

GCSE



CCEA GCSE TEACHER GUIDANCE
History

Unit 1 Section B Option 2:
Changing Relations: Northern Ireland
and its Neighbours, 1965–98

Resource Pack:
The Downing Street Declaration, 1993

Option 2: Changing Relations: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours, 1965–98

Introduction to resource pack

This pack has been developed to help support the teaching and learning of ‘*Changing Relations: Northern Ireland and its Neighbours, 1965-98*’ and, in particular, content new to this option - ‘*The Downing Street Declaration, 1993*’. The specification content for this topic is:

The Downing Street Declaration, 1993	The Hume-Adams initiative; the Downing Street Declaration: the key terms and responses to the Declaration in Northern Ireland and its significance for paving the way for the ceasefires
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For each activity, there is a ‘*teacher guidance*’ section as well as ‘*instructions for students*’. Some brief background information for each activity is also provided. Each activity provides opportunities to develop the statutory skills requirements of the Northern Ireland Curriculum at Key Stage 4 as well as the skills students will be expected to demonstrate in the examination for this option:

- demonstrate knowledge and understanding of the key features and characteristics of the period studied (AO1);
- explain and analyse historical events and periods studied using second-order historical concepts including continuity, change, cause, consequence, significance, similarity and difference (AO2); and
- analyse, evaluate and use sources (contemporary to the period) to make substantiated judgements, in the context of historical events studied (AO3).

Background to the topic

The Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 did not stop violence in Northern Ireland. Paramilitary attacks continued on both the Loyalist and Republican sides. For example, in 1992 alone, the UFF killed five Catholic civilians in a betting shop in Belfast and an IRA bomb in central London caused almost £1 billion worth of damage.

At the same time, however, some positive developments were taking place. The SDLP's John Hume was conducting secret talks with Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams in an attempt to broker a peace deal. Unbeknown to all at this time, the British government was also involved in secret talks with Republicans via an intermediary.

All of these developments eventually resulted in the Downing Street Declaration of 1993 between the British and Irish governments.

The Declaration stated that the people of Ireland had the right to self-determination, but Northern Ireland would stay part of the UK as long as the majority of its citizens wanted this. It also included the principle of consent, meaning that the people of Ireland, North and South, would have the sole right to solve the issues of Ireland by mutual consent.

This document did not end the violence, but it helped to establish the foundations on which a peaceful political settlement would be built.

Activity One

Title: The Hume – Adams Initiative and the Downing Street Declaration, 1993.

Key Question: Why was the Downing Street Declaration possible by late 1993?

Instructions for Students

*Your teacher will place you in groups to discuss information about a particular theme relating to the background to the Downing Street Declaration of 1993 (Template A).

*Discuss this theme with the other members of your group – focus on why this theme would make an agreement between the British and Irish governments more likely.

*Now write down your explanation in the column beside your theme on the table your teacher gives you (Template B).

*Feedback your explanation to the rest of your class. Listen to the feedback from the other groups, and jot down their explanations against the various other themes on your table.

*Now pick ONE of the themes and explain why you think it was significant in helping to bring about an agreement between the British and Irish governments in late 1993 (Template C).

Teacher Guidance

*In groups, give students information cards (Template A) relating to the background leading up to the signing of the Downing Street Declaration (once they have been given the introduction to this theme): 1) Failure of the Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985, continued violence and the demand for peace from ordinary people; 2) Adams' acceptance of principle of consent; 3) Mary Robinson's election as President of Ireland, 1990; 4) Hume-Adams initiative; 5) Secret talks between the British government and Irish Republicans.

*Ask students to discuss their theme and explain why it would have made agreement more likely between the British and Irish governments by late 1993. Give each group a table on which to write down a group explanation beside their particular theme (Template B).

*Groups should feedback their responses as part of a whole class discussion, completing the table as they go.

*Plenary could involve students choosing one theme which they feel might have been most significant in helping bring about an agreement in late 1993, and give reasons for their choice (Template C).

Activity One

Template A - The Downing Street Declaration Information Cards

Theme 1: The failure of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, continued violence up to 1993 and the demand for peace from ordinary people

The Anglo-Irish Agreement had not ended violence. Unionists and loyalists opposed the Agreement as did Republicans. Hostilities continued on both sides:

- In 1991, 31 people, mainly innocent Catholics, were killed by Loyalists.
- In 1993, an IRA bomb in Warrington, England, killed two young boys, while another killed nine innocent Protestant civilians in a fish shop on the Shankill Road in Belfast. In response to this, Loyalists killed thirteen more people in revenge attacks.

Many people in Northern Ireland were sickened by this violence and demanded change.

Theme 2: Gerry Adams' acceptance of the principle of consent

Sinn Féin's leader began to accept by the early 1990s that the main reason why Partition remained was because the majority of unionists in Northern Ireland supported it and opposed the idea of a United Ireland. Adams realised that there would have to be unionist agreement (or consent) for a United Ireland if that were ever to happen. Unionists would have to be persuaded that a United Ireland would be a good idea.

Theme 3: Mary Robinson's election as President of Ireland, 1990

As an Irish Senator in 1985, Robinson had disagreed with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, saying that it was not fair on the unionist community in Northern Ireland. As President of Ireland, she argued that achieving peace and justice in Northern Ireland were bigger priorities than ending partition.

Theme 4: The Hume – Adams Initiative

Secret talks between the SDLP's John Hume and Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams had begun as early as 1988. Hume believed that peace could be achieved if the IRA were persuaded to give up their weapons and work through the political party, Sinn Féin. Hume also said that the British government needed to try to make it possible for the IRA to give up its guns. Both Adams and Hume said that the Irish people alone, North and South, should decide Ireland's future.

When these talks were made public, the two men issued a joint statement on 25 September 1993, saying that the Hume-Adams Initiative "aimed at the creation of a peace process". The statement showed that political talks might be the way forward. It also accepted that unionist opinions would need to be considered, so long as unionists accepted that nationalists still wanted a United Ireland.

Theme 5: Secret talks between the British Government and Republicans

On 16 November 1993 a story appeared in the media claiming that secret talks had been taking place between the British government and Republicans. The story was confirmed on 28 November 1993. Just over two weeks later, the Downing Street Declaration was signed.

Activity One

Template B - What made the signing of the Downing Street Declaration possible in December 1993?

Work in groups and complete the below table:

The build up to the signing of the Downing Street Declaration	Decision: would this development have made agreement between the British and Irish governments more or less likely by late 1993?
Theme 1 Failure of the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, continued violence and desire for peace in Northern Ireland by the early 1990s	
Theme 2 Adams' acceptance of the principle of consent	
Theme 3 Mary Robinson becomes President of the Republic of Ireland, 1990	
Theme 4 Hume-Adams Initiative	
Theme 5 Secret talks between the British government and Republicans	

Activity One

Template C

Study the five background themes again. Choose the theme you think was most significant in helping to bring about the signing of the Downing Street Declaration, 1993 and explain why.

Theme Chosen	Reason why it was the most significant in helping to bring about the signing of the Downing Street Declaration, 1993

Activity 2

Title: The Terms of the Downing Street Declaration, 1993

Key Question: What were the key terms of the Downing Street Declaration, 1993?

Instructions for Students

*Your teacher will provide you with information on the Downing Street Declaration. You may also be given the opportunity to carry out some independent research.

*You will then be asked to imagine that you are a journalist for a neutral international newspaper, reporting on the signing of the Downing Street Declaration.

*You must compile a Fact File of information on the Downing Street Declaration, which you will use later to write a more detailed report about it (Template A).

Teacher Guidance

*Read through information about the Downing Street Declaration with students – its main participants, terms etc.

*Explain to students that they will take on the role as a journalist working for a neutral international newspaper in December 1993. Ask students to create a Fact File on the Downing Street Declaration for their newspaper, under four key headings (Who? Where? When? What?) (Template A).

*Students could be asked to write a report or article in full afterwards.

Activity Two

Template A - The Downing Street Declaration Fact File

Complete the table below, using as much relevant detail as possible. You can use this information later to write a report or article on the Downing Street Declaration

Fact File: The Downing Street Declaration

WHO? <i>Mention the key people involved in the signing of the declaration.</i>	
WHERE? <i>Location – where the declaration was issued from.</i>	
WHEN? <i>The date.</i>	
WHAT? <i>What were the key terms: bullet point each term.</i>	

Activity 3

Title: Responses to the Downing Street Declaration

Key Question: What were the responses to the Downing Street Declaration of 1993?

Instructions for Students

- *Your teacher will recap on information relating to the Downing Street Declaration.
- *You will be allocated to one of four groups and you will be asked to analyse a response to the Downing Street Declaration in December 1993 from a certain perspective (Template A).
- *You must feedback as a group to the rest of your class and explain whose perspective you are describing and their response.
- *Individually, you will also complete some source-based questions exploring a range of contemporary perspectives.

Teacher Guidance

- *Read through the introductory information provided with this activity (Template A).
- *Split the class into four groups. Ask each group to focus on one of the four contemporary sources in this activity, relating to responses to the Downing Street Declaration (Template A).
- *Students work in groups. Each group should allocate a leader to explain the perspective in their source to the rest of the class.
- *Students then individually complete source-based questions on all the sources in this activity.

Activity Three

Template A - Introduction to the Downing Street Declaration, 1993

The Downing Street Declaration gave the people of Ireland as a whole the right to choose the future of the country. It represented a little 'give and take':

- Northern Ireland would remain partitioned from the rest of Ireland until the majority of its people desired this – something unionists had always demanded.
- The Republic would have a say in any future settlement – this was something republicans had always said they wanted.

The declaration therefore gave something to all sides. It gave the IRA what it wanted, but now challenged it to talk instead of using violence. It also made it difficult for unionists and loyalists to refuse to take part in talks any longer.

The hope was that the declaration would lead to ceasefires on both sides, which would then facilitate all-party talks and a new political settlement for Northern Ireland.

All these things had happened by October 1994.

Responses to the Downing Street Declaration in December 1993 were very mixed.

Sources: Responses to the Downing Street Declaration expressed at Westminster, 15 December 1993

Source A: Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, John Major, 15 December, 1993

If there is a permanent end to violence, and if Sinn Féin commits itself to the democratic process, then we will enter into talks with it within three months. But, first, it must end violence for good. Unionists should be reassured by this declaration. The Taoiseach fully accepts the principle that any constitutional change could come about only with the consent of a majority in Northern Ireland.

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Source B: Leader of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), James Molyneaux, 15 December, 1993

Does the Prime Minister share my expectation that we can now proceed to govern Northern Ireland in accordance with the wishes of 85% of the population – Protestant and Catholics? Can he confirm that the joint declaration means that there will not be a united Ireland without majority consent, or give Sinn Féin an immediate place at the talks table?

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Source C: Leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, Ian Paisley, 15 December, 1993

I find it very offensive to be told that, in three months' time, if the IRA ceases violence without any conditions for handing over its weapons or its bomb-making material, the IRA will be invited, as politicians, to sit down at the table. That goes to the very gut of the resentment of the people of Northern Ireland who have been slaughtered, butchered and murdered.

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Source D: Leader of the SDLP, John Hume, 15 December, 1993

The joint declaration is a challenge to all parties to come to the table in a totally peaceful atmosphere to begin the very difficult process of reaching agreement. If it takes place in a peaceful atmosphere, we will have much more chance of reaching an agreement. May the House share with me at this moment the hope of all our people that today will be the first major step on a road that will remove forever the gun and the bomb from our small island of people.

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Source-based Questions: Reactions to The Downing Street Declaration, 1993

1. Using Source A and your contextual knowledge, give **one** thing John Major hoped would happen as a result of the 1993 Downing Street Declaration. (2 marks)

2. Using Source B and your contextual knowledge, give **two** areas where James Molyneaux asked for guarantees from the Downing Street Declaration. (4 marks)

1

2

Sample Question – Teacher Guidance

Please note: Below are sample responses and individual students will be able to provide a more/less developed responses depending on ability levels and time management. A candidate does not need to include ALL the points below to achieve a top level response. This should be taken into consideration when using these sample responses.

Students ONLY need to use the source to answer source utility and reliability questions. They do not need to bring additional evidence or factors outside the source. Where the question asks for “contextual knowledge” this simply means a candidate’s own knowledge of the information in the source, e.g. 1993 was when the Downing Street Declaration was passed.

Question 3

Study Source C. How **useful** is **Source C** for an historian studying the responses of politicians from Northern Ireland to the Downing Street Declaration? (5 marks)

Explain your answer, **using Source C and your contextual knowledge**.

Target AO3: Analysis and evaluation of source utility to make substantiated judgements.

Response should include some of the following:

The source is useful because:

Author - Ian Paisley was leader of the DUP in 1993, and a prominent spokesperson for unionism. He was an elected MP and represented the views of those who voted for him and his party.

Date – Useful as it is a speech in the House of Commons immediately after the announcement of the Downing Street Declaration on 15 December 1993.

Content – It tells us the views of a prominent unionist leader to the declaration immediately after its announcement. Paisley says he is offended at the idea that unionists like him might have to negotiate with the IRA, who, he claims in the source, have ‘slaughtered, butchered and murdered’ the people of Northern Ireland. He hints that he believes the IRA should have to hand over their weapons before any talks would begin.

Limitations – Paisley only represents one section of unionism, albeit a significant section. Some unionists, like James Molyneux the UPP leader, merely sought reassurances from the British and Irish governments before entering into talks with republicans. Nationalist MPs, like John Hume of the SDLP welcomed the declaration fully.

Question 4

Study Source D. How **reliable** is **Source D** for an historian studying the responses of politicians from Northern Ireland to the Downing Street Declaration? (6 marks)

Explain your answer, **using Source D and your contextual knowledge.**

Target AO3: Analysis and evaluation of source reliability to make substantiated judgements.

Response should include some of the following:

The source may be reliable because:

Author – John Hume was an elected MP. He is a nationalist and leader of the largest nationalist party in Northern Ireland in 1993, at the time of the Downing Street Declaration. Hume represents the views of those who voted for him and supported his party. This makes him a very reliable source of information as we would expect this opinion to be held by those who voted for him and by others in his party.

Date – It is a speech in the House of Commons on 15 December 1993, immediately after the Downing Street Declaration was announced. It is a contemporary source and Hume had direct insight into these events and first-hand knowledge of how his voters felt at the time.

Content – Although Hume speaks of his great hopes for the future, now that this declaration has been announced, and that he hopes for peace to be restored to Ireland, Hume is realistic enough to admit that many difficulties may yet be ahead for the political process.

Limitations – Reliability might be open to question as this speech was delivered in the British House of Commons and Hume was appealing to all sides to come on board with the declaration: he may therefore be deliberately diplomatic and not express his true feelings. The source's reliability can also be questioned as it only gives the nationalist perspective.

Activity Four

Title: The Ceasefires of 1994

Key Question: How did the Downing Street Declaration pave the way for the 1994 ceasefires?

Instructions for Students

*Your teacher will give you a flow diagram as a visual representation of the journey from the Downing Street Declaration to the ceasefires (Template A).

*You will be asked to work in pairs to explain why certain terms of the Downing Street Declaration would have made a peaceful resolution more likely from a unionist and nationalist perspective (Template B).

*Your class will then be split into two groups - with one group representing unionism and the other group representing the nationalist perspective in 1993/1994.

*You will follow your teacher's instructions to create an imaginary social media feed for each of the events on the flow diagram you were given for 1993/1994, from your group's perspective (Template C).

* You will then share your social media feed with the other group as part of a whole class discussion, and explain how and why the responses of the two groups may differ.

* As part of another whole class exercise, your teacher will ask you to discuss the positive and negative role social media plays today in shaping politics and world events (Template D).

Teacher Guidance

*Give each student a copy of the flow diagram relating to the Downing Street Declaration in 1993 and subsequent 1994 ceasefires (Template A).

*Ask students to work in pairs to explain why certain terms would make a peaceful resolution more likely from – a) a nationalist and republican perspective; b) a unionist and loyalist perspective. Feedback as whole class (Template B).

*Divide the class into two groups. One group will write a stream of imaginary social media posts to cover the seven events on the flow diagram from a nationalist perspective; the other from a unionist perspective. They must think of an appropriate social media name for their account which reflects their particular attitude/persuasion. They should note that social media did not exist in 1993/1994 (Template C).

*Posts must adhere to a maximum of 140 characters for each event. Each post should be accurately dated on the template provided also. Students write their post on the Social Media Template provided. Impress upon students that sectarian, abusive or offensive posts are forbidden.

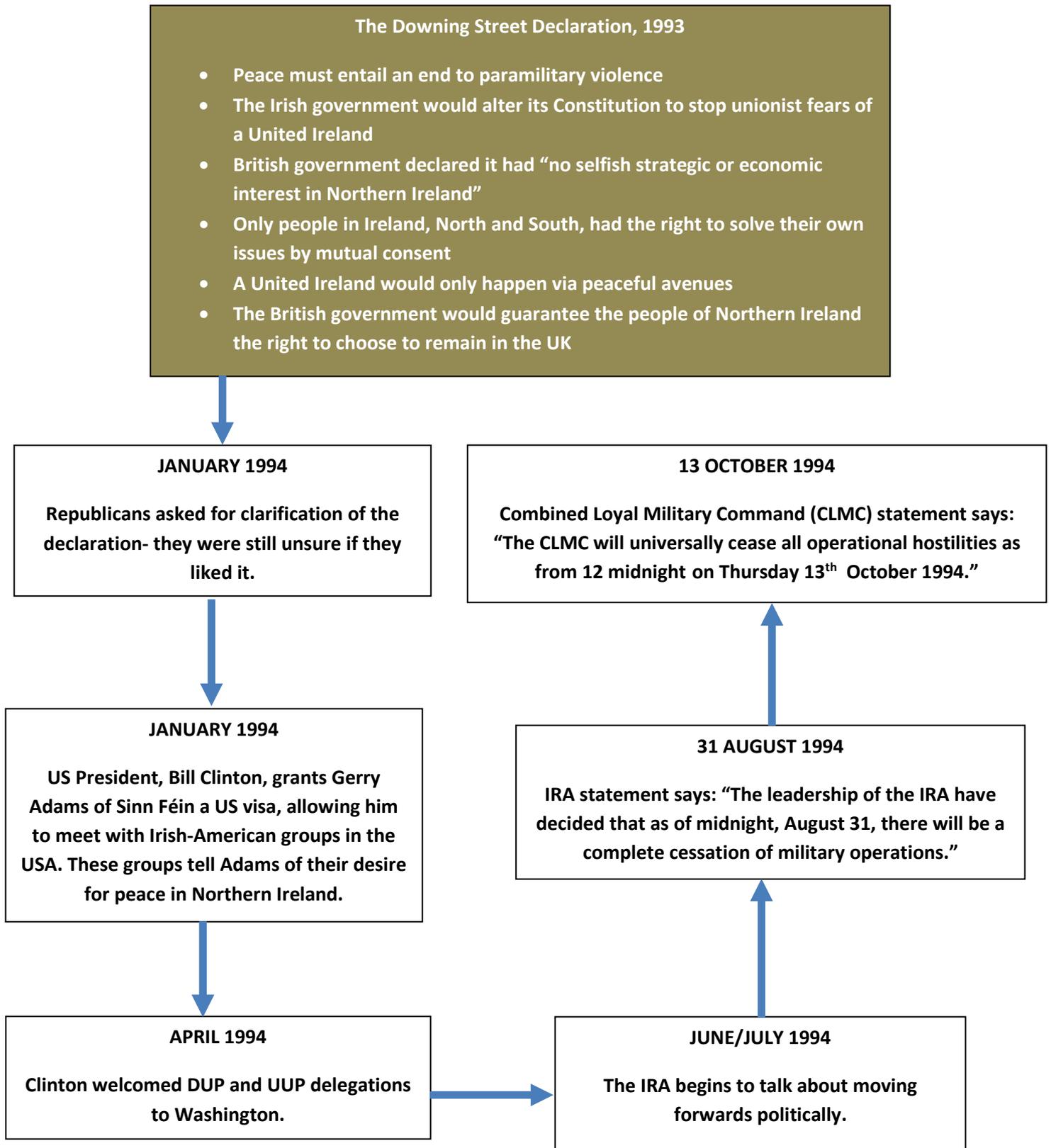
* Students need to discuss in their groups the likely nationalist/unionist response to each event, explaining their rationale to each other and to the class. Ask students to try and explain the significance of each event in bringing a peaceful resolution closer/ further away from the perspective of their group.

*Students share their posts with the other group at the end, with differences and similarities noted – display as a Twitter Wall Feed.

*As part of whole class plenary, ask students to discuss the positive and negative effects of social media in shaping political events today. Students could be asked to reflect on current political events as part of this discussion (Template D).

Activity Four

Template A - From the Downing Street Declaration to the Ceasefires



Activity Four

Template B - Choose one term from the Downing Street Declaration and explain its significance in the search for a political solution in Northern Ireland from:

(A) Nationalist perspective

Term from the Downing Street Declaration	Significance of this term in helping move forward in Northern Ireland

(B) Republican perspective

Term from the Downing Street Declaration	Significance of term in helping move forward in Northern Ireland

(C) Unionist perspective

Term from the Downing Street Declaration	Significance of term in helping move forward in Northern Ireland

(D) Loyalist perspective

Term from the Downing Street Declaration	Significance of term in helping move forward in Northern Ireland

Activity Four

Template C: Social Media Activity

Please note that sectarian, offensive or abusive posts are strictly forbidden on this site

Account Name:
Post1#
Post 2#
Post 3#
Post 4#
Post 5#
Post 6#
Post 7#

Activity Four

Template D - What role does social media play today in shaping political events?

Jot down as many positive and negative influences you can think of how social media shapes political events today – these can be used as reference points to help you contribute to the whole class discussion.

Positive influences and examples	Negative influences and examples