

# 1124 Ireland/Northern Ireland 1969-1994 Course Syllabus and Course Guide Summer 2019

**Instructor Name:** Dr Niall Gilmartin

**Email:** ngilmart@tcd.ie

**Ireland Phone Number:** 0876188628

**Office Hours for the Class:** If you wish to speak to me about any aspect of the course then simply email me to arrange an appointment and we can meet before and after the class in the coffee shop in the school building.

## Introduction:

Welcome. The overarching objective of this course is to provide students with a critical understanding of the causes, trajectory, and main events within Northern Ireland's 30 year conflict, euphemistically dubbed 'The Troubles'. Like most other protracted armed conflicts, the 'intellectual tools' required for studying Northern Ireland are interdisciplinary, and so this course draws from the fields of history, political science, and sociology. Upon completion, it is intended that students will:

- have a comprehensive overview of the Troubles.
- understand differing theoretical and conceptual approaches to the conflict.
- have the ability to think critically about the Troubles and its on-going peace process.
- Use these skills to research, analyse, and write about the conflict.

**Cell Phone and Texting Policy:** The nature of the content under consideration, and given the relatively small numbers in the class, student attention, engagement, and participation is a vital component of the learning process. Therefore, when you enter class you are requested to please store away your cell phone and turn it off.

## Course Requirements

In this class you will be expected to not only learn the history of this period, but also to think critically about it and analyze it in depth. There is a significant amount of reading in this class and the expectation is that students will complete the required readings prior to each day. In the Workshops, we will watch, debate, and discuss documentary footage concerning the "Troubles."

Style Definition: Default Paragraph Font

As active participants in this learning approach, the expectations is that students will develop their standpoints on various aspects of the ‘Troubles, and come to your own conclusions in the classes and your assignment project.

## Grading and Requirements for the Course:

The assessment for this course comprises of attendance and participation; submitting questions on each morning; and an essay assignment. Submitting Questions (10%) You must come to each class with a question based on the readings. I will allocate about 20 minutes at the start of each class with your questions. Attendance and participation: (10%) You are required to attend every class in Dublin unless you have a valid excuse. Student participation is essential for the workshops/debate/discussions sessions to function correctly. Final Essay (80%) You are required to submit a 2000 word essay assignment to me by email no later than midnight of Friday 31<sup>st</sup> May 2019. I will distribute at least 4 essay questions. There is also a possibility for students to propose their own essay question, subject to approval of course.

## Course Materials

ALL ARE REQUIRED Textbooks: Both books are on Amazon and available as ebook, nook and Kindle.

- McKittrick, David and McVea, David. 2000. Making Sense of the Trouble: The Story of Conflict in Northern Ireland. Belfast: Blackstaff.
- Cochrane, Fergal. 2013. Northern Ireland: The Reluctant Peace. Great Britain: Yale University Press.

McKittrick and McVea is the core text book for this course. It takes a very even-handed approach and provides a solid analysis of the period under study. Although the title of Fergal Cochrane’s text states ‘reluctant peace’, the book is an accessible and comprehensive overview of the conflict in Northern Ireland, beginning with historical events in the 1600s and then moving into a number of chapters covering the conflict, while the remaining chapters focus in the peace process.

## Course Outline:

### Monday May 13<sup>th</sup>

- 1912-1968 – The Gun in Irish Politics

- The Orange State? Levels of discrimination in Northern Ireland
- October 5<sup>th</sup> 1968 – The Day the Troubles Began (documentary)
- From Civil Rights to Armalites – the return of violence.

Required Reading:

Chapters 1, 2 and 3. McKittrick, David and McVea, David. 2000. Making Sense of the Trouble: The Story of Conflict in Northern Ireland.

Additional Readings:

Ch 2. Cochrane, Fergal. 2013. Northern Ireland: The Reluctant Peace

Ch 1 'Theories of the Conflict'. Tonge, J. 2013. Northern Ireland.

Ch 2 'The Nature of the Division'. Coulter, C. 1999. *Contemporary Northern Irish Society: An Introduction*.

Tuesday May 14<sup>th</sup>

- 1969-1974
- The Arrival of British Troops
- Splits and divisions – the birth of the Provos
- Internment, Ballymurphy, and Bloody Sunday – 'The Greatest Recruiting Sergeant'.
- Ulster Will Fight – The rise of Loyalist paramilitaries
- Sunningdale – Northern Ireland's first power-sharing

Required Reading:

Chapters 3, 4 and 5. McKittrick, David and McVea, David. 2000. Making Sense of the Trouble: The Story of Conflict in Northern Ireland.

Additional Readings:

Ch 3. Cochrane, Fergal. 2013. Northern Ireland: The Reluctant Peace

Ch 2 'The Provisional IRA'. Tonge, J. 2013. Northern Ireland

Ch 6 and 7. Taylor, P. 1998. *Provos: The IRA and Sinn Fein*.

Ch 1 'The Origins of the UDA' and Ch 2 'UDA and 1974 Ulster Workers Council Strike'  
Wood, Ian. 2006. Crimes of Loyalty: A History of the UDA.

#### Wednesday 15<sup>th</sup> May

- Ulsterisation Policy
- Prison Protest 1976-1981: The 'No Wash' Protest
- 1980 and 1981 Hunger Strike
- 'Bobby Sands and the 1981 Hunger Strike' – Documentary
- The Armalite and the Ballot Box – legacy of the prison protest.

#### Required Reading:

Chapters 6 and 7. McKittrick, David and McVea, David. 2000. Making Sense of the  
Trouble: The Story of Conflict in Northern Ireland.

#### Additional Readings:

Ch 5 'The Politics of Sinn Fein'. Tonge, J. 2013. Northern Ireland

#### Thursday 16<sup>th</sup> May

- 1980s – The 'acceptable level of violence'
- State Collusion and the 'intelligence war'
- Outkilling the IRA: A new generations of Ulster loyalists.
- Endgame? The kernel of the peace process
- From 'long war' to 'longer peace' – Northern Ireland's reluctant peace.

#### Required Reading:

Chapters 9, 10 and 12. McKittrick, David and McVea, David. 2000. Making Sense of the  
Trouble: The Story of Conflict in Northern Ireland.

#### Additional Readings:

Ch 5, 6, and 7. Cochrane, Fergal. 2013. Northern Ireland: The Reluctant Peace

Ch 8 'War by Other Means or 'Triumph of Moderation?'. Tonge, J. 2013. Northern  
Ireland

Ch 2. 'Consociation Power-Sharing'. Nagle, John, and Mary-Alice C. Clancy. 2010. *Shared Society or Benign Apartheid? Understanding Peace-Building in Divided Societies*.

Ch 20 'Armalite and Ballot Box'. Taylor, P. 1998. *Provos: The IRA and Sinn Fein*.

### Friday 17<sup>th</sup> May

- Field trip to Belfast

### Course Rationale and Methodology:

What is the conflict in Northern Ireland about? Why can't the people there simply just get along? The issues at the heart of Northern Ireland's divisions are historical, complex, visceral, and unfortunately, often manifest in forms of political violence. The 30 year conflict between 1968 and 1998 is often erroneously dubbed a 'religious war', or simply a war waged by the IRA to overthrow an imperial power. This course seeks to displace such over-simplistic narratives with a more critical and nuanced approach. While religion and anti-imperialism undoubtedly play a role in the conflict and division in the region, there is a wealth of existing literature which skilfully teases out the complexities of the conflict. Though ethno-religious identity is central, there are other categories of analysis such as social class, gender, culture, identity formation, contested and selective re-workings of history, which provide a richer and more holistic understanding of life in Northern Ireland. Furthermore, the international context is also overlooked. It should be no surprise that the global radical politics of 1968 shaped the conditions that gave way to the eruption of the Troubles. And of course, it was the international events of the peace processes in South Africa, Latin America, and Palestine-Israel in the 1990s that paved the way for the ending of the Troubles and the commencement of the peace process.

Through critical engagement, we will explore why one of the most peaceful regions in Western Europe erupted into one of the longest and most bitter armed conflicts which involved a range of actors and protagonists including republicans, loyalists, and the British and Irish states. While the violence that characterised the Troubles has largely ended, the legacy of this violence continues to cast a long and often toxic shadow over the present and so we will also examine why the 'long war' has transformed into the 'longer peace'. Despite the advent of the 1998 peace accord, why is Northern Ireland still not at peace? The latter part of the course will explore how the vexed legacy of the past saturates the present, meaning that the conflict in Northern Ireland is not resolved, but merely 'under management'.

Through readings, documentaries, in-class debate and discussion, and of course the field trip to Belfast, I hope this course provides you with an intellectually stimulating and enjoyable learning experience.

#### Additional Resources:

1. The Guardian/Observer Newspaper 2. The Times of London 3. Belfast Telegraph 4. Irish News 5. Irish Independent 6. Irish Times 7. Republican News (An Phoblacht) 8. Ulster Newsletter Brief guides to the political parties and paramilitaries of Northern Ireland. – Courtesy of the BBC Website Political Parties Paramilitaries • Alliance Party of Northern Ireland • Democratic Unionist Party • Northern Ireland Women's Coalition • Social Democratic and Labour Party • Sinn Féin • Progressive Unionist Party • Ulster Democratic Party • Ulster Unionist Party • United Kingdom Unionist Party • Northern Ireland Unionist Party • Irish Republican Army • Provisional IRA • Official IRA • Continuity IRA • The Real IRA/32County Sovereignty Movement • Irish National Liberation Army • Direct Action Against Drugs • Ulster Defence Association/Ulster Freedom Fighters • Ulster Volunteer Force • Loyalist Volunteer Force • Red Hand Defenders/Orange Volunteers

#### Additional Readings:

Below are listed a number of books, by no means exhaustive, that I would recommend that you eventually read, or brow through. They are all very good in dealing with their particular subjects. I will be quoting from many of them and using during the term. Books I would recommend for further reading:

1. Tonge, J. 2013. *Northern Ireland*. Cambridge: Polity Press
2. Spencer, G. *The State of Loyalism in Northern Ireland Today*.
3. Bean, K. 2007. *The 'New' Politics of Sinn Féin*.
4. Gallagher, C. *After the Peace: Loyalist Paramilitaries in Post-Accord Northern Ireland*.
5. McKittrick, D. et al. (eds) *Lost Lives*.
6. Shirlow, P., J. Tonge, J. McAuley and C. McGlynn. 2013. *Abandoning Historical Conflict?*
7. Shirlow, P. 2012. *The End of Ulster Loyalism?* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

8. White, R. W. 2017. *Out of the Ashes: An Oral History of the Provisional Republican Movement*. Dublin: Merrion Press.

#### Recommended Books:

Bell, J. Bowyer Bell, IRA: The Secret Army

McGarry, J. and O'Leary, B. 1995. *Explaining Northern Ireland*. London: Blackwell.

Bruce, Steve. 1993. *The Edge of the Union: The Ulster Loyalist Political Vision*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University.

Coogan, Tim Pat. 1996. *The Troubles: Ireland's Ordeal 1966-1996 and the Search for Peace*. Boulder, CO: Roberts Publishers.

Coogan, Tim Pat. 1996. *The IRA: A History*

Aretxaga, B. 1997. *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland*. New Jersey: Princeton Press.

Corcoran, M. 2006. *Out of Order: The Political Imprisonment of Women in Northern Ireland, 1972-1999*. Devon: Willan Publishing.

Coulter, C. 1999. *Contemporary Northern Irish Society: An Introduction*. London: Pluto

Gilmartin, Niall. 2019. *Female Combatants After Armed Struggle. Lost in Transition?* New York & London: Routledge.

Fearon, K. 1999. *Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition*. Belfast: Blackstaff Press.

Maillot, A. 2005. *New Sinn Fein: Irish Republicanism in the Twenty-First Century*. London and New York: Routledge.

O'Keefe, T. 2013. *Feminist Identity Development and Activism in Revolutionary Movements*. London and New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Dawson, Graham. 2007. *Making peace with the past? : memory, trauma and the Irish Troubles*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Nagle, John, and Mary-Alice C. Clancy. 2010. *Shared Society or Benign Apartheid? Understanding Peace-Building in Divided Societies*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Taylor, P. 1998. *Provos: The IRA and Sinn Fein*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing

Wood, Ian. 2006. *Crimes of Loyalty: A History of the UDA*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Crawford, Colin. 2003. *Inside the UDA: Volunteers and Violence*. London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2003.

Farrell, Michael. 1976. *Northern Ireland the Orange State*. London: Pluto Press, c1976.

McCann, Eamonn. 1993. *War and an Irish Town*. London: Pluto Press.

Moloney, Ed. 2002. *A Secret History of the IRA*. New York: W.W. Norton.

O'Leary, Brendan. 1993. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. London; Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone Press.

O'Malley Padraig. 1997. *The Uncivil Wars: Ireland Today*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Toolis, Kevin. 1996. *Rebel Hearts: Journeys Within the IRA's Soul*. New York: St. Martin's Press.