paramilitary groups in the peace process as he attended the 2007 swearing in ceremony of Ian Paisley as First Minister of Northern Ireland:

> I would have felt it to be an even more remarkable occasion had I realized the identity of the group of middle-aged men sitting in the next section along in the gallery. They looked harmless enough with their grey hair, but they were in fact the high command of the IRA, who between them had served over fifty years in jail and had been responsible for more than a thousand deaths….Each of the key IRA figures were there, including the Quartermaster General, the military commander in Belfast, the head of intelligence and the chief ideologue – all sitting in the gallery just a few feet away from Bertie Ahern and Tony Blair.[126]

During the civil war in Northern Ireland, it would have been unthinkable for the High command of the IRA to be anywhere near Ian Paisley much less Tony Blair.

The success of the GFA did not rely on constitutional structures, credible commitments, or the rational choice of actors faced with a military stalemate. The enduring peace in Northern Ireland derives from variables linked to a new power

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[125] Jonathan Powell, *Great Hatred, Little Room: Making Peace in Northern Ireland* (London: Bodley Head, 2008), 16.

[126] Powell, 2.

arrangement. The crucial variable in the case of Northern Ireland was the inclusion of the

paramilitary groups in the peace process. Powell continues:

> They (Provisional IRA) had been the invisible presence at the negotiating table during our talks. They were the people Sinn Fein leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuiness had needed to persuade to accept difficult compromises, usually going to meet with them in an anonymous barn somewhere on the border with the Republic, in the middle of the night, with a running tractor engine in the background so their conversations couldn't be picked up.[127]

For his part, Powell makes clear his views on talking to paramilitary groups: "It is very

hard for democratic governments to admit to talking to terrorist groups while those

groups are still killing innocent people. But on the basis of my experience I think it is

always right to talk to your enemy however badly they are behaving."[128] Powell reveals

that a "backchannel" between the Provisional IRA and the British government existed as

early as 1973. Secret Service Intelligence officers worked over the years to preserve

contacts with the IRA. In 1991, the "Link" was reactivated. An intermediary in Derry

arranged a meeting between Martin McGuiness and SIS officer. The meeting initiated

contacts that eventually led to the 1994 ceasefire and the GFA peace process. Although a

Belfast journalist exposed the "Link" in 1994, the incremental steps towards an inclusive

political settlement were underway.

Beginning with the 1997 meeting between Blair and Sinn Fein in Northern

Ireland, the British government began to include political leaders with direct links to the

IRA in the peace process. At that meeting, the first between a British Prime Minister and

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[127] Powell, 2.

[128] Powell, 66.

a Sinn Fein leader in 76 years, Blair met with Gerry Adams and Martin McGuiness. Both

Adams and McGuiness had been members of the Provisional IRA since 1969. Despite

their commitment to a peaceful settlement, the Unionist community considered both

terrorists. A representative of the Ulster Unionist Party, Ken Maginnis, said it was

"demeaning for the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to be meeting unreconstructed

terrorists like Gerry Adams."[129] Importantly, the duality in the Irish Republican

movement made them easier to negotiate with than the Loyalist paramilitaries. Adams

and McGuiness, leaders of Sinn Fein and the IRA, possess serious negotiating skills and

political acumen.

Mo Mowlan, who served as Secretary of State to Northern Ireland during the

peace process, concurs with Powell that Adams and McGuiness used their dual roles as a

negotiating device to buy time and ensure the movement did not split because of their

decisions. Mo relates:

> On of our first and repeated difficulties was Sinn Fein's blanket insistence on
> being regarded as separate from the IRA. Nobody believed them, but they
> insisted on it anyway. Wherever we got into a day's talks it always ended with
> Sinn Fein saying , "We'll have to take that to the IRA to see what response they
> can give." This charade was frustrating, but then I thought perhaps it is their
> way of making sure they carry the whole organization with them, so it made
> sense   to wait a couple days to see where they were at.[130]

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[129] Sara Lyall, "Blair Meets With Adams, I.R.A. Figure, In Belfast," *New York Times*, October 14, 1997.

[130] Mo Mowlan, *Momentum: The Struggle for Peace, Politics, and the People* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), 79. see also Powell, 102.

Mowlan's observation is supported by Adam's statement to Blair that he could split the movement if he needed to, but the goal was to keep it whole.[131]

In contrast, loyalist paramilitaries lacked the political skills of the republican movement. Indeed, according to Powell, the loyalist paramilitaries were "pretty poorly educated and politically unsophisticated."[132] Nevertheless, as the groups most likely to oppose an agreement, they needed to be included in the process. Powell states:

> In parallel, we had been trying to make progress with the loyalists, the ugly sisters of paramilitarism in Northern Ireland. Over the past few years, we in No. 10 had been encouraging the NIO (Northern Ireland Office) to reach out to the UDA and the UVF to help them follow the IRA into oblivion. ….But it was much harder to make progress with them than the Republicans because, in the end, they lacked a political agenda.[133]

The preceding remarks demonstrate the importance of inclusion of the paramilitary groups in the peace process. In addition, the reference to the Loyalist's lack of political agenda correlates with the reason why the Sunningdale agreement failed. During Sunningdale neither the IRA nor the loyalists had sufficient political ties to participate in peace talks.

Another group that requires attention is the paramilitary members incarcerated during the course of a conflict. These individuals often remain active voices in their organizations and respected members of their ethnic community. Mowlan's meeting with loyalist paramilitary members incarcerated in the H-Block of Maze Prison stirred much controversy. Indeed, without paramilitary inclusion, the GFA stood no chance of

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[131] Powell, 25.

[132] Powell, 265.

[133] Powell, 265.

securing a peaceful settlement. Mowlan provides her verdict on the necessity to include

prisoners: "Whatever you think about it, it was a fact of life that without Sinn Fein there

at the table, along with the loyalist paramilitaries, the talks were never going to resolve

all the issues in a way that would bring lasting peace."[134] Mowlan and others view

meeting paramilitary members in prison as crucial to any settlement. Mowlan framed the

importance in these terms: "We all knew that an eventual agreement would be impossible

without something for the prisoners on both sides." [135] Some considered the meetings

nothing more than "pandering to terrorism."[136]

Despite the criticism, Mowlan met with the groups in Maze and gained their trust.

The possibility that the paramilitary groups intended to manipulate the meetings did not

faze Mowlan. She contends that it did not matter because:

> If that's what it took, that's what needed to be done….These people crave
> recognition, on both sides. They wanted to be taken seriously and be listened
> to. We worked throughout the peace process to include everyone; it was
> essential. being listened to, which afforded status on a par with others, was
> crucial, particularly for the representatives of the paramilitary groups.[137]

The inclusion of the paramilitary groups in the GFA peace process represents the critical

causal variable in securing an enduring, peaceful settlement in Northern Ireland.

I will now consider two possible counter-arguments to my thesis. First, some

may argue that US involvement as a third party to the negotiations guaranteed that each

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[134] Mowlam, 76.

[135] Mowlam, 186.

[136] Mowlam, 190.

[137] Mowlam, 189.

side would play by the rules throughout the process. In this scenario, Mitchell's efforts in Northern Ireland provided credible commitments that permitted each side to stay engaged after implementation of the GFA. The revival of a credible commitment argument for Northern Ireland does not stand up to scrutiny for two reasons.

The first problem with applying a credible commitment theory to Northern Ireland involves the definition of third parties. As defined by Walters, a third-party intervention in a civil war constitutes peacekeeping force to ensure hostilities do not resume. The neutrality of the third party is viewed as essential to gain the trust of both sides. During the GFA peace process, the only troops that remained on the ground were British. From the perspective of the republican movement and the Catholic community in Northern Ireland, the British represented biased observers, at worst – their historic enemy. Therefore, in terms of credible commitments, no third party existed in the process to affirm or disconfirm Walter's theory.

Secondly, as noted earlier, credible commitments theory relies on a "snapshot in history" approach to conflict resolution that conflicts with my argument. The case of Northern Ireland runs counter to a central claim in credible commitments theory; specifically, that groups avoid negotiated settlements because "they understand that this would require them to relinquish important fall-back defenses at a time when no neutral police force and no legitimate government exist to help them enforce the peace."[138] Framing the critical barrier to civil war settlement in these terms implies that variables associated with success or failure derives from the resolution process itself. Similar

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[138] Walter, "The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement," 337.

assumptions underpin other rational choice theories that seek to explain how civil wars

end (costs of war and balance of power among them).   In regards to ethnic civil wars, my

thesis rejects such assumptions and claims.

Another counter-argument challenges the conceptual strength of power

entrenchment – specifically the notion that its trajectory originates with a critical juncture

in the seventeenth century. Some may argue that the identification of increasing returns

that begin with the Cromwellian settlement and end with the AIA amount to a problem of

infinite regress. In other words, by including processes, events, and laws that span 300

years, the contextual meaning of the "increasing returns" lose their explanatory power.

For example, one could ask: Why stop at the Cromwellian Settlement? Why not trace

the origins of Unionist power entrenchment to the end the Irish rebellion (1641) or to the

"Flight of the Earls" (1607)? Alternatively, why not date the source of Unionist power

entrenchment to coincide with the partition of Ireland in 1921?

In order to have any meaning, a causal mechanism (power entrenchment) must

possess a relationship with the historical context and the outcome. The methods

employed by the Loyalists/Unionists to retain power did change over time. Nevertheless,

the outcome of these efforts—subordination of the Irish Catholic minority – remained

constant. My research isolates the critical juncture that initiates the processes supportive

of power entrenchment. Power entrenchment emerged out of legislative acts and social

segregation of the Protestant (Loyalist/Unionist) and Catholic (Irish) communities.

Therefore, the end of the Irish rebellion – a victory for the English – is a contextual event

that does not trigger power entrenchment. In a similar way, the outcome of "flight of the

Earls" did not result in any discernible path dependent mechanisms. Moreover, despite

the historical significance of the partition of Ireland, I argue that the existing power

arrangements – the positions of the Unionists (Protestants) and Irish (Catholics) in the

North – remained constant. Tracing the source of power entrenchment requires a search

for the origins of the power arrangement. In contrast to other events, the Act of

Settlement in 1651 did trigger a significant shift in the socio-political context of Ulster.

The historical context that followed the Act of settlement contained processes that

ultimately supported the power of the Loyalist/Unionist (Protestant) majority.

Chapter V

Conclusion

My research offers theoretical, empirical and policy conclusions in understanding

how civil war's end. In an attempt to derive a theoretical application of my research to

other conflicts, I will briefly consider the current Middle East conflict between Israel and

the Palestinians.[139] One fundamental shortcoming of the comparison with Northern

Ireland (and my thesis) derives from the fact that no political settlements or peace

agreements have been signed in the Middle East Conflict. Nevertheless, I argue that

elements of the present study provide a useful explanatory framework for the failure of

Middle East peace initiatives as well as a strategy for future policy.

Over the past two decades, four peace initiatives directed at solving the middle-

east conflict have emerged.[140] What explains the failure of these initiatives? According

to the argument outlined in my research, power relationships, dating from the founding of

Israel in 1948, enable both sides to refuse key concessions necessary for any agreement.

Both Israel and the Palestinians (including Hamas) receive implicit and explicit support

from other states. Israel receives support from the United States, the Palestinians receive

support from members of the Arab League. The alignment of power between the active

members of the conflict resembles the entrenchment power held by the Unionists over the

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[139] The conflict is coded as an internal armed conflict by the UDCP.

[140] The peace initiatives include: Oslo Accords (1993), Camp David Summit (2000), Road Map for Peace 2002), Arab Peace Initiative (2002/2007).

Catholic community in Northern Ireland. In addition, Israeli efforts to isolate and

exclude Hamas from peace initiatives increase the likelihood of spoiler activity.

Therefore, the failure of the peace initiatives derives from path dependent processes and

paramilitary exclusion.

In order for any serious peace negotiation to emerge, a significant shift in the

existing geo-political power relationships must take place. The outcome of the power

shift would re-balance the relationship between both parties (Israelis and Palestinians)

and their historical supporters. An intergovernmental agreement, similar in structure to

the AIA, would redefine the context of negotiations. For example, an agreement between

the U.S., members of the Arab league, and the European Union could set broad terms for

an eventual settlement. The exclusion of Israel (and perhaps Palestinian leadership as

well) is an important component of such an agreement. Obviously, as with the AIA, the

agreement in question needs to include unanimous recognition of Palestinian and Israeli

interests. In addition, paramilitary groups (Hamas and Hezbollah) engaged in the conflict

must be included in any peace initiative.

Empirically, my research demonstrates the importance of power relationships

with long historical trajectories. The implementation of the Sunningdale Agreement took

place while Unionist power entrenchment remained an active causal mechanism. Power

entrenchment enabled Unionists to manipulate their historic link to Britain, thereby

determining the political destiny of Northern Ireland. The UWC strike, with the support

of loyalist paramilitaries, provides evidence of the existence of unionist power

entrenchment. Beyond representing the importance of paramilitary inclusion in a peace

process, the UWC strike demonstrates the impact of entrenched power on a negotiated settlement.

The signing of the AIA transformed the power relationships among the principal actors in the conflict. By signing the AIA, the British government severed the historic link between themselves and the unionists of Northern Ireland. As an intergovernmental agreement between two sovereign states, the AIA was immune from Unionists protests. The intentional exclusion of the unionists from the AIA talks illustrates the British government's determination to chart a new course in the conflict. The mechanism of power entrenchment, utilized for over two centuries by the loyalists/unionists in Northern Ireland, disintegrated in the wake of the AIA. The political context that ushered in the signing of the GFA differed from Sunningdale in two important ways. First, the unionists did not possess the power to overturn the peace process. If the unionists chose to oppose key strands of the GFA peace process, the British made it clear that Westminster would decide on their behalf.

In addition to demonstrating the importance of history in understanding how civil wars end, my research seeks to emphasize the importance of timing and the sequencing of events in political outcomes. The current literature on civil war termination focuses on "snapshots" of a conflict that begin and end with the resolution process. Variables used by scholars to explain the outcome of the war derive from the circumstances of the conflict in a given moment. In contrast, my research seeks to demonstrate that with regard to ethnic civil wars, the presence of power entrenchment decreases the probability of a successful negotiated political settlement. Power entrenchment, supported by

recurring socio-political processes and events, determined the outcome of the Sunningdale agreement. In the absence of power entrenchment leading up to the GFA, paramilitary inclusion secured a peaceful settlement to the conflict. In understanding the contours of ethnic civil wars, scholars and policy makers need to consider the history of the conflict. For policy-makers engaged in ethnic conflict resolution, my research offers the sobering argument that unless historical contexts change, no amount of diplomatic energy will yield a peaceful settlement.

In terms of assessing how civil wars end in general, and how ethnic wars end in particular, evidence exists for a temporal approach. In the case of Northern Ireland, the timing of inviting Sinn Fein into the peace process followed a significant power shift. Prior to the AIA, the vehement protests from unionists (that may have included violence) would have offset any gain from inviting Sinn Fein into peace talks. Inclusion of paramilitary groups in the peace process, by itself, is not a sufficient variable to ensure a peaceful settlement. Lowering the analytical lens into the resolution process, I argue that any attempts to reform the security sector prior to including the paramilitary groups in the process would not yield the desired outcome. Therefore, in considering how civil wars end, I submit Pierson's statement: "the temporal ordering of events or processes has a significant impact on outcomes."[141] In order to understand the historical trajectory of the conflict in Northern Ireland, one must also consider the sequencing of critical variables as they unfolded over time.

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[141] Pierson, *Politics in Time*, 73.

Finally, the conclusions reached in my thesis include recommendations for policy makers engaged in peace process. A frequent tactic in confronting asymmetrical warfare or paramilitary groups involves a diplomatic prohibition regarding "talking to terrorists." In some cases, when the groups committing violence have low membership and low political support, opening channels of communication may provide unwarranted legitimacy. However, when a group possesses widespread community support and significant membership, governments must consider opening indirect channels of communication. In Northern Ireland, the British government resolved to ensure paramilitary inclusion in the peace process. The invitation to allow Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, to participate in the peace process proved a crucial variable in ensuring that the final agreement would not succumb to violence. In addition, consultation with incarcerated paramilitary members increased the prospects for lasting peace.

In the literature on understanding how civil wars end, many avenues for future research exist. Here I offer two possibilities. First, in terms of ethnic conflicts, more research is needed in understanding how history interacts with the resolution process. Such an approach goes beyond simply stating "history matters." The identification of critical junctures that evolved into historical processes represents an important first step. By locating critical junctures related to a conflict, a researcher gains a baseline of knowledge to ask: What type of causal mechanism(s) emerged after the critical juncture and how do these processes impact peace agreements and initiatives? Second, the interaction between paramilitary groups and peace agreements represents another area for

further exploration. The disaggregation of the term "paramilitary group" to categorize according to those with political wings and those without, those with charismatic leaders versus those without, and those with clear political goals versus those fighting a perceived defensive war should yield new and profitable research questions.

I offer my thesis as a mid-range theory to explain a specific sub-set of civil wars – ethnic internal armed conflict. In this way, my research represents a stepping-stone towards a more aggregated theory of civil war termination. For example, by super-imposing the comparative-historical methodology taken here with Toft's theory on security-sector reform, an important baseline of knowledge for conflict resolution emerges. Within political science, the case of Northern Ireland demonstrates the need for an inter-disciplinary approach to understanding civil war settlement. It is my hope that this thesis demonstrates the benefits for such an approach.

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