“We will lead you to the republic”: The dynamic heterogeneity of Irish republicanism, 1968-1998

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This thesis combines archival research and oral histories to analyse and explain the dynamic heterogeneity of Irish republicanism between the 'global '68' and the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. Across six thematic chapters, it discusses republicanism's temporal-spatial complexity, the variety of its influences, and internal dynamics of response to external conjuncture. Engaging concepts and analytical frameworks from social theory and social movement theory, this thesis analyses republican repertoires of action, strategic shifts, and cycles of protest. It situates Irish republicanism among transnational patterns of contestation after the 'global '68'. The research examines republican 'heteroglossia', between leaderships portraying a unified, uniform movement, and dissonances, dilemmas, and transformations through the strata of republican organisations. Oral histories articulate entangled republican memory.

This thesis posits three interconnected explanatory forces for republican heterogeneity: class, space, and networks. Republicans experienced class and interacted with class politics differently, and spatialised and historicised their struggle locally, nationally, and internationally. At moments of crisis and transformation in the republican campaign, activists mobilised alternately in 'orthodox' and 'pragmatic' networks. These competing milieux mediated subjective responses to power relations and strategic changes in the movement. These findings have implications for qualitative analyses of radical movements beyond Ireland, and for understandings of republicanism today.

Contents

Initialisms

ANC	African National Congress
CCDC	Central Citizens' Defence Committee
CPI	Communist Party of Ireland
CPI (M-L)	Communist Party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist)
DCAC	Derry Citizens' Action Committee
DCDA	Derry Citizens' Defence Association
DHAC	Derry Housing Action Committee
DWA	Derry Women's Aid
INLA	Irish National Liberation Army
IPLO	Irish People's Liberation Organisation
IRA	Irish Republican Army (Pre-1970)
IRSM	Irish Republican Socialist Movement (INLA and IRSP)
IRSP	Irish Republican Socialist Party
LCR	League of Communist Republicans
NHBAC	National H-Block/Armagh Committee
NICRA	Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association
NILTUG	Northern Ireland Labour & Trade Union Group
NIWRM	Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement
OC	Officer Commanding
OSF	Official Sinn Féin
OIRA	Official Irish Republican Army
PD	People's Democracy
PIRA	Provisional Irish Republican Army
PSF	Provisional Sinn Féin
RSF	Republican Sinn Féin
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party

Glossary

Ard Comhairle	Governing body or national executive
Ard Fheis	Annual conference
Comhairle Ceantair	District committee or area council
Cumann	Local party branch

Key to archives

CAIN	Conflict Archive on the Internet (https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/)
EHI	Eileen Hickey Irish Republican History Museum, Belfast
HVA	Heathwood Video Archive
IEL	Irish Election Literature (https://irishelectionliterature.com/)
ILA	Irish Left Archive (https://www.clririshleftarchive.org/)
NAI	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin
LHL NIPC	Northern Ireland Political Collection, Linen Hall Library, Belfast
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast

Introduction: The Dynamic Heterogeneity of Irish Republicanism, 1968-1998

This Ard Fheis *and you, the delegates, deserve to know the whole story of this debate. In fact, what you're witnessing here is not a debate over one issue, but two: abstentionism and the leadership of the republican struggle… Those opposed to this issue know there isn't going to be any split in Sinn Fein, they also know that the ranks of the IRA contain a minority of volunteers who, while opposed to the removal of abstentionism from Leinster House, have committed themselves to stand shoulder to shoulder in unity with their comrades. They will not split, they will not walk away from the armed struggle. They are the real revolutionaries. If you allow yourself to be led out of this hall today, the only place you're going is home. You will be walking away from the struggle. Don't go my friends. We will lead you to the republic.*

PSF Vice-President Martin McGuinness's speech on Resolution 162 at the party's *Ard Fheis* of November 1986. The motion received the required two-thirds majority for the party to drop abstentionism in Leinster House, but between 80 and 100 delegates walked out and organised a rival republican party, Republican Sinn Féin.[1]

The events of May, the French uprising of May '68… it was a period when there was a, not so much maybe a revolution, but there was a revolution in thought. Many of the old certainties were being challenged, and they were being challenged really spectacularly in France. Now I wouldn't have been spectacularly au fait with the issues, but the point was, one, in the broadest sense, authority was being challenged, which at my age, as a middle or late teenager, the idea you could challenge authority – that, itself, was something. The French students were asking for a review of the educational curriculum, but also keep in mind that the workers in France were coming out asking for a change in conditions. The Germans were asking for change, and it had rippled over into Czechoslovakia. Certainly at that time I wouldn't have taken a classic Moscow line; I would have had probably more sympathy with Dubček

[1] Linen Hall Library Northern Ireland Political Collection (hereafter, LHL NIPC) P2275: *The Politics of Revolution: The main speeches and debates from the 1986 Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, including the presidential address of Gerry Adams* (Belfast & Dublin: Republican Publications, 1986).

than I had with Moscow. The other obvious, serious issues at the time was Vietnam, coupled with the civil rights movement in the States. Both of those issues, the idea was, has always been, was being portrayed as a battle between good and evil… you have to take a decision… Those are, I think, valuable enough lessons.

Republican ex-prisoner Tommy McKearney interviewed by Jack Hepworth (Moy, County Tyrone, 8 December 2017).[2]

Between 1968 and 1998, thousands of Irish republicans participated in a guerrilla campaign against British rule in Ireland, with the support of thousands more.[3] The considerable research into Irish republicanism in this period has primarily examined republican mobilisation, demonstrating the importance of activists' conceptions of place, community, and memory.[4] Yet republicanism's internal differences have been largely absent from these accounts. Across six thematic chapters, this thesis examines Irish republicanism's dynamic heterogeneity during the Northern Ireland conflict between 1968 and 1998.

This analysis of republicanism's internal differentiation engages a central research question: how and why did republicans historicise, spatialise, frame, and adapt their struggle in different ways? Drawing upon activist publications, press reports, and oral testimony, six chapters thematise republican variation sequentially as post-'68 trajectories, memory, strategy, revolution, feminism, and religion.

Appreciating republicanism's complex ecology informs new understandings of the Troubles more broadly. Throughout the conflict, hostile British government perspectives and

[2] Tommy McKearney interview with Jack Hepworth. Moy, 8 December 2017.

[3] Researchers from Coiste na n-Iarchimí, a republican ex-prisoners' organisation, believe that some 15,000 people were imprisoned for republican activity between 1968 and 1998. This thesis is concerned primarily with republicans in Northern Ireland and the border counties of the Republic of Ireland. Addressing how the Provisional movement destabilised the Republic's political establishment through the 1970s, recent monographs by Brian Hanley and Gearóid Ó Faoleán mark a geographic shift in republican historiography. Author communication with Séanna Walsh, August 2015; Brian Hanley, *The Impact of the Troubles on the Republic of Ireland, 1968-1979: Boiling Volcano?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Gearóid Ó Faoleán, *A Broad Church: The Provisional IRA in the Republic of Ireland, 1969-1980* (Newbridge: Merrion, 2019).

[4] Robert W. White, *Provisional Irish Republicans: An Oral and Interpretive History* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993); Kevin Bean & Mark Hayes, *Republican Voices* (Monaghan: Seesyu Press, 2001); Rogelio Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007); Lorenzo Bosi & Niall Ó Dochartaigh, 'Armed Activism as the Enactment of a Collective Identity: The Case of the Provisional IRA between 1969 and 1972', *Social Movement Studies*, 17 (2018), pp. 35-47; Niall Ó Dochartaigh, 'What Did The Civil Rights Movement Want? Changing Goals and Underlying Continuities in the Transition from Protest to Violence', in Lorenzo Bosi & Gianluca de Fazio (eds.), *The Troubles in Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 33-52.

Provisional leaders alike represented republicanism as a monoglot movement: the former to deny republican ideology, the latter to cohere and discipline their guerrilla movement. The history of the conflict in and about Northern Ireland is as much about struggles within political identities – the British political establishment, unionism-loyalism, and nationalism-republicanism – as between them.

Power struggles *within* political traditions shape much of the turmoil and malaise in Irish (and British) politics today. Brexit has exposed, inter alia, the British political establishment's historical ignorance of, and indifference towards, its 'province'. In the nationalist-republican community, 'dissenting' and 'dissident' republicans lambast Sinn Féin for its historic comprises and participation in failed power-sharing.[5] The unionist-loyalist community increasingly criticises the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), despite the party's significance in Westminster's parliamentary arithmetic since June 2017. Escalating poverty and public health crises, and the devolved assembly's collapse in January 2017, have further driven working-class alienation from the major political parties.[6]

This introduction will review the recent scholarship of republicanism, outlining how this thesis advances understanding of republicanism and, by implication, of the conflict more broadly. The introduction will also introduce concepts from social theory and social movement theory pertinent to this study of republican dynamics, before detailing the sources and methodologies engaged.

i. Literature review

Recent scholarship demonstrates that Irish republicanism is not hermetically sealed.[7] Richard English, among the foremost historians of modern republicanism, has highlighted the

[5] A prominent republican critic of PSF and former PIRA prisoner, Anthony McIntyre, has described how PSF's accepting the 'principle of consent' has propelled republican fragmentation since the 1990s. Anthony McIntyre, 'Republican Fragmentation in the Face of Enduring Partition', in Thomas Paul Burgess (ed.), *The Contested Identities of Ulster Catholics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), p. 219.

[6] Peter Shirlow, who has studied Northern Ireland's elections, suggests there are two distinct unionist identities: those who vote – often for the DUP – and the 45 percent who don't vote. The latter, says Shirlow, are the most liberal in Northern Ireland. More than 100,000 children in Northern Ireland live in poverty, and more people have died by suicide since 1998 than were killed during the Troubles. Annabelle Dickson, 'Northern Ireland's other unionists', *Politico*, 23 November 2018. Available at https://www.politico.eu/article/northern-ireland-brexit-other-unionists-uup-dup/ (Accessed 22 March 2019); Seán Byers, 'Northern Ireland's deeper crisis', *Tribune*, 24 January 2019. Available at https://tribunemag.co.uk/2019/01/northern-irelands-deeper-crisis (Accessed 27 March 2019).

[7] Jonathan Tonge notes the capaciousness of Irish republicanism, including 'militant nationalists, unreconstructed militarists, romantic Fenians, Gaelic Republicans, Catholic sectarians, Northern defenders, international Marxists, socialists, libertarians and liberal Protestants'. Jonathan Tonge,

diversity of political opinion within militant republicanism.[8] Republican activists themselves are aware of this variety. In 1998, Des O'Hagan, a former Official republican internee, perceived four distinct tendencies within Irish republicanism: democratic, internationalist, secular, and socialist.[9] More recently, Timothy Shanahan posited that republicanism drew support not only from 'traditionalists' who held Irish unity as intrinsically desirable, but wider sections of society pursuing any combination of democracy, civil rights, socialism, or cultural revival.[10]

Subsequent studies have heeded this emphasis on intra-republican variety, albeit limiting themselves largely to the Provisional movement, which dominated republicanism numerically and politically.[11] Kevin Bean forensically analysed Provisional Sinn Féin's (PSF) shifting politics through the 1980s and early 1990s, probing the movement's internal hierarchies and the provenance of this 'ideologically promiscuous hybrid'.[12] Similarly, Stephen Hopkins has argued that republicanism since the late 1980s ceded its outward-facing revolutionary aims and gradually settled for a rights-based discourse of cultural freedom of expression within Northern Ireland.[13] Martin J. McCleery's study of internment's impact on four provincial towns moved the object of research beyond the routine focus upon Northern Ireland's two largest cities.[14] Former PIRA prisoners Anthony McIntyre and Tommy

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'"They haven't gone away, you know": Irish Republican "Dissidents" and the Armed Struggle', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16 (2004), p. 672.

[8] Richard English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (London: Pan Books, 2012) [First edition London: Macmillan, 2003], p. 166.

[9] Des O'Hagan, 'The Concept of Republicanism', in Norman Porter (ed.), *The Republican Ideal: Current Perspectives* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1998), p. 84.

[10] Timothy Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), p. 80.

[11] The Official republican movement, although receding from republican positions through the 1970s, has received just one book-length treatment, while the only book dealing with the IRSP-INLA was published over 20 years ago and is concerned primarily with its internal feuding in the late 1980s. Brian Hanley & Scott Millar, *The Lost Revolution: The Story of the Official IRA and the Workers' Party* (Dublin: Penguin Ireland, 2009); Henry McDonald & Jack Holland, *INLA: Deadly Divisions* (Dublin: Poolbeg, 2010) [First edition Dublin: Torc Books, 1994].

[12] Kevin Bean, *The New Politics of Sinn Féin* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), pp. 84-85, 118, 172, 251, 259.

[13] Stephen Hopkins, '"Our whole history has been ruined!" The 1981 Hunger Strike and the Politics of Republican Commemoration and Memory', *Irish Political Studies*, 31 (2016), p. 50.

[14] Martin J. McCleery, *Operation Demetrius and its Aftermath: A New History of the Use of Internment Without Trial in Northern Ireland, 1971-1975* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). Among the foremost works on Northern Ireland's two major cities are: Simon Prince & Geoffrey Warner, *Belfast and Derry in Revolt: A New History of the Start of the Troubles* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011), Niall Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights to Armalites: Derry and the Birth of the Irish Troubles* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997), and Ciarán de Baroid, *Ballymurphy and the Irish War* (London: Pluto Press, 1990). Henry Patterson and Robert W. White debated sectarianism in Provisional republicanism chiefly with reference to Fermanagh and Tyrone. See

McKearney have produced two of the most insightful recent studies of the Provisional republican movement. Having resigned from the movement, both McIntyre and McKearney criticised the Provisionals' strategic changes and internal dynamics.[15]

The study of republicanism has developed as a significant academic field, albeit with an understandable bias towards leaders most frequently exposed to media attention. This thesis extends these analyses beyond this elitist orientation to the movement in the broadest sense. If J. Bowyer Bell, Paul Gill, and John Horgan are justified in characterising republicanism's popular base as young, working-class, and male, in urban housing estates and small rural farms,[16] it remains for scholars to explain cultural influences and subjectivities propelling this mobilisation. If republicans enjoyed popular status as community defenders, how did they sustain this reputation, given their manifest inability in real terms to shield Catholic civilians from brutal state repression and loyalist paramilitarism?[17] From his detailed analysis of PSF policy statements, Martyn Frampton demonstrated that the Provisional leadership's international politics were extremely malleable.[18] This observation begs further questions. How did the grassroots interpret and refract these international perspectives? To what extent did such policy statements affect or interest republicans on the ground?

'Insider accounts' have also contributed to the historiography over the past 25 years. Anthony McIntyre's critique of the Provisionals' shifting strategies traces political processes

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Robert W. White, 'The Irish Republican Army: An Assessment of Sectarianism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9 (1997), pp. 20-55; Henry Patterson, 'Sectarianism Revisited', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 22 (2010), pp. 337-356. Toby Harnden focused on the PIRA in south Armagh, but offered little archival or oral testimony to substantiate his claims that local republican units were especially militant, autonomous, and opposed to electoral tactics. Toby Harnden, *'Bandit Country': The IRA and South Armagh* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999).

[15] Anthony McIntyre, 'Provisional Republicanism: Internal Politics, Inequities, and Modes of Repression', in Fearghal McGarry (ed.), *Republicanism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2003), pp. 178-198; Tommy McKearney, *The Provisional IRA: From Insurrection to Parliament* (London: Pluto Press, 2011), passim. See especially pp. ix, 14, 106-107, 135, 155, 159.

[16] J. Boywer Bell, *The IRA, 1968-2000: Analysis of a Secret Army* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p. 97; Paul Gill & John Horgan, 'Who Were the Volunteers? The Shifting Sociological and Operational Profile of 1240 PIRA Members', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25 (2013), pp. 435-456.

[17] Between 1969 and 1998, loyalists killed 506 Catholic civilians. Human Rights Watch, *Human Rights in Northern Ireland* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1991), p. 108.

[18] Martyn Frampton, '"Squaring the circle": The Foreign Policy of Sinn Féin, 1983-1989', *Irish Political Studies*, 19 (2004), pp. 43-63; Martyn Frampton, 'Sinn Féin and the European Arena: 'Ourselves Alone' or 'Critical Engagement'?', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 16 (2005), pp. 235-253.

within the Provisional movement to the early 1970s.[19] A former PIRA volunteer who became disillusioned with the movement, Gerry Bradley's memoir explained the microenvironment of the Unity Flats area of north Belfast and how this politicised him and informed his activism. Bradley documented north Belfast volunteers' dissent against the Belfast Brigade leadership, protesting the ceasefire of 1972 and electoralism in the early 1980s.[20] McIntyre and Bradley polemicised against strategic shifts they continued to abhor, but crucially pinpointed locality, micro-mobilisation, and disputes within republicanism as aspects for research.

A similar partisanship informed the in-depth interviews with former PIRA commander Brendan Hughes which spanned half of Ed Moloney's momentous *Voices from the Grave* (2010).[21] With substantial sections of Hughes's interviews printed verbatim, the text illuminated schisms within the Provisional movement, concerning, for example, military tactics in the early 1970s, creeping sectarianism in the mid-1970s, and interactions with the Church and the political left. Although problematic in some respects – Hughes's extensive testimony included what Richard English called the 'grisly specifics' of accusations implicating Gerry Adams in Jean McConville's killing in 1972[22] – the range and depth of Hughes's transcripts suggested the potential of in-depth interviews covering several phases in the conflict.[23]

Discussions of fissures within Provisionalism have reduced the historical contingency of such events. Binaries of 'moderates' and 'hardliners', 'leftists' and 'traditionalists', risk reifying organisational boundaries in republicanism, and obscuring more sophisticated patterns of difference. Such bifurcations are usually imposed under the inordinate influence of hindsight, and do little to explicate how allegiances and subjectivities evolved.[24] Anthony

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[19] Anthony McIntyre, 'Modern Irish Republicanism: The Product of British State Strategies', *Irish Political Studies*, 10 (1995), pp. 97-122.
[20] Gerry Bradley & Brian Feeney, *Insider: Gerry Bradley's Life in the IRA* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2009), pp. 34, 131, 194-200.
[21] Hughes was a former PIRA commander turned leading critic of 'new Sinn Féin'. Interviewed by his trusted confidant Anthony McIntyre, much of Hughes's testimony condemned the trajectory of Hughes's erstwhile comrade Gerry Adams.
[22] Richard English, 'Tales from two sides of the divide', *Irish Times*, 3 April 2010.
[23] Ed Moloney, *Voices from the Grave: Two Men's War in Ireland* (London: Faber & Faber, 2010), pp. 93, 193, 196.
[24] Narratives of the division within the republican movement in 1969 and 1970 normally hold the nascent Provisional organisation as the wing committed to 'traditional' militarism as opposed to the more politically-inclined, New Leftist Official milieu. Graham Spencer's perception of 'notable differences' between militaristic Provisionals and more politically-inclined, New Leftist Officials may hold for the organisations' leaderships, but the extent to which the same can be said of the grassroots is subject to debate. For Emmet O'Connor, the republican movement split between 'a 'red' faction,

McIntyre's critique of scholarship dichotomising 'military' and 'political' dimensions of republicanism is to be welcomed.[25]

Most analyses of republicanism focus on the conflict's outbreak in the late 1960s and early 1970s,[26] or the prison protests between 1976 and 1981.[27] A generation of young nationalists born during 'the '68 years' experienced an ongoing conflict through their first two decades. Following Donatella della Porta's formulation of 'second-generation activists' amid long-term struggle 'accept[ing] radical action as routine',[28] this thesis considers how frames, memories, and identities played out within and across generations, informing ongoing republican mobilisation into the 1990s.

Journalist Ed Moloney's *Secret History of the IRA* (2002) has proved a blueprint for subsequent interpretations and periodisations of the Provisional movement's internal dynamics. Yet scholars have seldom tested Moloney's claims systematically. For example, Moloney's frequently echoed perception of a Provisional movement moving politically

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the Officials, and the 'green' Provisionals'. Individuals changing their allegiance in 1970 and 1971 problematise simplistic narratives of the split. Senior Derry republicans Martin McGuinness and Mitchel McLaughlin, for instance, both transferred allegiance to the Provisionals, having initially sided with the Officials at the time of the split. Micky McMullan joined both wings of the republican movement simultaneously in the early 1970s. Henry Patterson and Ed Moloney have described the 1986 PSF *Ard Fheis*'s decision to end abstentionism in Dáil Éireann in terms of divisions between 'traditionalists' and 'militarists' and younger, pro-electoral, northern Provisionals. Graham Spencer, *From Armed Struggle to Political Struggle: Republican Tradition and Transformation in Northern Ireland* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), pp. 4-5, 46; Emmet O'Connor, 'Labour and Left Politics', in Arthur Aughey & Duncan Morrow (eds.), *Northern Ireland Politics* (Harlow: Longman, 1996), pp. 48-55; John F. Morrison, '"Trust in me": Allegiance Choices in a Post-Split Terrorist Movement', *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 28 (2016), p. 51; Bean & Hayes, *Republican Voices*, 32; Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights*, 59; Henry Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion: Republicanism and Socialism in Modern Ireland* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989), p. 186; Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (London: Penguin, 2002), p. 293.

[25] McIntyre, 'Modern Irish Republicanism'.

[26] Prince & Warner, *Belfast and Derry*; Thomas Hennessey, *The Evolution of the Troubles, 1970-1972* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007); J. Bowyer Bell, 'The Escalation of Insurgency: The Provisional Irish Republican Army's Experience, 1969-1971', *Review of Politics*, 35 (1973), pp. 398-411; Brian Hanley, ''I Ran Away'?: The IRA and 1969 – The Evolution of a Myth', *Irish Historical Studies*, 38 (2013), pp. 671-687.

[27] F. Stuart Ross, *Smashing H-Block: The Rise and Fall of the Popular Campaign against Criminalisation, 1976-1982* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011); David Beresford, *Ten Men Dead: The Story of the 1981 Irish Hunger Strike* (London: HarperCollins, 1994) [First edition London: Grafton, 1987]; Brian Campbell, Laurence McKeown & Felim O'Hagan (eds.), *Nor Meekly Serve My Time: The H-Block Struggle, 1976-1981* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 1994); Liam Clarke, *Broadening the Battlefield: The H-Blocks and the Rise of Sinn Féin* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1987); Tim Pat Coogan, *The H-Block Story* (Dublin: Ward River Press, 1980).

[28] Donatella della Porta, 'Political Socialisation in Left-Wing Underground Organisations: Biographies of Italian and German Militants', in Donatella della Porta (ed.), *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organisations* (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1992), pp. 259-290.

leftward in the late 1970s rests upon a particular reading of rising 'northern radicals' and neglects socialist currents earlier in the Provisionals' history.[29] Electoral tactics from the early 1980s and peace strategies through the 1990s provoked widespread controversy within republicanism. Academics have not ignored these processes, but have seldom progressed beyond superficial treatment of factions and agencies in these debates.[30]

Due perhaps to practical research difficulties, commentators have tended to reify internal republican politics without considering how milieux and allegiances emerge. For example, Henry Patterson, Ed Moloney, and M. L. R. Smith, highlight present-day republican hostility towards the Éire Nua proposals that underpinned Provisional policy from 1971 to 1982 without unpacking how, over time, those proposals became synonymous with a particular leadership.[31] The international contexts and diachronic sophistication in Mark Ryan's and Kevin Bean's analyses of shifts within Provisional republicanism sets them apart.[32]

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[29] Adrian Guelke suggested that in the early 1980s, Gerry Adams and his supporters opposed Éire Nua – PSF's socioeconomic programme since 1971 – as 'an obstacle to socialist planning'. Guelke's assertion is problematic, since Éire Nua proposed a cooperative economy, limited private landholding, and major public investment in state infrastructure. Moloney, *Secret History*, 185, 242; Adrian Guelke, 'The changing politics of Ulster's violent men', *New Society* (29 July 1982); Adrian Guelke, 'Loyalist and Republican Perceptions of the Northern Ireland Conflict: The UDA and Provisional IRA', in Peter H. Merkl (ed.), *Political Violence and Terror: Motifs and Motivations* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1986), p. 108.

[30] For example, Brendan O'Brien portrayed electoral tactics dividing the Provisionals straightforwardly between a presumably pro-electoral 'Sinn Féin versus the IRA'. Dawn Walsh's and Eoin O'Malley's suggestion that the Provisionals 'moved to moderate public statements to make them more acceptable to the broader nationalist community' does little to assess the micro-dynamics of these processes. Richard English has helpfully argued that even Provisionals endorsing electoral experimentation in the early 1980s still distrusted and deplored the process. Agency and division within the movement on such issues remains unclear. Brendan O'Brien, *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Féin* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 1999), p. 122; Dawn Walsh & Eoin O'Malley, 'The Slow Growth of Sinn Féin: From Minor Player to Centre Stage?', in Liam Weeks & Alistair Clark (eds.), *Radical or Redundant? Minor Parties in Irish Politics* (Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2012), p. 206; English, *Armed Struggle*, 207.

[31] Patterson, *Politics of Illusion*, 162; Moloney, *Secret History*, 181; M. L. R. Smith, 'Fin de Siècle, 1972: The Provisional IRA's Strategy and the Beginning of the Eight-Thousand-Day Stalemate', in Alan O'Day (ed.), *Political Violence in Northern Ireland: Conflict and Conflict Resolution* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1997), p. 23.

[32] Ryan situated PSF's move towards constitutionalism in the global context of the USSR's disintegration, damaging 'oppositional' politics worldwide and prompting more 'conciliatory' positions in Provisional republicanism. Bean located the Provisionals' tactical changes in their growing involvement in state structures through the 1980s. The Provisionals, the argument ran, had always been a hybrid of factions, but electoral politics and community populism prevailed and produced a reformist, sectional institution. Mark Ryan, *War and Peace in Ireland: Britain and the IRA in the New World Order* (London: Pluto Press, 1994), pp. 7, 9, 16; Bean, *New Politics*, 6, 84-85, 93, 172, 251, 254, 259.

Scholars explain popular support for republicanism primarily in terms of specific events, most notably Bloody Sunday in 1972 and the hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981.[33] Such events conform to what James M. Jasper and Jane D. Poulsen term 'moral shocks' of such seismic significance that they extend mobilisation.[34] This causation is well-established, but homogenises republicanism inasmuch as it explains mobilisation uniformly.

F. Stuart Ross and Tony Craig have illuminated the evolution of both republican repertoires of contention and their grassroots.[35] Such scholarship questions republicanism's social orientation in the early 1970s *before* the prison protests and electoral experimentation, stressing Northern Ireland's differentiated geography.[36] Equally, rural townlands experienced no advice centres on the scale of those instituted in 1975 and 1976, lacking the community infrastructure for PSF to engage. Rachel Monaghan and Andrew Silke have discussed republican vigilantism and informers, questioning republicanism's standing within its host communities.[37] Jeffrey Sluka's anthropological-ethnographic perspectives refined perceptions of republicanism's complex interactions with the community.[38]

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[33] Patrick Bishop & Eamonn Mallie, *The Provisional IRA* (London: Heinemann, 1987), p. 160; Brian Feeney, *Sinn Féin: A Hundred Turbulent Years* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p. 270; Peter Taylor, *Provos* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), p. 113.

[34] James M. Jasper & Jane D. Poulsen, 'Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests', *Social Problems*, 42 (1995), pp. 493-512.

[35] Ross investigated the Provisionals' development as a campaigning force during the prison protests from 1976, while Craig considered the PIRA ceasefire of 1975 and 1976 a watershed, witnessing PSF's growing involvement with tenants' associations and urban advice centres. F. Stuart Ross, 'Between Party and Movement: Sinn Féin and the Popular Movement against Criminalisation, 1976-1982', *Irish Political Studies*, 21 (2006), pp. 337-354; Ross, *Smashing H-Block*; Tony Craig, 'Monitoring the Peace? Northern Ireland's 1975 Ceasefire Incident Centres and the Politicisation of Sinn Féin', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26 (2014), pp. 307-319.

[36] Sabine Wichert's blasé assertion, following Patrick Bishop and Eamonn Mallie, that the Provisionals through the 1970s 'remained negative and destructive… as a political force' defined by 'the political sterility and intransigence of the leadership' has been largely discredited. Sabine Wichert, *Northern Ireland Since 1945* (Harlow: Longman, 1991), p. 170.

[37] Monaghan cast the early 1970s as the zenith of vigilantism's popularity, while Silke argued that vigilantism was problematic for republicans, since it alienated many at the nationalist grassroots and solely served to occupy low-ranking republicans. Rachel Monaghan, 'An Imperfect Peace: Paramilitary 'Punishments' in Northern Ireland', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 16 (2004), p. 440; Andrew Silke, 'Rebel's Dilemma: The Changing Relationship between the IRA, Sinn Féin and Paramilitary Vigilantism in Northern Ireland', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 11 (1999), p. 81.

[38] During extensive field research in Belfast's Divis Flats in 1981, Sluka found multi-layered popular responses to republican paramilitaries, with guerrillas cast simultaneously as community defenders and social burdens, as heroic patriots and escalators of a nightmarish war. A significant majority of Sluka's sample of interviewees (76.9 percent) thought that PIRA and INLA volunteers fulfilled important roles maintaining a local social order. Jeffrey A. Sluka, *Hearts and Minds, Water and Fish: Support for the IRA and INLA in a Northern Irish Ghetto* (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1989), pp. 119-120.

Gareth Mulvenna's recent work on loyalism's evolution suggests salient research themes for this study of multi-faceted republicanism. Mulvenna problematised the transition from tartan gang youth culture in east Belfast to loyalist paramilitarism in the early 1970s, considering signifiers of collective identity alongside 'rubicons' in individual micro-mobilisation.[39] No parallel work on republicanism exists. It remains for scholars to question how republicans, individually and collectively, negotiated tensions between their subjectivities and their disciplined guerrilla organisations.

ii. Social theory and social movement theory: concepts and analytical frameworks

Charles Tilly's definitions of a social movement – demonstrating worthiness, unity, numerical strength, and commitment (WUNC)[40] – aids understanding republicanism's multiplicity. Until recently, with the notable exception of Donatella della Porta,[41] social movement theorists have rarely addressed militant organisations and 'terrorism' in their case studies,[42] yet their categories, empirical hypotheses, and conceptual frameworks are apt for researching contentious politics.[43] Irish republicanism was a multi-organisational field, appealing not only to those who intrinsically desired Irish unity, but also to advocates for democracy, civil rights, socialism, and cultural revival.[44] As Gregory M. Maney and Gianluca de Fazio have suggested, divisions within republicanism reflected 'intra-movement' competition.[45] Social movement theory's interests in organisations' internal dynamics,

[39] Gareth Mulvenna, *Tartan Gangs and Paramilitaries: The Loyalist Backlash* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2016), pp. 2, 10-11, 100, 123, 211.
[40] Republican 'WUNC' displays incorporated demonstrations, marches, commemorations, symbolic performances at activist funerals, a sophisticated publicity machine, public displays of weaponry, and attacks. Charles Tilly & Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements, 1768-2012* (Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers, 2013), p. 9; Charles Tilly, *Contentious Performances* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 72, 120-121.
[41] della Porta, 'Political Socialisation'.
[42] Social movement theorists have worked primarily on movements far removed from Irish republicanism, and as diverse as trades unions, environmental organisations, and minority identity groups. Lorenzo Bosi's and Gianluca de Fazio's recent edited volume moved discussion towards contentious politics. Bosi & de Fazio (eds.), *Troubles in Northern Ireland*.
[43] Writing in 2001, social movement theorists Sidney Tarrow, Charles Tilly, and Doug McAdam implored colleagues to include violent forms of contention in their analyses. Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. xvi.
[44] Shanahan, *Provisional Irish Republican Army*, 80.
[45] Gregory M. Maney, 'The Paradox of Reform: The Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland', *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, 34 (2012), pp. 3-26; Gianluca de Fazio, 'Intra-Movement Competition and Political Outbidding as Mechanisms of Radicalisation in Northern Ireland, 1968-1969', in Lorenzo Bosi, Chares Demetriou & Stefan Malthaner (eds.), *Dynamics of*

charting subjective micro-mobilisation amid heterogeneous movements, mirror this thesis's discussions of republican differentiation.[46]

Tilly's conceptions of organisations' changing 'repertoires of contention' and 'multiple sovereignty' inform this project's epistemological position and research themes.[47] Tilly's findings that mobilisation was most pronounced in close-knit social networks directs scholars to investigate activist 'social networks' and 'collective identities'.[48] William Gamson's work on American protest groups suggested the propitiousness of assessing social movement organisations' internal structures, hierarchies, and degrees of centralisation.[49] Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow have shown the importance of networks and factions in social movements engaged in contentious politics. These connections can be 'diffused' through friendship and kinship ties, or through more distant observations: radicals can 'adopt or adapt… organisational forms [and] collective action frames' from movements

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Political Violence: A Process-Oriented Perspective on Radicalisation and the Escalation of Political Conflict (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 115-136.

[46] Historical sociologist Robert W. White has demonstrated social movement theory's utility exploring republican micro-mobilisation and milieux across a varied socio-political landscape. Bosi and de Fazio have examined mobilisation pathways between moderate civil rights organisations and more militant insurgency groups in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Robert W. White, 'From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilisation of the Provisional Irish Republican Army', *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (1989), pp. 1277-1302; Robert W. White, 'Structural Identity Theory and the Post-Recruitment Activism of Irish Republicans: Persistence, Disengagement, Splits, and Dissidents in Social Movement Organizations', *Social Problems*, 57 (2010), pp. 341-370; Bosi & Ó Dochartaigh, 'Armed Activism'; de Fazio, 'Intra-Movement Competition and Political Outbidding'.

[47] Scrutinising 'repertoires of contention' initiates questions about how and why social movement organisations adapt their strategies and tactics, both as a response to the regime's policing, and as a process within the radical group. 'Multiple sovereignty' configures power blocs within communities and within states more broadly, contesting for their loci of popular support, a useful paradigm for Northern Ireland's divided communities. This epistemology considers republicanism as per John D. McCarthy's and Mayer N. Zald's conception of 'entrepreneurial' protest groups publicising grievances and coordinating radical opposition. Such an approach differs markedly from the objective of 'terrorism studies' to defeat malign and inexplicable 'terrorism'. Mayer N. Zald, 'Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing', in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilising Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 266-267; Michael S. Kimmel, *Revolution: A Sociological Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), pp. 207, 215, 227; John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, 'Resource Mobilisation and Social Movements: A Partial Theory', *American Journal of Sociology*, 82 (1977), pp. 1215, 1226, 1236; David W. Brannan, Philip F. Esler & N. T. Anders Strindberg, 'Talking to "Terrorists": Towards an Independent Analytical Framework for the Study of Violent Substate Activism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 24 (2001), pp. 3-24.

[48] Tilly describes violent protest's 'network-based escalation'. Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 10, 119, 175, 213, 219.

[49] Researching 53 protest groups, Gamson found that the more centralised, hierarchical organisations were most successful in achieving their aims. William Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest* (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1975).

elsewhere.[50] Henri Tajfel's social identity theory interrogated 'the way human identity develops in groups'.[51] This thesis will examine how subjective experiences and self-perceptions navigated group membership, towards understanding republican groups' complex ecology.

Addressing broad geographies across the north of Ireland, this thesis follows Henri Lefebvre, Manuel Castells, and John Nagle, perceiving place as contested crucibles of conflict regarding identity and the state.[52] The politics of locality shaped republicanism, from the street defence committees in Belfast and Derry in 1969 to the Provisional movement's parochial populism on local councils and vigilante activities from the 1980s.

Situating Irish republicanism amid a transnational post-1968 cycle of contestation follows a growing tendency among academics and ex-combatants alike,[53] and prompts

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[50] Donatella della Porta & Sidney Tarrow, 'Transnational Protest and Global Activism', in Vincenzo Ruggiero & Nicola Montagna (eds.), *Social Movements: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2008), p. 340.
[51] Henri Tajfel, 'Social Identity and Intergroup Behaviour', *Social Science Information*, 13 (1974), pp. 65-93.
[52] Lefebvre argued that space was shaped by 'spatial practices', an especially useful concept in the context of Northern Ireland, routinely defined by a significant minority of its constituents as an 'occupied territory'. Elites project 'representations of space' and 'collective experiences of space'; anti-state actors contest them. The state's provision of resources, for instance housing, healthcare, education, and distribution of the law, are necessarily politicised processes. Space becomes politicised through the perception at grassroots level of inequities in state distribution of resources, especially in the context of Northern Ireland in the years following the zenith of the civil rights movement. Reading Lefebvre, John Nagle saw physical and imagined territories invested with political meanings, creating pervasive collective conceptions of locality and community. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991), p. 33; Manuel Castells quoted in John Urry, 'Sociology of Time and Space', in Bryan S. Turner (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Social Theory* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2000), p. 425; John Nagle, 'Sites of Social Centrality and Segregation: Lefebvre in Belfast – A 'Divided City'', *Antipode*, 41 (2009), pp. 326-347.
[53] Sidney G. Tarrow coined 'cycles of contention' to describe 'a phase of heightened conflict across the social system, with rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilised to less mobilised sectors, a rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention employed, the creation of new or transformed collective action frames, a combination of organised and unorganised participation, and sequences of intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities'. Through these processes, activists innovate, formulating new tactics, demands, identities, and action frames. In oral history retrospectives, many republicans frame their mobilisation in the late 1960s in a succession of events globally. Former Provisionals Kieran Conway and Philip Ferguson have written that republican resurgence was 'part and parcel of the massive upsurge of workers and students in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was part of the process that produced the events of 1968 and the rebirth of the far left in Europe'. Chris Reynolds's incisive work asks why most scholarly analysis of the 'global '68' has excluded Northern Ireland. For Reynolds, Northern Ireland's violent trajectory after 1968 has marginalised it from wider debates celebrating the '68 legacy in, for example, France. Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 199, 203; Guelke, 'Loyalist and Republican Perceptions', 98; Philip Ferguson, 'Behind the betrayal', *The Plough*, Volume 2 Number 36 (22 May 2005); Henry McDonald, 'Irish police colluded with IRA during Troubles, says former IRA member', *Guardian*, 3 December 2014; Chris Reynolds, 'The Collective European Memory of 1968: The Case of Northern Ireland', *Études Irlandaises*, 36 (2011), pp. 1-17; Chris Reynolds, 'Northern Ireland's 1968 in a Post-Troubles Context', *Interventions*, 19 (2017), pp. 631-645; Chris Reynolds, 'Beneath the Troubles, the

questions about how republicans spatialised their struggle in different ways. This thesis locates republicanism in the '68 zeitgeist not as a pivot for comparative international analysis, but rather to problematize the methodological nationalism of conventional understandings of Irish republicanism. The different ways republicans geographically framed their campaign highlight processes within the movement.

Frame theory informs this thesis's approach towards organisational publicity and popular responses. Organisations espoused frames to mobilise, legitimise, and define their constituents and supporters as 'potential agents of their own history'.[54] Republican publicists shaped 'grievances into broader and more resonant claims', engaging 'frame alignment' to connect grievances locally, nationally, and even internationally towards inspiring mobilisation.[55] Following seminal research by media theorists Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, this thesis holds that print (including activist publications) and television media 'didn't necessarily tell people what to think, but they could successfully tell people what to think *about*'.[56] How activists interpreted and refracted their organisations' publicity elucidate the movement's internal dynamics.

This study follows Cillian McGrattan's critique of 'ethnic conflict' historiography of Northern Ireland.[57] For McGrattan, such scholarship neglects human agency and obfuscates movements' mosaic qualities. Richard Bourke has argued compellingly against homogenised characterisations of republican or loyalist politics as lumpen expressions of 'cultural

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Cobblestones: Recovering the "Buried" Memory of Northern Ireland's 1968', *American Historical Review*, 123 (2018), pp. 744-748.

[54] For David Snow, framing processes are 'the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action'. David Snow quoted in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, 'Introduction: Opportunities, Mobilising Structures, and Framing Processes: Towards a Synthetic, Comparative Perspective on Social Movements', in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilising Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 6; William A. Gamson & David S. Meyer, 'Framing Political Opportunity', in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilising Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 285.

[55] Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organisation of Experience* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 43-44; David A. Snow & Robert D. Benford, 'Ideology, Frame Resonance, and Participant Mobilisation', in Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi & Sidney Tarrow (eds.), *From Structure to Action: Social Movement Participation Across Cultures* (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1988), pp. 197-217.

[56] Patricia Moy & Brandon Bosch, 'Theories of Public Opinion', in Paul Cobley & Peter J. Schultz (eds.), *Handbook of Communication Science, Volume 1: Theories and Models of Communication* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013), p. 294.

[57] McGrattan cites the work of John Whyte, Brendan O'Leary, and John McGarry positing monolithic blocs of nationalism-republicanism and unionism-loyalism bound for inevitable, interminable conflict.

solidarity'. For Bourke, scholarly interest in 'culture' tends towards unhelpful definitions of a conflict between undifferentiated blocs amid 'cultural collision'.[58] As fragile coalitions, social movements navigate diverse individual experiences of locality, identity, and ideology.[59]

Contrary to resource mobilisation theorists' assumptions, micro-mobilisation is not reducible to conceptions of 'rational choice' which implicitly regard all participants as uniform. Bert Klandermans compellingly highlights the individual's socio-psychological interactions with their social movement.[60] As Myra Marx Ferree has argued, the individual's ties of affection and comradeship, and subjective ideas of collective identity, destabilise straightforward ideas of 'rational choice'.[61] This thesis therefore considers not only structural machinations within organisations, but how personal micro-dynamics navigated these broader shifts.

iii. Sources, methodologies, and thesis structure

Naturally, designing a thesis across such wide-ranging subject matter, applying critical analysis, necessitates careful decisions and selection. For instance, this thesis has no standalone chapter on prison politics, although prisons pervade every chapter as crucibles for political discussion and autodidacticism.[62] Equally, this thesis includes no specific treatment of republican funerals. Ritual and symbolism underpinned republican collective identities and conceptions of martyrdom, sustaining and renewing republican ideas in a process of 'cultural intensification'.[63] Republican funerals could prompt sympathetic observers to continue the campaign as a means of honouring the dead.[64]

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[58] Richard Bourke, 'Languages of Conflict and the Northern Ireland Troubles', *Journal of Modern History*, 83 (2011), pp. 544-578.
[59] Cillian McGrattan, *Northern Ireland, 1968-2008: The Politics of Entrenchment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
[60] Bert Klandermans, 'Mobilisation and Participation: Social-Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilisation Theory', in Ruggiero & Montagna (eds.), *Social Movements*, 248.
[61] Myra Marx Ferree, 'The Political Context of Rationality: Rational Choice Theory and Resource Mobilisation', in Aldon C. Morris & Carol McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 29-52. See especially pp. 33, 36, 40.
[62] Mary Corcoran depicts republican women in Armagh who 'did not adopt the traditional subjectivity of repentant, conforming prisoners' destabilising the prison regime through 'everyday, resistant practices in relation to the constraints and possibilities enabled by the institutional structure'. Mary Corcoran, 'Mapping Carceral Space: Territorialisation, Resistance and Control in Northern Ireland's Women's Prisons', in Scott Brewster, Virginia Crossman, Fiona Beckett & David Alderson (eds.), *Ireland in Proximity: History, Gender, Space* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 157, 168.
[63] For anthropologian-theologian Douglas J. Davies, death 'possesses a great capacity as a social message carrier… a social and psychological event entailing other things'. Douglas J. Davies, *Mors*

This thesis is not comparative history – it does not examine Irish republicanism in terms of similarities to, or differences from, contemporary movements globally – nor is it strictly transnational history.[65] Rather, this study analyses republican allusions towards revolutionary movements worldwide as one strand of the different ways they historicised and spatialised their campaign.

Analysing republicanism since 1968 presents considerable methodological and epistemological challenges. Naturally, clandestine organisations engaging revolutionary, anti-state ideologies and methods do not readily reveal internal structures, discussions, and power negotiations. Activist publications and contemporary press coverage disproportionately represents the leaderships and propaganda strategists within republicanism. Accessing republicanism's differentiation throughout and across these large and complex movements requires extensive research to contextualise these sources.

Examining republicanism's micro-dynamics, this thesis consults local and national newspapers, and political periodicals emerging mainly, although not exclusively, from a republican persuasion. Reading sources to illuminate discussions within republicanism, discourse analysis highlights implicit agendas and power relations within inter-republican debates,[66] while Derridean concepts of inter-textual references, subject positionings, and presuppositions also inform this research.[67] Languages of inversion and polarisation signal a particular adversarial lexicon charting and reinforcing fissures within republicanism.[68]

Britannica: Lifestyle and Death-Style in Britain Today (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 6, 252, 299.

[64] Carolyn Marvin & David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 133, 138-139, 148-149.

[65] For Neville Kirk, transnational history is inherently comparative, 'whereby we compare two or more case studies and tease out and explain commonalities, similarities and differences between or among them'. Patricia Clavin defines transnational history around travel, encounters, and correspondence igniting ideas across national boundaries, all of which were peripheral in Irish republicanism, even though many republicans followed international politics, especially during imprisonment. Neville Kirk, *Labour and the Politics of Empire: Britain and Australia, 1900 to the Present* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 12-13; Patricia Clavin, 'Defining Transnationalism', *Contemporary European History*, 14 (2005), p. 422.

[66] For Ludmilla Jordanova, historiographical discourse analysis holds that 'power formations are… to be understood not in terms of elites, governments, forms of taxation… but in terms of the discourses that make them possible'. Julianne Cheek, 'At the Margins? Discourse Analysis and Qualitative Research', *Qualitative Health Research*, 14 (2004), pp. 1140-1150; Ludmilla Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), p. 76.

[67] Jacques Derrida, 'The Time is Out of Joint', in Anselm Haverkamp (ed.), *Deconstruction Is/In America: A New Sense of the Political* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 14-38.

[68] For David Johnson and L. N. Diab, these rhetorical denunciations of rival organisations exaggerate differences between individual members of different groups. David W. Johnson, 'The Use of Role Reversal in Intergroup Competition', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 7 (1967), pp.

Mikhail Bakhtin perceived centripetal and centrifugal forces colliding in language. Language 'tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life', with its 'contextual overtones'. The individual interprets language's 'dialogic reverberations' subjectively amid 'social heteroglossia'.[69] As Matt Perry argues, Bakhtin's understanding of language as 'social heteroglossia' helpfully allows scrutiny of the dialogical process at the heart of diverse movements and the state's simultaneous efforts to homogenise thought into 'an official monologue'.[70] An implication of the military contest with the state is an effort to render the contentious dialogue of the movement into a vernacular monologue.

In Marc Bloch's schema of 'intentional' and 'unintentional' historical evidence, oral testimonies constitute the former, narratives designed consciously for the listener's consumption. By contrast, archival activist publications are neither straightforwardly intentional nor unintentional: if not designed for posterity's consumption per se, these sources were polemical, produced subject to particular power relations with concomitant assumptions, values, and omissions.[71]

Often, studies of republicanism restrict their primary evidence to *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the Provisional publicity mouthpiece. Research for this thesis examined more than 500 political ephemera and periodicals, emerging from activists through the ranks of different organisations.[72] The Northern Ireland Political Collection in Belfast's Linen Hall Library contains a wealth of contemporary political documents as well as microfilms of literature produced by political parties and many of the 800 local community

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135-141; L. N. Diab, 'A Study of Intragroup and Intergroup Relations among Experimentally Produced Small Groups', *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 82 (1970), pp. 49-82.

[69] Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', in Michael Holquist (ed.), *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 272, 282-284, 293.

[70] Matt Perry, *Mutinous Memories: A Subjective History of French Military Protest in 1919* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p. 15.

[71] Devin O. Pendas, 'Testimony', in Miriam Dobson & Benjamin Ziemann (eds.), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 227-228.

[72] For example, sources such as *An Eochair* (the internal prison journal of Official republican prisoners in the early 1970s), *Socialist Republic: Paper of People's Democracy*, and *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta* afford insight into the discussion currents in groups beyond the Provisional movement. Other occasional sources, such as *The Captive Voice*, *Iris Bheag*, *Women in Struggle*, and *Congress '86: Journal of the League of Communist Republicans*, emerged in the 1980s, encompassing wide-ranging critiques from the rank-and-file. These sources often illuminate grassroots republican perspectives, which do not necessarily mirror the analyses offered in 'official' organisational publicity.

groups extant in Northern Ireland by 1975.[73] This collection spans, inter alia, activist literature from mainstream and marginal republican and leftist groupings alike.

Between Belfast's Newspaper Library and online archives, this thesis also draws upon episodic primary research.[74] The geographical range of the local newspapers consulted engages republican voices and experiences beyond the typical focus on Belfast and Derry. I have selected material from the private Peter Heathwood Archive, a video collection of news bulletins and television programmes relating to the conflict since 1981.[75] From the perspective of discourse analysis, these broadcasts afford insight on popular debates and discussion points at particular states of the conflict. This thesis also utilises the holdings of the Eileen Hickey Irish Republican History Museum (EHI) in Belfast. The museum contains miscellaneous documents from local citizens' committees and a near-complete archive of hard-copies of the Provisional republican movement's official publications, including weekly newspaper *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

Oral histories are apt to explore the dynamic spectrum of Irish republicanism. Donatella della Porta has described how life histories

> permit understanding not only of individual psychology, but also group phenomena; not only movement ideology, but also movement counterculture; not only organisational stories but also the dynamics of small networks. Where other techniques offer static images, life histories are better suited to describe processes.[76]

Interviews offer insight into the 'cultural life' and 'networks' of these groups.[77] As Robin Humphrey, Robert Miller, and Elena Zdravomyslova have noted, oral history interviews are 'culturally-oriented' and can prompt the participant to define and situate themselves within

[73] Bill Rolston, 'Community Politics', in Liam O'Dowd, Bill Rolston & Mike Tomlinson (eds.), *Northern Ireland: Between Civil Rights and Civil War* (London: CSE Books, 1980), p. 160.
[74] Local newspapers *Donegal News*, *Fermanagh Herald*, *Strabane Chronicle*, and *Ulster Herald* are available by subscription online, as are nationals including the London *Times* and *Telegraph* and Dublin- and Belfast-based dailies such as the *Irish News*, *Irish Press*, and *Irish Times*. Since comprehensive analysis of approximately 20 newspapers consulted for this thesis covering a three-decade period was impossible, I concentrated newspaper research on specific periods around particularly notable events or phases of the conflict. Such episodes include, but were not limited to, republican splits, hunger strikes, and especially controversial aspects of 'armed struggle'.
[75] For more information about the Peter Heathwood Archive, see http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/heathwood/introduction.htm (Accessed 9 January 2019).
[76] Donatella della Porta, 'Life Histories in the Analysis of Social Movement Activists', in Mario Diani & Ron Eyerman (eds.), *Studying Collective Action* (London: Sage, 1992), p. 187.
[77] Donatella della Porta, 'In-Depth Interviews', in Donatella della Porta (ed.), *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 255.

their networks and organisation.[78] Such insights suggest something of the internal dynamics of the groups which they have experienced.

Yet oral historians have said relatively little about the potential and pitfalls of oral testimony in research on revolutionary guerrilla movements. Representing 'the past in the present', life histories can illuminate the 'intersection between personal narratives and social structures',[79] elucidating networks and dynamics inside radical organisations. Interviews can investigate micro-dynamics absent from archival sources. For example, one-to-one interviews can explore subjective experiences of place, milieu, and collective memory, following Henri Lefebvre's conception of space as contested and 'produced',[80] in ways historical activist publications and press reports might not.

This thesis's use of oral histories follows others projects engaging republican testimony. Do oral histories collapse or complexify a republican group's dynamics?[81] As Tim Strangleman argues, following Sherry Linkon, present-day narratives negotiate the past 'as a source of pride and pain', producing a 'selective reworking of the past in the present'.[82] A project exploring republican heterogeneity using oral histories necessitates a broad sample. Over the past 20 years, interviewees in republican historiography have usually comprised a select group, characterised chiefly by endorsing Provisional Sinn Féin's (PSF) commitment to constitutional politics.[83] This narrowness neglects strands of republicanism outside the PIRA and reduces republican variation. By contrast, Robert W. White, Laurence McKeown,

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[78] Robin Humphrey, Robert Miller & Elena Zdravomyslova (eds.), *Biographical Research in Eastern Europe: Altered Lives and Broken Biographies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 57-58.
[79] della Porta, 'In-Depth Interviews', 255.
[80] Lefebvre, *Production of Space*.
[81] Working with former loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland, psychologist Neil Ferguson and sociologist James W. McAuley used oral histories to discuss how collective identities formed and consolidated, suggesting oral testimony's homogenising effects. Neil Ferguson & James W. McAuley, 'Ulster Loyalist Accounts of Armed Mobilisation, Demobilisation, and Decommissioning', in Bosi & de Fazio (eds.), *Troubles in Northern Ireland*, 111-128.
[82] Tim Strangleman, 'Deindustrialisation and the Historical Sociological Imagination: Making Sense of Work and Industrial Change', *Sociology*, 51 (2017), p. 475.
[83] Kevin Bean's and Mark Hayes's edited collection *Republican Voices* (2001) and Rogelio Alonso's *The IRA and Armed Struggle* (2007) were rare exceptions: in the former, all six interviewees had left the Provisional movement and emerged as critics, while Alonso's sample spanned supporters and opponents of PSF's constitutional strategy, and even included 'second-generation' republicans who mobilised in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, notable discussions of religiosity's interaction with republicanism aside, *Republican Voices* focused chiefly on mobilisation, rather than political processes and the movement's internal dynamics *after* mobilisation. Save for brief discussions of leftist PIRA prisoners being ostracised in the late 1980s, Alonso similarly focused on initial mobilisation and individual motivations. Positing that uniformity in post-conflict justifications signified homogenising tendencies in republican memory, Alonso marginalised dissent and divergence within republicanism. Bean & Hayes, *Republican Voices*; Alonso, *IRA and Armed Struggle*, 4, 60-62, 67, *passim*.

and ex-prisoners' group Fáilte Cluain Eois have enriched understandings of multi-faceted republicanism, exploring collective memory, milieu, and internal divisions.[84]

This thesis draws upon 25 loosely-structured one-to-one interviews, and two group interviews, to investigate how subjective experience and memory inform political allegiances and how individual identity plays out within a radical group. Graham Smith has outlined group interviews' potential to explore 'transactive memory', collectively mediating internal dialogues. These group interviews recalled Smith's reminiscence work with older people in Dundee, in which individual memories enter a chaotic space for confirmation, contradiction, and complication.[85] With only two exceptions, one-to-one interviews fell short of Sue Jones's taxonomy of 'depth' interviews requiring more than one sitting.[86] However, interviews often

[84] In 2015, Cavan, Fermanagh, and Monaghan ex-prisoners' group Fáilte Cluain Eois published an anthology of excerpts from life history interviews with republican ex-combatants and their families. These interviews revealed activist trajectories and local networks. In *Provisional Irish Republicans* (1993), Robert W. White highlighted the movement's dynamism and the complexity, even contradictoriness, of individual politics. White's recent monograph *Out of the Ashes* (2017) synthesised interviews with republican activists conducted across three phases in the mid-1980s, mid-1990s, and late 2000s. White unravelled simplistic binaries in the movement's composition, albeit without proposing an alternative schema by which to understand the Provisionals' evolution. Laurence McKeown's *Out of Time* (2001) elucidated clannish tendencies between republican prisoners from different parts of Ireland, and highlighted prisoners' differentiated interactions with education and hierarchy in the movement. Stephen Hopkins has followed McKeown's point, noting that 'relationships within republicanism have often been characterised by a localism or even parochialism, with suspicion and distrust between republicans from different cities and townlands'. Hopkins problematises how republican 'foundational myths' are transmitted and adapted across disparate geographies. For example, the familiar mobilising power of the burning of Bombay Street in west Belfast in August 1969 – by which republicans often justify militant action against a state whose authorities had allowed loyalists to attack a nationalist area – contains layers of meaning beyond the geographical immediacy. With fellow ex-prisoners Brian Campbell and Felim O'Hagan, McKeown also co-edited *Nor Meekly Serve My Time* (1994), featuring extensive republican testimony. However, this work focused chiefly on a heroic narrative of solidarity among prisoners during the prison protests of the late 1970s and early 1980s, rather than participants' experiences of fissures within the movement, or engagement with politics beyond the carceral space. Fáilte Cluain Eois, *Their Prisons, Our Stories* (Castleblayney: Fáilte Cluain Eois, 2015); White, *Provisional Irish Republicans*; Robert W. White, *Out of the Ashes: An Oral History of the Provisional Irish Republican Movement* (Newbridge: Merrion, 2017); Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time: Irish Republican Prisoners in Long Kesh, 1972-2000* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 2001), pp. 31-32, 38, 47, 132, 161; Stephen Hopkins, *The Politics of Memoir and the NI Conflict*, p. 28; Campbell, McKeown & O'Hagan, *Nor Meekly Serve My Time*.

[85] Graham Smith, 'Remembering In Groups: Negotiating Between "Individual" and "Collective" Memories', in Robert Perks & Alistair Thomson (eds.), *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 193-211.

[86] For Jones, even 'interviews in which interviewers have prepared a long list of questions which they are determined to ask, come what may, over a period of say an hour and a half, are not depth interviews', since even those exchanges are necessarily prejudiced by the interviewer's strategic rigidity, 'prestructur[ing] the direction of enquiry within [the interviewer's] own frame of reference'. Sue Jones, 'Depth Interviewing', in Clive Seale (ed.), *Social Research Methods: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 258.

exceeded two hours and allowed space for 'probe' questions, responding to themes which emerged from participant testimony.

Despite their shortcomings, these interviews follow social movement theorists' emphasis upon layers of individual agency, networks, and allegiances within social structures and movement organisations.[87] Interviews commenced by inviting interviewees to describe their earliest recollections and their first encounters with republicanism. This response opened a semi-structured interview, mostly comprising what Max Travers calls 'opinion or value', 'feeling', and 'reflecting' questions.[88] Of the 25 interviewees, 10 had previously given interviews for comparable projects, so some participants demonstrated greater familiarity with the protocol, and often presented a more 'organised', or even 'performed', narrative, than did others.[89]

Interviews were subjected to thematic and narrative analysis. Interviewees negotiated experience, memory, and representations of the past, mindful of conflicting meta-narratives of the conflict overall. Across a collection of interviews, narrative analysis establishes patterns and frames in how participants construct their accounts, and interrogates the distinction between the general and the particular.[90] In this case, these methods explored how interviewees' locate their own experiences in moments during the conflict which were significant to themselves personally and/or more widely. This analysis also highlighted how

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[87] For Aldon C. Morris, 'human action cannot be reduced to social structures and impersonal social forces' and such analyses must be 'free of structural determinism'. David Snow, Louis Zurcher, and Sheldon Ekland-Olson have noted the importance of personal networks in shaping radicals' allegiances in social movement organisations. Aldon D. Morris quoted in Morris & McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, 351; David A. Snow, Louis A. Zurcher, Jr. & Sheldon Ekland-Olson, 'Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment', *American Sociological Review*, 45 (1980), pp. 787-801.

[88] 'Opinion or value' questions probe what people think, or thought, about an event or issue, for example, 'what did you think about electoral politics when you went to prison?' 'Feeling' questions seek 'emotional responses', for example, 'how did you feel when the INLA called its ceasefire?' Reflecting questions repeat answers back to the interviewee, inviting them to clarify or embellish their previous responses, for example, 'you said you grew up in a predominantly Protestant area?' Max Travers, 'Qualitative Interviewing Methods', in Maggie Walter, *Social Research Methods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 237.

[89] These findings also reflect commonplace differences among interviewees. Analysing oral history interviews with older homeless men, Graham Smith and Paula Nicolson noted varying degrees of sociability and 'sense of self/identity and emotionality… more complex and reliant on biographical reflexivity leading to awareness of the contradictions in their own life reviews'. Graham Smith & Paula Nicolson, 'Despair? Older Homeless Men's Accounts of Their Emotional Trajectories', *Oral History*, 39 (2011), pp. 30, 36, 37.

[90] On narrative analysis, see Catherine Kohler Riessman, 'Strategic Uses of Narrative in the Presentation of Self and Illness: A Research Note', in Clive Seale (ed.), *Social Research Methods: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 372-374; Kerry Davies, '"Silent and Censured Travellers"? Patients' Narratives and Patients' Voices: Perspectives on the History of Mental Illness Since 1948', *Social History of Medicine*, 14 (2001), p. 273.

interviewees dealt with salient themes such as upbringing, place, class, and social identity: interactions between the self and collective action.

Divisions within republicanism today inform challenges in recruiting interviewees. While not insurmountable, these difficulties shape the sample.[91] Happily, many veterans of PSF and ex-prisoners' organisations aligned with peace process initiatives readily accepted interview requests.[92] Although this project benefited from Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) representatives' willingness to participate,[93] ex-combatants of different trajectories are more difficult to access. This thesis relies chiefly upon the few organisations 'independent' of party politics today and gatekeepers within.[94] The sample comprised 18 men and three women.[95] Of the 21 interviewees, 16 had been members of the Provisional republican movement,[96] while five had experienced the Official republican movement and/or the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and Irish National Liberation Army (INLA).

The following six chapters address themes which intersect with Irish republicanism. Each chapter's internal structure is broadly chronological, to the extent that the research questions coherently allow. The first two chapters examine how republicans historicised, spatialised, and adapted their campaign between 1968 and 1981. These chapters especially situate republican diversity internationally among cycles of political contestation emerging from the global 1968. Chapter 3 analyses changing republican tactics, strategy, and

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[91] Dieter Reinisch's exemplary work on republican prison communities engaged oral histories. For his history of *Cumann na mBan*, for example, Reinisch interviewed 25 female republicans. Reinisch's snowballing and gatekeeper techniques facilitated an extensive range of interviews, especially with members of Republican Sinn Féin (RSF). With the possible exception of Robert W. White, no other scholar of republicanism has achieved such range and depth of sample. Dieter Reinisch, 'Women's Agency and Political Violence: Irish Republican Women and the Formation of the Provisional IRA, 1967-1970', *Irish Political Studies*, (2018), pp. 1-25.

[92] For example, Coiste na n-Iarchimí, an umbrella group of several ex-prisoners' groups, endorses the peace process, and includes many republicans who remain members of PSF.

[93] The IRSP opposed the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 and continues its critique of the peace process today.

[94] Few such 'independent' republican groups accept interview requests, but gatekeepers around the Ex-Prisoners Outreach Programme (Ex-POP) in Derry, for example, were extremely helpful.

[95] There are several reasons for the scarcity of women in the sample. Ex-prisoners' groups were the main gatekeepers for interview access, and men lead the majority of these groups. Gatekeepers in Belfast suggested contacting ex-prisoners' group Tar Anall, citing its reputation for including women among its senior members and its record of family support work. Several approaches to Tar Anall yielded no responses. Voices, a group specifically for women ex-prisoners, was active until the early 2010s, producing *In The Footsteps of Anne: Stories of Republican Women Ex-Prisoners*. However, according to former member Nuala Perry, Voices is now moribund. Approaches to eight women representing PSF in elected office received either no reply, or negative responses to interview requests.

[96] Of the 16 Provisionals, seven were no longer active PSF members, although those seven spanned strident critics of the movement and others who had ceased activism.

repertoires of contention from the prison protests of the late 1970s. Chapter 4 assesses Irish republicans' interactions with the international revolutionary left. Chapters 5 and 6 scrutinise how republicans engaged with religion and feminism, respectively.

iv. Note on terminology

Unsurprisingly, language surrounding the conflict is loaded, with designations often taken to indicate particular understandings of agency, responsibility, causation, and justification. As social movement theorist Charles Tilly notes: 'The cultural milieu provides languages and symbols through which participants and observers make sense of their collective action'.[97] For instance, describing the republican campaign as, variously, 'armed struggle', 'political violence', 'subversive activity', or 'terrorism' confers contrasting degrees of legitimacy and morality. This thesis generally uses 'the Troubles' as per commonplace public and media usage. 'Northern Ireland' and 'the north of Ireland' are used to describe, as accurately as possible, geographical spaces and not to signify any particular political position. The 'north of Ireland', for instance, is used here as helpful shorthand for Northern Ireland and border counties of the Republic of Ireland, rather than as a nationalist cipher for 'the six counties'. By the same token, 'Northern Ireland' is used to reflect legal and constitutional reality, rather than any subjective commitment to the union.

Geography aside, this thesis engages much of the language which is meaningful among republicans. For example, 'volunteer', 'activist', and 'ex-combatant' instead of 'paramilitary'. As republican veteran Séanna Walsh explained in interview, republicans generally disdain 'paramilitary'.[98] This thesis follows Paddy Hoey's useful distinction between 'dissident' and 'dissenting' republicans in the present day. 'Dissidents' advocate armed struggle today, whereas 'dissenters' oppose violence but criticise the peace process.[99] Activist publications and oral testimonies are, of course, quoted faithful to original. For biographical information on participants interviewed for this thesis, refer to Appendix.

Chapter 1: Northern Ireland's '68: Republicanism and the global '68 years, c.1968-c.1973

[97] Tilly, *Contentious Performances*, 8.
[98] Séanna Walsh interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 12 August 2015.
[99] Paddy Hoey, 'Dissident and Dissenting Republicanism: From the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement to Brexit', *Capital & Class*, 43 (2018), p. 3.

Situating Irish republicanism within transnational patterns of contentious politics tests assumptions within the historiography about its character, both at the ideological and strategic level. In 1968, Northern Ireland's civil rights protests gained widespread publicity. The ensuing loyalist reaction and state repression precipitated militant republicanism's re-emergence from 1969. Kristin Ross's study of May '68 in France provides a model to examine the longer legacy or 'afterlives' of the 'events'.[100] International patterns of contestation profoundly shaped Irish republicanism. Radicals in '68 drew selectively upon New Left influences as they developed their political theory, repertoires of action, and revolutionary strategies.

This chapter situates republicanism in the context of the global New Left to analyse the dynamic heterogeneity of Irish republicanism, across time and space, in the late 1960s and early 1970s: 'the '68 years', in Xavier Vigna's phrase.[101] The opening section discusses republican engagements with the global politics of 'the '68 years'. The second section examines republican responses to Northern Ireland's crisis from 1969, and the final section addresses republicanism's interactions with wider civil rights and student protest.

The fiftieth anniversary of 1968 – the 'birth' of Northern Ireland's 'Troubles' – prompted widespread commemoration and critical reflection among commentators and activists alike. The themes of the discussion in 2018 – contesting 'ownership' of the civil rights legacy, contrasting the political position in '68 to contemporary debates, and celebrating or lamenting depending on subjective perspectives – can be traced back to 1988, the first widespread wave of commemoration and critical reflection on the twentieth anniversary of NICRA's zenith.[102] Actors from several political positions claim 'ownership' of the ideas and legacies of '68, in both domestic and global contexts.[103] However, historians were slow to include Ireland in broader narratives of the global '68 and the emergent New

[100] Kristin Ross, *May '68 and Its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
[101] Xavier Vigna, *L'insubordination ouvrière dans les années 68: Essai d'histoire politique des usines* (Rennes: Rennes University Press, 2007).
[102] Commemorations in 1988 are discussed more fully in Chapter 2. Seamus McKinney, 'Civil rights march organiser to retrace original route in "walk of atonement" for Troubles victims', *Irish News*, 5 October 2018; Gareth Cross, 'Sinn Fein to hold march in Derry on fiftieth anniversary of historic civil rights protest', *Belfast Telegraph*, 6 April 2018.
[103] John Manley, 'Bernadette McAliskey rejects claim that civil rights movement was inspired by the republican movement', *Irish News*, 9 February 2018; Sarah Campbell, '"We Shall Overcome"? The Good Friday/Belfast Agreement and the Memory of the Civil Rights Movement', *Open Library of Humanities*, 4 (2018), pp. 1-25; Ingo Cornils & Sarah Waters (eds.), *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010).

Left.[104] In 1998, Brian Dooley analysed transnational connections and protest cycles in civil rights movements in Ireland and the USA.[105] Yet in the wider historiography of '68 and its afterlives, physical-force republicanism appears as an aberrant, violent footnote.

Much recent research has been concerned with the question of how, in the early 1970s, armed republicanism eclipsed a hitherto dominant, and ostensibly peaceful, civil rights movement. Scholars debated the frames shaping mobilisation among civil rights activists and republicans in the late 1960s and early 1970s. For Jim Smyth, explanations of mobilisation among civil rights activists and nationalists must consider 'cultural injustice' alongside 'values, ideologies… and identity'. Discussions of mobilisation should include actors' perceptions of collective identity.[106] Smyth criticised resource mobilisation theorists such as Christopher Hewitt, who explain collective action by emphasising economic exploitation and grievances about state distribution of resources.[107] Focusing on Derry, Niall Ó Dochartaigh has pointed to republicans seizing upon the popular agitation of the civil rights campaign to launch an armed campaign in 1970. Ó Dochartaigh found the early Provisional republican movement appropriating the language and stated aims of the civil rights movement to justify its incipient armed campaign.[108] Similarly, Cillian McGrattan analysed republican publicity and oral testimony, and posited that Provisional republican accounts of the conflict rest upon 'the malingering lie that violence was inevitable' from the dawn of the civil rights movement in 1967.[109]

Especially since the fortieth anniversary of '68, historians such as Simon Prince and Gregory Maney have placed Northern Ireland's civil rights movement in the context of 'the rising tide of radicalism' amid Europe's '68ers struggling against 'imperialism, capitalism,

[104] Chris Reynolds has argued compellingly that Northern Ireland's subsequent conflict has driven its absence from most scholars' analyses of 'progressive' post-'68 legacies. Reynolds, 'Beneath the Troubles', 744-748.
[105] Brian Dooley, *Black and Green: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland and Black America* (London: Pluto Press, 1998).
[106] Jim Smyth, 'Moving the Immovable: The Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland', in Linda Connolly & Niamh Hourigan (eds.), *Social Movements and Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 106-107.
[107] Christopher Hewitt, 'Catholic Grievances, Catholic Nationalism and Violence in Northern Ireland during the Civil Rights Period: A Reconsideration', *British Journal of Sociology*, 32 (1981), pp. 362-380; Scott Sullivan, 'From Theory to Practice: The Patterns of Violence in Northern Ireland, 1969-1994', *Irish Political Studies*, 13 (1998), pp. 81-82.
[108] Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights*, 197, 310-311.
[109] Cillian McGrattan, *Memory, Politics and Identity: Haunted by History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 12.

and bureaucracy'.[110] Lorenzo Bosi, Gianluca de Fazio, and Niall Ó Dochartaigh have applied social movement theory to examine micro-mobilisation between civil rights and republican armed struggle.[111] This chapter extends that chronological analysis, examining Irish republicanism's resurgence from 1969 into the early 1970s, amid escalating violence. Assessing how republicans by turns imitated, refracted, and repudiated New Left ideas illuminates the multiplicity of Irish republicanism in the '68 years.

Discussions of the global politics of '68, civil rights, and republicanism require a taxonomy of the global New Left and the place of the Irish republican movement within it. The New Left was hostile to the 'bureaucratic' Old Left which had aligned more readily with the politics of the Soviet Union.[112] New Leftists espoused egalitarianism and engaged with global politics, particularly Third World independence struggles. In 1968, the Vietnam War, African-American civil rights, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia dominated New Left debate.[113] Sympathy for radical perspectives on national liberation movements offered an alternative political space to rigid Cold War binaries.[114]

Political violence divided the New Left. Radicals in West Germany's Trotsky League and the USA's Students for a Democratic Society, for example, criticised violence for inviting state repression and substituting individual acts for mass revolutionary consciousness.[115] Yet many activists who joined Italy's *Brigate Rosse* and West Germany's

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[110] Simon Prince, 'Mythologising a Movement: Northern Ireland's '68', *History Ireland*, 16 (September-October 2008), p. 29; Gregory Maney, 'White Negroes and the Pink IRA: External Mainstream Media Coverage and Civil Rights Contention in Northern Ireland', in Bosi & de Fazio (eds.), *Troubles in Northern Ireland*, 71-90.

[111] See, for example, Bosi & de Fazio (eds.), *Troubles in Northern Ireland*; Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights*; McGrattan, *Northern Ireland, 1968-2008*; Bowyer Bell, 'Escalation of Insurgency'; White, 'From Peaceful Protest'; de Fazio, 'Intra-Movement Competition'.

[112] Simon Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origins of The Troubles* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), p. 3.

[113] Kenneth Keniston, *Young Radicals: Notes on Committed Youth* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1968), pp. 17-18; David Caute, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p. 73; Karen Steller Bjerregaard, 'Guerrillas and Grassroots: Danish Solidarity with the Third World in the 1960s and 1970s', in Martin Klimke, Jacco Pekelder & Joachim Scharloth (eds.), *Between Prague Spring and French May: Opposition and Revolt in Europe, 1960-1980* (New York: Berghahn, 2011), pp. 216, 229; Ross, *May '68*, 158-159.

[114] Arif Dirlik, 'The Third World', in Carole Fink, Philipp Gassert & Detlef Junker (eds.), *1968: The World Transformed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 314.

[115] Belinda Davis, 'New Leftists and West Germany: Fascism, Violence, and the Public Sphere, 1967-1974', in Philipp Gassert & Alan E. Steinweis (eds.), *Coping With the Nazi Past: West German Debates on Nazism and Generational Conflict, 1955-1975* (New York: Berghahn, 2006), p. 226; Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 328-329.

Rote Armee Fraktion were products of the New Left, and considered armed struggle a vital tactic to expose the 'terrorist' state and attack capitalist development.[116]

This chapter follows George Katsiaficas's capacious formulation of the New Left as a global politics of democracy, personal autonomy, libertarianism, and international solidarity, spanning students, workers, and intellectuals, challenging fascism, capitalism, and imperialism.[117] This research addresses differing republican interpretations of political developments inside and outside Ireland and how republicans negotiated these internal dynamics, applying '68 international concepts to their own struggle.

1.1 The global politics of '68 and Irish republicanism

In 1968, prior to the split in the republican movement, Sinn Féin's (SF) leftist leadership under Cathal Goulding broadly shared New Left hostility towards the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the USA's war in Vietnam.[118] On Czechoslovakia, SF shared this ground with People's Democracy (PD) protesters at Queen's University Belfast and Northern Ireland's Young Socialist Movement, as well as Dublin student radicals.[119] Supporting the National Liberation Front against the US campaign in Vietnam, SF mirrored New Left positions in Britain, Europe, and the USA.[120] In Paris in 1968, Trotskyists, Maoists, and anarchists alike protested against the American involvement in Vietnam and proclaimed support to national liberation movements worldwide.[121]

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[116] David Moss, *The Politics of Left-Wing Violence in Italy, 1969-1985* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 35, 43, 68, 85; Sebastian Gehrig, 'Sympathising Subcultures? The Milieus of West German Terrorism', in Klimke, Pekelder & Scharloth (eds.), *Between Prague Spring and French May*, 233, 235.

[117] George Katsiaficas, 'The Global Imagination of 1968: The New Left's Unfulfilled Promise', in Karen Dubinsky, Catherine Krull, Susan Lord, Sean Mills & Scott Rutherford (eds.), *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009), p. 350.

[118] 'Irish bodies voice their indignation', *Irish Press*, 23 August 1968; 'Sinn Fein re-organising meeting in Letterkenny', *Donegal News*, 22 November 1969.

[119] Michael Farrell, 'Introduction', in Michael Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On* (Dingle: Brandon, 1988), p. 20; Carol Coulter, 'A View from the South', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 110.

[120] In Britain, the International Marxist Group (IMG) supported a Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in 1969 as a model for its later Irish Solidarity Campaign in 1971, giving 'unconditional support' to Irish republicans' war against 'British imperialism and its puppets'. In the US, Black Panthers such as Huey Newton celebrated the Tet Offensive, and 20,000 young leftists participated in the Vietnam Summer events of 1967 canvassing and petitioning against the war. John Callaghan, *The Far Left in British Politics* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p. 132; Adam Fairclough, *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000* (London: Penguin, 2001), p. 48; Keniston, *Young Radicals*, 4.

[121] Bertram Gordon, 'The Eyes of the Marcher: Paris, May 1968 – Theory and Its Consequences', in Gerard J. DeGroot (ed.), *Student Protest: The Sixties and After* (Harlow: Longman, 1998), p. 40.

SF's intellectual leaders in 1968, including C. Desmond Greaves, Anthony Coughlan, Roy Johnston, and Tomás Mac Giolla, were concerned with global politics. However, the movement's northern regional organiser, Seán Ó Cionnaith, prioritised quintessentially Irish analysis of domestic events. In November 1969, Ó Cionnaith explained to a party meeting in Letterkenny, County Donegal, that although the republican movement could

> learn from the struggles of other oppressed peoples… we are not being dictated to or dominated by a philosophy designed for another country.[122]

Republicans asserted their independence from both east and west in a Cold War context, instead describing their mission in plain egalitarian terms. Ó Cionnaith explained the movement's motivation to end 'the domination of Nation by Nation and of man by man'. Implicitly eschewing comparisons with the USSR, Ó Cionnaith insisted that James Connolly and Fintan Lalor inspired SF's 'socialism', which had 'nothing to do with Atheism or totalitarianism'.[123]

Senior republicans were not oblivious to international events, but asserted the primacy of Irish revolutionaries par excellence, primarily James Connolly, when they addressing the movement's grassroots. For leading republican theorist Anthony Coughlan, Connolly's conception of the social emancipation of labour was paramount, echoing themes which the late Martin Luther King had reinforced: addressing a SF Connolly Week meeting in Dublin in May 1968, Anthony Coughlan focused on Connolly's conception of the social emancipation of labour. Coughlan lamented job insecurity and the domination of the profit incentive in the Irish economy.[124] At a republican meeting in Sligo in January 1969, Coughlan celebrated Connolly for connecting national and social questions.[125] Connolly's trade unionism was also important for republicans seeking connections with organised labour. The Dublin *Comhairle*

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[122] 'Sinn Fein re-organising meeting in Letterkenny', *Donegal News*, 22 November 1969.
[123] Ibid. Subsequent republican invocations of Fintan Lalor were far rarer, but in the early 1980s, the Provisional Education Department celebrated Lalor as a conduit between the land question and the national question. LHL NIPC P938: PSF Education Department, *Nationalism and Socialism* (Dublin: PSF, 1981).
[124] Shortly prior to his assassination in April 1968, King's 'Poor People's Campaign' recapitulated earlier themes in his work, advocating a universal income to address poverty. Writing in 1958, King attacked capitalism for privileging the 'profit motive' above 'humanity'. Automation was 'skimming off unskilled labor from the industrial force', creating unorganised, low-paid work. 'Ideal still unachieved', *Irish Press*, 3 May 1968; Quoted in King's essay 'Pilgrimage to Nonviolence' (1958) in *Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2010) [First edition New York: Harper & Row, 1967], pp. 51, 149, 196-197
[125] 'New stirrings of radical thoughts', *Sligo Champion*, 10 January 1969.

Ceantair's Connolly Week began with a lecture on workers' solidarity by two leading trade unionists.[126]

Networks of experienced republicans who remained with the Official wing of the movement at the time of the split in 1969 and 1970 were often seasoned critics of US imperialism and civil rights abuses. Editor of the Officials' *United Irishman* newspaper, Seamus O Tuathail was a keen reader of the Black Panther leader Bobby Seale. Seale's work inspired O Tuathail to draw comparisons with the situation in Belfast in 1971, where republicans were 'defending the ghettoes'.[127] Thomas 'Jonty' Johnson, a NICRA veteran close to OIRA leader Billy McMillen, was involved with anti-Vietnam protests in Belfast.[128]

After the split, Official leaders lacerated conservative Irish-America and in August 1970 drew comparisons between the RUC and the right-wing Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, both of which had used CS gas 'against their own citizens'.[129] Officials led the hostility to Daley's proposed visit in 1971. Máirín de Burca and Seán Ó Cionnaith held Daley as emblematic of 'American imperialism', and attacked his complicity in the police repression in Chicago at the Democratic Convention of 1968.[130] In 1970 and 1971, senior Officials Seán Ó Cionnaith and Máirín de Burca lambasted Daley and compared his Chicago police force to the RUC.[131] The moderate nationalist John Hume had no such qualms with Daley, however. In 1974, Hume visited Chicago, meeting Daley personally, to invite wealthy Irish-American businesspeople to invest in Northern Ireland.[132]

Official republican leaders closely followed political developments in the African-American civil rights movement in the early 1970s, whereas senior Provisionals in the early 1970s were far less inclined to situate Ireland among contemporary global struggles. Provisional republicans seldom referred to foreign conflicts in the 1970s.[133] Differing perspectives on contentious politics worldwide reflected key strategic differences between the leaderships of the two republican factions. PIRA Chief of Staff Seán Mac Stíofáin explained in the movement's newspaper in March 1970 that the Provisionals did not see sophisticated

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[126] 'Lecture on Connolly', *Evening Herald*, 1 May 1968.
[127] Seamus O Tuathail, 'A day in the life of an internee', *Sunday Independent*, 10 October 1971.
[128] 'Thomas 'Jonty' Johnson', *LookLeft*, Volume 2 Issue 2 (n.d. [2015]).
[129] Seán Ó Cionnaith, 'Fianna Fail and CS gas', *Irish Independent*, 29 August 1970.
[130] 'Sinn Fein Claim Rejected', *Munster Express*, 8 January 1971.
[131] Seán Ó Cionnaith, 'Fianna Fail and CS gas', *Irish Independent*, 29 August 1970; 'Sinn Fein Claim Rejected', *Munster Express*, 8 January 1971.
[132] 'Hume in U.S. trade mission', *Irish Examiner*, 17 April 1974.
[133] Provisional publicity devoted greater attention to international affairs from 1979 onwards, with a series of articles in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* on Nicaragua, Cuba, and Vietnam. These issues are discussed in Chapter 2.

politicisation as an immediate priority in the escalating war situation: 'You've got to have military victory and then politicise the people afterwards'.[134] By contrast, later that year, OIRA leader Cathal Goulding told *New Left Review* that Ireland's revolution was integral to global leftism.[135]

Founding Provisionals' scarce allusions to international politics usually referred to the recent past and the heartening precedents of British withdrawals after determined guerrilla opposition in Cyprus (1960) and Aden (1967). Addressing a public meeting in Portlaoise in September 1971, Éamonn Mac Thomáis, editor of the Provisionals' *An Phoblacht*, located Ireland in succession to Cyprus, Aden, and Malaya. Mac Thomáis noted with encouragement that the British 'gutter press' which condemned the Provisionals in 1971 had previously feared 'revolutionary' movements which had overthrown British rule in the 1960s.[136] Criticising the 'opportunist stances of American machine politics', the Provisional leadership in February 1972 called for the Republic of Ireland government to forge diplomatic ties with Algeria, Cyprus, and India, which had experienced 'imperial policy'.[137] Addressing a press conference in Derry in June 1972, PIRA Chief of Staff Seán Mac Stíofáin cited Cyprus as evidence of British vulnerability. Pursuing ceasefire talks with Secretary of State Willie Whitelaw, the PIRA leader noted that the British had initially refused to negotiate with revolutionaries in Kenya and Cyprus.[138] In Cyprus, Aden, and Algeria, the early Provisionals found salutary lessons about anti-imperialism, and cause for positivity about the future of the Irish struggle.[139]

1.2 '68, community defence, and republicanism after the split, c.1968-c.1973

This section will examine republican mobilisation in the context of August 1969 and the republican split in the months that followed. The republican movement in the late 1960s

[134] Seán Mac Stíofáin quoted in 'Our Aims and Methods', *An Phoblacht*, March 1970, cited in Michael von Tangen Page & M. L. R. Smith, 'War by Other Means: The Problem of Political Control in Irish Republican Strategy', *Armed Forces & Society*, 27 (2000), p. 90.
[135] 'The New Strategy of the IRA', *New Left Review*, 64 (November-December 1970).
[136] 'Sinn Fein meeting in Portlaoise', *Leinster Express*, 1 October 1971.
[137] 'New approach needed – S.F.', *Irish Independent*, 5 February 1972.
[138] 'Invitation – and a warning – from the Provos', *Irish Independent*, 14 June 1972.
[139] The British had withdrawn from India, too, in 1947, but the Provisionals found less to celebrate in this case, since their own violent campaign and Gandhi's movement differed greatly. Challenged by a pacifist observer to justify the PIRA's campaign in 1976, two members of the Provisionals' *Ard Comhairle* said they had 'no admiration' for Gandhi's legacy. P. J. Kearney & Cathal Kelly, 'Open letter to IRA', *Irish Press*, 20 December 1976.

has been the subject of considerable academic debate.[140] IRA Chief of Staff Cathal Goulding had overseen significant changes in the movement since 1964. The split began as strategic division among the republican hierarchy over the appropriate IRA response to the outbreak of violence in 1968 and 1969, and from late 1969 cascaded through the middle-ranks and grassroots, often along lines of place, networks, and perspectives on class politics. Irrespective of its politics and practices in these years, however, there is widespread scholarly agreement that the movement was small, by comparison to the 1970s and 1980s.[141]

For Goulding, armed defence of nationalist communities would constitute a sectarian action likely to alienate Protestant supporters of the civil rights campaign: defending northern Catholics was not the IRA's purpose. Republican differences on Stormont emerged again in 1970, shortly after the split. With Johnston and Coughlan in leadership positions, Official Sinn Féin (OSF) presented Stormont as a vehicle for change rather than an obstacle. Provisionals such as Seán Ó Brádaigh cited the openness of Coughlan, Johnston, and Goulding to entering Stormont among a series of reasons for the recent split in the republican movement.

Strategically and internationally, Official republican thought was particularly porous. The OIRA's New Year statement in 1972 rejected exclusively military means:

> It has never been and is not now our intention to launch a purely military campaign… We do not… want a repetition of the fifties.[142]

Mindful of how the Border Campaign had been publicly abandoned in 1962 due to lack of popular support, through 1967 and 1968, proto-Officials in the pre-split republican movement

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[140] For Matt Treacy, dissensions over republican strategy defined the divisions within the IRA leadership in 1969. A faction, including Seamus Costello, implored the IRA to escalate a crisis in the north to cause the collapse of Stormont and the imposition of direct rule from Westminster. Another faction, including Roy Johnston and Anthony Coughlan, considered Stormont a potential mechanism for a reformed, non-sectarian Northern Ireland, pending national reunification. Responding to a literature which generally describes pre-1970 republicanism as moribund and unpopular within grassroots nationalist communities, Brian Hanley has gone some way towards rehabilitating the movement's record in the 1960s. Liam Cullinane has argued similarly that the IRA was not in decline but had increased considerably in number in the 1960s, and was publicly committed in early 1969 to agitate in the community and 'protest against any of the injustices so prevalent in Ireland'. In west Belfast, for instance, republicans engaged in community-based campaigns in the 1960s. Gerry Adams remembers republican involvement with a campaign opposing the Divis Flats building programme. Matt Treacy, *The IRA, 1956-1969: Rethinking the Republic* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 153; Hanley, 'I Ran Away'; Liam Cullinane, '"A happy blend"? Irish Republicanism, Political Violence and Social Agitation, 1962-1969', *Saothar*, 35 (2010), pp. 49, 60-61, 63; Gerry Adams, 'A Republican in the Civil Rights Campaign', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 39-41.

[141] Johnnie White, later a senior figure in the Official republican movement in Derry, remembered just 20 activists in the city in the late 1960s. White, *Out of the Ashes*, 54.

[142] M. L. R. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland? The Military Strategy of the Irish Republican Movement* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 88.

advocated a broad-based movement. They backed a National Liberation Front and connections with the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), tenants' unions, trades unions, and cultural societies. Republican spheres of activity and repertoires of contention widened, too. In June 1968, the Derry IRA helped residents fight eviction threats, building barricades and guarding homes.[143]

Community defence underpinned the Provisionals' initial recruitment in the urban areas of Belfast and Derry where sectarian violence was most commonplace from August 1969. Provisional narratives of the split in the republican movement in 1969 and 1970 frequently cite the IRA's perceived 'failure' to defend Catholics during loyalist violence in 1969.[144] The Battle of the Bogside of August 1969 immediately entered Derry Catholics' collective memory as a moment of heroic resistance against the incursions of the RUC: a photograph album produced 'in response to popular demand' later that year celebrated this 'victory for the ordinary people of Bogside'.[145] The RUC deployed tear gas, over 1,000 cartridges, and 161 grenades, during the two-day confrontation.[146] The Provisional movement instantly recognised its popular legend as defender of west Belfast's besieged Catholics: a Provisional publicity poster of 1970 invited the viewer to 'remember August '69… Bombay St. subject to organised attack… We are your insurance that it won't happen again'.[147]

Established community networks in Belfast and Derry shaped mobilisation in defence committees in August 1969. These committees – namely, Derry Citizens' Defence Association (DCDA) and, in Belfast, the Central Citizens' Defence Committee (CCDC) – were localised organisations,[148] with pronounced republican dynamics: DCDA chair, Seán

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[143] Brian Hanley, '"Agitate, Educate, Organise": The IRA's *An tOglach*, 1965-1968', *Saothar*, 32 (2007), p. 55.

[144] Speaking in 2004, former Belfast PIRA prisoner Jim McVeigh narrated the loyalist attacks of 1969 as a time when 'there really was no IRA'. Gerry Adams, 'A Republican', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 49-50; David McKittrick, 'And your guide for today's tour of Belfast', *Independent on Sunday*, 29 August 2004.

[145] LHL NIPC P872: *Battle of Bogside* (Derry: Bogside Republican Appeal Fund, 1969). The 'Free Derry' successfully defended in August 1969 had been established in January 1969, from which point onwards the RUC was excluded and local vigilante groups policed the area. Ó Dochartaigh, *From Civil Rights*, 314.

[146] Marc Mulholland, *The Longest War: Northern Ireland's Troubled History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 71.

[147] Eileen Hickey Irish Republican History Museum, Belfast (hereafter, EHI): *So you think you are safe! A reminder lest you forget!* (1970).

[148] Social movement theorists David A. Snow, Louis A. Zurcher & Sheldon Ekland-Olson found personal connections in local areas important in mobilisation patterns. Tommy McKearney has noted the initial cooperation between the early Provisionals and various citizens' defence committees. Snow, Zurcher & Ekland-Olson, 'Social Networks and Social Movements', 787-801; McKearney, *Provisional IRA*, 58, 75.

Keenan, told a NICRA meeting in October 1969 that only Irish unity could guarantee justice.[149] Although the DCDA was a heterogeneous grouping – one member observed a 1,000-strong 'mixsome gathering' at a DCDA meeting in August 1969[150] – its leadership included several senior republicans. Other DCDA activists subsequently joined the Provisional IRA (PIRA).[151]

If August 1969 into 1970 was the era of the local defence committees, by late 1970 Belfast's escalating crisis and the emergent republican offensive separated the CCDC and PIRA, which had previously overlapped.[152] Although bitterly opposed to the RUC and 'the evils of Unionism', the CCDC held republicans resorting to violence in 1970 to be 'the enemies of justice'. Although sympathetic to the experiences of 'the trauma of August, 1969 [which] swept some young men off their feet', CCDC leaders sought reform, not revolution. To this end, the Committees coordinated youth schemes and cooperative projects, and rebuilt areas devastated by fires in 1969.[153] That an Official republican, Jim Sullivan, chaired the CCDC likely accelerated Provisionals' departure, in the context of the internecine split between Provisional and Official republican factions in January 1970.[154]

From late 1970, militant republicanism eclipsed the CCDC, which was left to meetings with police authorities, lobbying for reform of the RUC and the restoration of 'law and order'.[155] Relations between the defence committees and republicans deteriorated from November 1970, when the Provisionals accused the CCDC of hedging the national question and undermining republican armed struggle.[156] By 1972, pacifying elements close to the

[149] Keenan had served 12 years in prison for republican activities. In April 1972, he represented the Provisional movement on a coast-to-coast tour of the USA, fundraising as a trustee of Irish Northern Aid. Keenan upheld the legitimacy of the Provisionals' 'fight for freedom of one's country'. Irish Northern Aid, or Noraid, was founded in Boston in 1970 to support the Provisional movement. 'Paper reforms only say Sligo speakers', *Western People*, 18 October 1969; Kathleen Teltsch, 'In a Bronx storefront office, a campaign outpost for the I.R.A.', *New York Times*, 30 July 1972.
[150] Neil Gillespie quoted in LHL NIPC P8279: Derry Citizens Defence Association, *Meeting of Derry Citizens Defence Association: Celtic Park, 10 August 1969* (Derry: Publisher unknown, 1969).
[151] Alongside Keenan, Tom Mellon, Barney McFadden, Tommy Carlin, and Liam McDaid later joined the PIRA. Wichert, *Northern Ireland Since 1945*, 134.
[152] During a war of words between Belfast Provisionals and the CCDC in November 1970, the Provisionals referred to those 'of our members who are also members of the CCDC'. Ranagh Holohan, 'Republicans critical of C.C.D.C.', *Irish Times*, 14 November 1970.
[153] LHL NIPC P4203: CCDC, *Stop! Stop! Stop!* (Belfast: CCDC, 1970).
[154] Heathwood Video Archive (hereafter, HVA) D01260 Tape 93: *Sullivan's Story* (UTV, Broadcast 28 September 1989).
[155] LHL NIPC P1026: CCDC, *Northern Ireland: The Black Paper – The Story of the Police* (Belfast: CCDC, 1973).
[156] Ranagh Holohan, 'Republicans critical of C.C.D.C.', *Irish Times*, 14 November 1970.

Church were foremost in the CCDC.[157] The organisation was not the republican-dominated street movement that Brian Feeney has portrayed.[158] By 1973, the breach between republicans and the CCDC was final, when the Committee implored the Provisionals to call a ceasefire.[159]

The fraught circumstances of 1969 profoundly recast the social order in working-class areas of Belfast and Derry, with young activists in both cities repudiating Church authority amid the incipient emergency. Especially for the younger generation, 1969 represented what Walter Benjamin termed the historical 'rupture', which problematizes prior modes of conformity and destabilises 'the previous unthematized foundations of social life'.[160] On 12 July 1969, Catholic youths pushed aside Father Mulvey of St Eugene's Cathedral in Derry to attack the Victoria Barracks.[161] Mulvey conceded that the Bogside was 'in revolt'.[162] Residents of Belfast's Ardoyne district branded Father Gillespie a 'cheek-turning fool' when he argued against armed community defence in August 1969.[163]

Almost 50 years on, oral histories of activists who remember August 1969 reinforce the crisis as a visceral historical rubicon which was experienced profoundly locally. In a group interview, two veteran Belfast republicans instinctively narrated their republicanism from mid-August 1969, and could recall how events unfolded almost hour by hour, street by street.[164] A former Official republican internee from Belfast stressed the localism of defence committees in the emergency, imputing cohesion and coordination on the memory of a community in revolt:

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[157] In November 1972, the CCDC exhorted professionals to complain formally about British Army behaviour, having earlier collected the testimony of 65 Catholic priests with grievances against Army patrols. CCDC chairman, Tom Conaty, served on the committee advising British Secretary of State Willie Whitelaw, and in June 1972, Conaty coordinated a petition for peace in Belfast. He later became a leading member of the Community of the Peace People, until he was expelled from the organisation in February 1977. A devout Catholic, Conaty criticised its leaders for arguing that the Church had failed to take a 'clear moral lead on the question of violence'. 'The Past Two Weeks', *Fortnight*, 51 (30 November 1972); Robert Fisk, '40,000 Catholics sign Belfast petition condemning violence', *Times*, 2 June 1972; Martin Huckerby, 'Peace People drop official over attack on leaders', *Times*, 9 February 1977.
[158] Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, 260.
[159] Robert Fisk, 'IRA attack on airport failed to deter British pilots', *Times*, 5 June 1973.
[160] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), pp. 261-262.
[161] Patterson, *Politics of Illusion*, 71.
[162] Peter Waymark, 'Priest criticises Ulster police', *Times*, 26 September 1969.
[163] Bishop & Mallie, *Provisional IRA*, 88.
[164] Kevin Hannaway and Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.

> The defence committees were just made up of each street, even if you weren't on the frontline. So every street had a defence committee elected. So that was young *and* old, it was a mentality. People wonder why a community rises, but the whole community had been kept down.[165]

Patrick Magee experienced the escalating crisis simultaneously transnationally and locally. Awareness of international politics informed Magee's compulsion to 'witness' events in Belfast, stimulating his return from England in 1971. Subsequently, his observations in north Belfast also framed his analysis:

> It wasn't until internment happened in 1971 that I really felt a need to come back here [to Belfast] to be witness to it. I was an age then [19/20 years old] – as we all were then, it was a very politically astute generation – where we were interested in Vietnam, in the civil rights in the States, the events in Europe with the Prague Spring and the happenings in Paris and things like that. It's happening here, in a place I care about: I wanted to be a witness to it. I was also aware we weren't getting the full truth in the newspaper reports. I just tried to absorb as much as I could, walking around, usually in the aftermath of stuff. It actually took me a while to get a hold on it, you know, but eventually I wanted to be a part of it: I wanted to be a part of what I saw was happening in the districts I was in, and it was the people of those areas defending themselves. These were very poor areas, very few resources. The British state had seemed to declare war on them. The area I was living in then was called Carrick Hill, it was called Unity Flats in those days. It was saturation point. There was an Army sangar and there was only three or four hundred residences in the whole of that estate. There was an Army sangar on top of the library, there was always two foot patrols, there were two Army barracks and a police barracks within half a mile, so there was a heavy presence. And during a particularly bad time in '72 the whole sectarian thing kicked off, with the loyalists… They were really intense times. As a witness to all that, I wanted to be part of the resistance.[166]

Similarly, Gerry MacLochlainn, a Derry native who had moved to south Wales, recalled 'the '68 years' in terms of international cycles of contestation combined with intense experiences on visits to his home city. MacLochlainn, whose father was a trade unionist, had

> always been proud of the labour movement, but I think as the civil rights campaign was getting going, as the Vietnam situation was going, there was lots of big Vietnam protests, the black civil rights movement, we identified a lot of this as social justice, and South Africa, we heard about Sharpeville, was about equality and justice… The Prague Spring, the student unrest across Europe and the civil rights movement was beginning here, and the students were

[165] Former Official republican internee interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 31 March 2016.
[166] Patrick Magee interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 August 2015.

> travelling. We [in Derry] were on the tourist list for aspiring revolutionaries as they travelled around Europe.[167]

In January 1969, MacLochlainn joined the civil rights march from Belfast to Derry at Claudy, County Derry, and recalled loyalists and the RUC ambushing the march as it approached Derry. He vividly recalls this experience which transformed his politics:

> We made our way to the Bogside and sort of fought back, and it was very exhilarating, because you knew once you'd fought the police back, you couldn't put the genie back in the bottle. When you saw them running, it changed your way of thinking.[168]

Embattled communities in Belfast and Derry in August 1969 demanded armed defence against loyalists, the RUC, and, later, the British Army. Through 1970 and 1971, the Provisional republican movement successfully outbid its rivals, presenting as a militant faction, its legitimacy derived from distinctly Irish precedent, and impervious to foreign manipulation. The PIRA's military campaign evolved quickly during the early 1970s. Through 1970 and early 1971, the Provisionals described an essentially defensive campaign. A statement from a PIRA unit in Ballymurphy, west Belfast in 1970 outlined the Army Council's commitment 'to protect our people against attack from Crown forces and sectarian bigots'.[169] However, at the PSF *Ard Fheis* of October 1971, the Army Council narrated the campaign's progression from a 'defensive role to retaliation' and subsequently 'an offensive campaign of resistance' over the previous 12 months.[170] The course of events informed the PIRA's intensification. In October 1971, the Provisionals demanded Stormont's abolition as a prerequisite for talks with the British government. When Stormont was prorogued on 24 March 1972, a PIRA statement stipulated that direct rule from Westminster was 'not acceptable'.[171]

The politics of community defence had local inflections in both Belfast and Derry. In Derry, 1,000 Christian signatories of a petition for peace in 1972 wanted the PIRA to remain as a defensive force in Bogside and Creggan; in Belfast, peace campaigners called for a Provisional amnesty.[172] Further from the epicentres of violence in 1969, Catholics placed

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[167] Gerry MacLochlainn interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 12 December 2017.
[168] Ibid.
[169] LHL NIPC P13526: *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA* (Dublin: Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 1973).
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Robert Fisk, '40,000 Catholics sign Belfast petition condemning violence', *Times*, 2 June 1972.

greater hope in clerical capacity for moral leadership.[173] In Newtownabbey, which had been untouched by the violence of 1969, approximately 200 local people joined clergy to establish a peace committee.[174]

The immediate Provisional narrative which portrayed its ranks as the saviours of a nationalist community left vulnerable by toothless Officials was not lost on the OIRA Chief of Staff.[175] In 1970, Cathal Goulding gave an insightful interview to *New Left Review*, assessing the recent split and outlining the Official analysis. Goulding argued that his movement had simply misjudged the scale of the emergency in August 1969. Goulding recognised that, by this juncture, the Officials' intentions the previous year had become a moot point: the Provisionals had secured the designation of true community defenders.[176]

Initially, at grassroots level in 1969 and 1970, contingent factors such as family, kinship, and territorial ties shaped allegiance between Provisionals and Officials. Aged 16 in 1970 and later to become a longstanding PIRA volunteer, Albert Allen recalled the split in Belfast:

> It depended on what area you were in, who was recruiting. I was in an area that was predominantly Official IRA, so I was in the Fianna, joined the IRA, the Official IRA, hadn't got a clue, it was only as time goes by, and you realise.[177]

A former Official internee reflected similarly:

> If someone had come up the road in '69 with a van load of weapons and said, "you've to forget all about the Official IRA and join the Provisional IRA", you'd have said, "yeah, okay"… Somebody said to me at the time – I argued with him; he had been a member [of the Officials] – and I said to him "you know what you're doing [joining the Provisionals] is wrong" and he says, "I agree with you entirely, but I live in Ardoyne" – in other words, surrounded by loyalists, and politics didn't matter as much as survival... Sometimes it boiled down to whatever area you lived in.[178]

For Tommy McKearney in Moy, County Tyrone, allegiance in 1971

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[173] 'Moral leadership' here follows Antonio Gramsci's understanding of the Churches among the 'hegemonic apparatuses' of civil society. Chantal Mouffe, 'Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci', in Chantal Mouffe (ed.), *Gramsci and Marxist Theory* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 187.
[174] Conflict Archive on the Internet: John Darby, *Intimidation in Housing* (Belfast: Northern Ireland Community Relations Commission, 1974).
[175] Brian Hanley has eloquently described how the Provisionals quickly cemented their popular image as the republican saviours of August 1969, emerging 'from the ashes' to rescue the nationalist population. Hanley, 'I Ran Away'.
[176] 'The New Strategy of the IRA', *New Left Review*, 64 (November-December 1970).
[177] Albert Allen interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 December 2017.
[178] Former Official republican internee interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 31 March 2016.

> wasn't so much at that time quite an ideological decision: I didn't decide in terms of "are the Officials more or less left-wing?" That didn't occur to me at all. It was in many ways a question of efficiency and effectiveness, and who was seen to be best striking back at that stage… in terms of removing the obstacle.[179]

In Belfast and Derry, the popular interpretation of the Provisionals as an essentially defensive force was deeply embedded, enduring in collective memory long after the Provisional Army Council announced a new offensive in October 1971. In 1973, Provisional publicity promoted prominent Belfast republican Joe Cahill as the 'defender of the Falls'.[180] As late as 1980, former republican prisoner Maureen Gibson remembered young republican Gerard McAuley, who died on 15 August 1969 'while defending the area'.[181]

The Provisionals' reputation as defenders spanned other organisational trajectories and national boundaries. In an internal party discussion document in the late 1980s, Joe Carter of PD reflected that the Provisionals had been founded as 'a defence against the B Specials'.[182] Irish Northern Aid, Provisional supporters in the USA, included among their stated aims in December 1971 assistance for Provisional 'DEFENSE PATROLS'.[183]

These perceptions of a defensive PIRA legitimised leaders' frames of the campaign. Army Council member Dáithí Ó Conaill remarked in March 1972 that the PIRA did not seek conflict with the Orange Order or unionists, but republicans must 'defend the Catholic population against attack by elements of the Unionist Regime'.[184] Speaking in February 1972, Belfast PIRA adjutant Ivor Bell told a reporter that the Provisionals were now launching an offensive bombing campaign in a bid to disrupt the northern economy. But Bell still compared the PIRA to the Jewish 'resistance' to the British in the aftermath of the Second World War, operating in a 'divided' community.[185]

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[179] Tommy McKearney interview with Jack Hepworth. Armagh, 15 September 2015.
[180] LHL NIPC PPO1241: *Release Joe Cahill* (1973).
[181] Margaretta D'Arcy, *Tell Them Everything* (London: Pluto Press, 1981), p. 66.
[182] Joe Carter, 'Armed struggle, revolution and the IRA', *An Reabhloid*, Volume 5 Number 1 (n.d.).
[183] Irish Northern Aid Committee Hartford Chapter, 'A Dance to be held at the Irish American Home' (3 December 1971). Available at https://www.scribd.com/document/342197180/FBI001 (Accessed 17 October 2017).
[184] This chapter engages William Gamson's and Andre Modigliani's formulation of framing as a 'a central organising idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events… The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue'. William Gamson & Andre Modigliani, 'The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action', in Richard G. Braungart & Margaret M. Braungart (eds.), *Research in Political Sociology, Volume 3* (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1987), p. 143; Timothy B. Brennan, Press Relations for Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 27 March 1972. Available at https://www.scribd.com/document/342197180/FBI001 (Accessed 17 October 2017).
[185] 'P. Michael O'Sullivan interview with Belfast Brigade IRA Adjutant Ivor Bell in Belfast, February 1972', Irish Republican Marxist History Project. Available at

Particularly after Bloody Sunday in January 1972, Provisional defenderism occupied an important position in urban collective memory in Derry's Bogside. A majority at a public meeting in the area in April 1972 voted for the Provisionals to exclude permanently British troops from the Bogside.[186]

Repudiating compromise and established authority characterised the early Provisional movement. Provisional denigration spared neither the Catholic Church, NICRA, Official republicans nor more moderate nationalists who eschewed armed force: in 1973, the Provisionals' northern newspaper listed NICRA and the Official republican movement among 'defeatist and deluded collaborators with fascism and imperialism… [and] British and Orange force'.[187] In the early 1970s, the Provisional leadership's representation of a military struggle to force a British withdrawal appealed to a considerable grassroots support base which advocated immediate action to make Northern Ireland ungovernable, rendering all political alternatives irrelevant.

1.3 Civil rights, student protest, and People's Democracy c.1968-c.1973

Popular responses to the civil rights protests of 1968 and 1969 in Northern Ireland were broadly divided between those who considered violence legitimate for oppressed peoples' self-defence, and those who followed the non-violent pathways of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King. For civil rights activists of Northern Ireland's 1968 who graduated to constitutional nationalism, principally embodied by the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) after its formation in 1970, popular memories of King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were most important: Ivan Cooper and Austin Currie, later leading SDLP figures, recalled being most inspired by Gandhi and King in 1968, rather than by libertarian sections of Western Europe's student movements.[188] By contrast, republicans cited reforms failing to address enduring civil rights grievances, and justified an armed campaign.[189]

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https://irishrepublicanmarxisthistoryproject.wordpress.com/2017/08/22/p-michael-osullivan-interview-with-belfast-brigade-ira-adjutant-iver-bell-in-belfast-february-1972/ (22 August 2017). Accessed 22 September 2017.

[186] Timothy B. Brennan, Press Relations for Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 18 April 1972. Available at https://www.scribd.com/document/342197180/FBI001 (Accessed 17 October 2017).

[187] 'Sectarianism!', *Republican News*, 19 May 1973.

[188] Robert Gildea, James Mark & Anette Warring (eds.), *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 262; Prince, *Northern Ireland's 68*, 119.

[189] Ó Dochartaigh, 'What Did The Civil Rights Movement Want?'.

Leftists in Northern Ireland's '68 were similarly interested in the African-American civil rights movement, but drew greater inspiration from Bob Dylan and militant activists. Michael Farrell and Clara Connolly of People's Democracy (PD) were inspired by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).[190] Farrell compared SNCC and PD, radical factions in their respective civil rights movements.[191] Eamonn McCann, drawing an analogy between the Bogside's defence committees and the self-defence of the Black Panthers, admired the Panthers' urban defence.[192] The Panthers' community activism, coupled with armed self-defence against the police, closely mirrored the autonomous defence committees – and, in later years, the PIRA – in Derry's Catholic estates.[193]

Student radicals aligned with more moderate civil rights activists in NICRA, but this coalition eventually fragmented in 1970. Activists' disagreements over how to respond to state repression mirrored similar divisions among civil rights campaigners in the US.[194] Such disputes about tactics had emerged in 1969. In Dungannon, County Tyrone, PD's antagonistic approach to the unionist establishment aggrieved the local civil rights organisation.[195] PD's restlessness within NICRA stemmed from March 1969, when Bernadette Devlin controversially announced a march from Belfast to Stormont. NICRA executive members Fred Heatley, John McEnerny, Raymond Shearer, and Betty Sinclair resigned, protesting the tactics of the young radical lobby in NICRA.[196]

The politics of class and internationalism also divided NICRA. Moderate civil rights activists emphasising the uniqueness of Ireland's position interpreted international political influences as malign interference, and splits followed. In February 1970, three members of NICRA's executive protested to the organisation's membership about 'manipulation' of NICRA by elements inspired by 'International Revolutionary Socialism'. Although Bríd Rodgers, John Donaghy, and Conn McCluskey did not mention PD explicitly, they

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[190] Clara Connolly, 'Communalism: Obstacle to Social Change', *Women: A Cultural Review*, 2 (1991), p. 214.
[191] Michael Farrell, 'Long March to Freedom', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 57.
[192] Eamonn McCann quoted in Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68*, 151.
[193] Caute, *Sixty-Eight*, 128.
[194] In the USA, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) would not countenance self-defence for civil rights workers, but organisations inspired by Black Power ideology, such as the Deacons for Defense and the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee, promoted a more confrontational response to state violence. Simon Wendt, 'The Roots of Black Power? Armed Resistance and the Radicalisation of the Civil Rights Movement', in Peniel E. Joseph (ed.), *The Black Power Movement: Rethinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 146.
[195] Conn McCluskey, *Up Off Their Knees: A Commentary on the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland* (Dungannon: Conn McCluskey & Associates, 1989), p. 137.
[196] Hazel Morrissey, 'Betty Sinclair: A Woman's Fight for Socialism, 1910-1981', *Saothar*, 9 (1983), p. 130.

condemned Michael Farrell, its most prominent activist, for his liaisons with Black Panthers. Young radicals, it was alleged, had hijacked NICRA magazine *The Citizen Press* for their own agenda. Rodgers, Donaghy, and McCluskey argued that the militants' connections with Black Panthers would alienate from NICRA the 'socially-conscious Protestants whom we must attract'.[197]

The sharp escalation of violence from the early 1970s ensured that media coverage eclipsed the civil rights causes which had ignited popular politics in the late 1960s.[198] As republicans fought to sap Westminster's will to maintain the union, NICRA's demands remained integrationist. In 1972, NICRA executive member Fred Heatley implored the British government to extend the Race Relations Act of 1968 to Northern Ireland.[199] The upsurge in sectarian violence in 1975 dismayed civil rights activists, who again looked to the British government to implement a bill of rights for all Northern Ireland's citizens 'to end violence and defuse sectarianism'.[200]

Activist trajectories from NICRA to militant republicanism in the early 1970s demonstrate the spectrum of Northern Ireland's '68ers and republicans alike, especially with regard to place. In County Fermanagh, the boundary between civil rights protests in the late 1960s and physical-force republicanism in the 1970s was especially porous.[201] Civil rights organisations in County Fermanagh sympathised with the republican position where NICRA activists in Belfast or Derry did not. The Fermanagh Civil Disobedience Committee (FCDC) held, following Pádraig Pearse, that 'Ireland unfree shall never be at peace' and saluted the PIRA's 'unpaid volunteer soldiers'.[202] Independent nationalist MP Frank McManus, from Kinawley, told a civil rights meeting in March 1972 that Stormont's prorogation represented

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[197] LHL NIPC P6534: *Communication to NICRA members from Bríd Rodgers, John Donaghy, and Conn McCluskey* (Published by the authors, 1970).
[198] Maney, 'White Negroes and the Pink IRA', 84.
[199] NICRA, *Direct Rule: Civil Rights NOT Civil War* (1972).
[200] LHL NIPC PPO0492: NICRA, *A Bill of Rights now* (1975).
[201] Liam Slevin from Belleek had been involved with PD and NICRA in the late 1960s, and was among the founders of PSF in 1970. He was later charged with PIRA membership. Tommy Maguire from Enniskillen first came to political activism in the Fermanagh Civil Rights Association and later joined the PIRA, serving a prison sentence between 1977 and 1985. In the 1980s, three former civil rights activists, Paul Corrigan, Patsy McBrien, and John Joseph McCusker, represented PSF on Fermanagh District Council. 'Claimed he was "framed" by British undercover agents', *Donegal Democrat*, 11 October 1974; Fáilte Cluain Eois, *Their Prisons, Our Stories*, v, 219; 'Sinn Fein's 11 selections', *Fermanagh Herald*, 20 April 1985.
[202] 'The Men of Today', *Concerned: Official Organ of the Fermanagh Civil Disobedience Committee*, 172 (8 February 1975).

'one point' won in the 'game', but the 'match' concerning the constitutional question 'isn't over yet'.[203]

Especially after their ceasefire in May 1972, Official republicanism moved closer to NICRA's integrationist, rights-based politics. This position prioritised British civil rights legislation and class solidarity within Ireland above the national question. In February 1972, leading Official theorist Roy Johnston wrote that the Officials shared with civil rights activists the initial aspiration, at least, of 'reform of Stormont by Westminster'.[204] Members of the Officials' Republican Clubs collaborated with NICRA anti-internment protests outside RUC and British Army barracks in 1974.[205] Former NICRA chair Ivan Barr combined NICRA activism in Strabane, County Tyrone, with involvement in the Official republican movement through much of the 1970s.[206]

After their ceasefire, the Official leadership criticised the Provisionals for a sectarian campaign exacerbating tensions in the north. The statement announcing the OIRA's cessation warned that the Provisionals risked 'sectarian civil war'.[207] Interviewed in 1974, leading Official Cathal Goulding condemned the Provisionals' 'terror campaign' and speculated that without Provisional aggression, the Protestant working class would have joined the civil disobedience campaign for civil rights. Goulding's celebration of organised labour extended to describing the Ulster Workers' Council (UWC) strike against the Sunningdale Agreement as 'a positive tendency',[208] in stark contrast to PD's newspaper editorialising in 1975 against 'fascist' loyalism.[209]

During the '68 years, PD activists emulated the New Left in ways which Provisionals and Officials did not. Formed in 1968 as a student grouping in Queen's University Belfast, PD contained many of the coalitions and contradictions of the '68 years. Former PD member Brendan Holland remembered the group embracing 'all sorts of different kinds of Marxists,

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[203] Timothy B. Brennan, Press Relations for Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 27 March 1972. Available at https://www.scribd.com/document/342197180/FBI001 (Accessed 17 October 2017).
[204] 'Letter from Roy Johnston', *Fortnight*, 34 (23 February 1972).
[205] Irish Left Archive (hereafter, ILA): 'More C.R.A. protests planned against Army tactics', *The Irish People/An Choismhuintir*, Volume 2 Number 35 (6 September 1974).
[206] 'Strabane bids final farewell to Ivan Barr', *An Phoblacht*, 15 May 2008.
[207] National Archives of Ireland, Dublin (hereafter, NAI) DFA 2003/17/300: 'Statement issued by the Executive of the Northern Republican Clubs announcing that the Official I.R.A. was suspending all armed military actions' (29 May 1972).
[208] LHL NIPC P1346: *Inside the IRA: Interviews with Cathal Goulding* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Recon Publications, Volume 3 Number 1, January 1975).
[209] 'On the brink', *Unfree Citizen*, Vol. 4 No. 29 (9 June 1975).

anarchists, and… republicans'.[210] Speaking in 1969, leader Michael Farrell differentiated PD – 'a revolutionary organisation… considerably influenced by the Sorbonne Assembly' and 'concepts of libertarianism' – from the wider civil rights umbrella.[211]

Channelling the libertarian ideas of Paris's May '68, PD activists in 1969 and 1970 criticised NICRA's reformism and constitutionalism. In 1969, Eamonn McCann, who organised a PD-aligned grouping in Derry,[212] dismissed NICRA, which for two years had done 'nothing except issue press statements calling on the Unionist Government to be a bit more liberal'.[213] In October 1970, Belfast PD activist Kevin Boyle pronounced NICRA a 'sham… stifled by respectable politics'. For Boyle, NICRA placed 'excessive faith' in reform by lobbying the judiciary for a universal bill of rights, forgetting that 'law is a ruling class instrument'.[214]

PD's hommage to student organisations on the French New Left extended to its strategy in 1968 and 1969. PD activists pursued connections with workers across Northern Ireland to raise public awareness on issues from civil rights to social and industrial policy.[215] In November 1968, the movement planned to distribute information through the Citizens Advice Bureaux, convene teach-ins at Ulster Hall, and organise public meetings at City Hall.[216] In 1968 and 1969, PD activists had debated civil disobedience to respond to state repression.[217] From an action repertoire of teach-ins, leafleting, legal challenges to allow marches in Belfast city centre, and lobbying Stormont in 1968,[218] PD activists who remained involved after the outbreak of violence in 1969 and 1970 transmuted the agenda towards demands for Irish unity and socialist revolution.[219] Having broken with NICRA, PD declared

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[210] Brendan Holland interview with Rogelio Alonso. Alonso, *IRA and Armed Struggle*, 35-36.
[211] 'People's Democracy: A Discussion on Strategy', *New Left Review*, 1:55 (May-June 1969).
[212] Prominent PD member Eilis McDermott said that PD was 'happy to co-ordinate' with Eamonn McCann's parallel organisation in Derry. *Fortnight*, 6 (4 December 1970).
[213] 'People's Democracy: A Discussion on Strategy'.
[214] Kevin Boyle quoted in 'NICRA campaign attacked', *Times*, 17 October 1970.
[215] PD was the only political group in Northern Ireland to become involved with the industrial dispute at Cement Limited in Drogheda, County Louth, for example, raising funds in Belfast and Armagh in support of the strikers. In 1969, PD launched its Plan to Inform the People campaign in Newry, Armagh, and Dungannon. Despite repression and hostility, PD continued to engage the public on issues including factory closures, trade unions, and housing. 'The PD & the Cement Strike', *Anarchy*, 6 [1970]; J. Quinn, 'History of the early PD', *Anarchy*, 6 [1970].
[216] Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, 210.
[217] Eilis McDermott, 'Law and Disorder', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 149.
[218] PD, *People's Democracy Agenda* (November 1968) quoted in Purdie, *Politics in the Streets*, 210.
[219] PD's membership declined to approximately 100 late in 1969, but recovered to 500 in 1970. Former National Union of Students Vice-President Rory McShane recalled that many PD students had ceased activism in late 1969 and early 1970 since approximately 50 percent of members lived at home

itself a revolutionary socialist organisation in October 1969 and established Radio Free Belfast and Radio Free Derry, akin to the continental New Left.[220] By 1974, the organisation lionised rioters destabilising the 'sectarian state'.[221]

The PD rump moved left from 1972, identifying most closely with the Provisionals, and blurring activist networks with leading Provisionals. PD members criticised the overlapping Official movement and NICRA, and identified more closely with the Provisionals' analysis, without formally aligning, save for the short-lived Northern Resistance Movement.[222] Belfast republicans supported Michael Farrell, who shared an anti-EEC platform with leading PIRA figure Joe Cahill in 1972, and addressed a Provisional anti-internment rally in Andersonstown in June 1973.[223] Although the Provisionals remained generally aloof from other organisations at this juncture, an exception was made for Farrell, according to *Republican News* 'a man of great personal courage' and a 'fearless opponent of the Unionist regime', regarded as such by 'many members of the [Provisional] Republican Movement'.[224] Former PD activist Peter Cosgrove remembered PD newspaper *Unfree Citizen* selling well in republican areas of Armagh City and Belfast in the early 1970s. Cosgrove also recalled Belfast PD activists joining republican networks and lauding the Provisionals for defending Catholic communities.[225]

PD activists broke with republican networks in their frustration with inter-republican feuds. PD members did not discern the territorial, often personal, dimensions of these feuds, regarding them instead as factional disputes impeding cohesive socialist republicanism. In December 1971, Farrell denounced 'dangerous' Provisional slurs portraying the Officials as Moscow-controlled communists. A PD activist from Letterkenny, County Donegal, dismissed as 'superstitious slander' Provisional accusations that the Officials were 'taking their orders from Moscow'. Farrell insisted that Marxist ideas were vital for 'genuine revolutionary

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in Belfast and were reluctant to engage in political activity as violence escalated. Conor O'Clery, *Fortnight*, 3 (23 October 1970).

[220] J. Quinn, 'History of the early PD', *Anarchy*, 6 [1970].

[221] LHL NIPC PPO0483: People's Democracy, *Fight! Don't Vote!* (1974).

[222] The Northern Resistance Movement (NRM) was instituted in October 1971 as a broad opposition to internment and security force repression. Michael Farrell represented PD at a major NRM march in Enniskillen in February 1972. LHL NIPC P998: PD, *Internment '71, H-Block '81: The same struggle* (Belfast: PD, 1981); 'The Past Two Weeks', *Fortnight*, 34 (23 February 1972).

[223] 'Anti-E.E.C. Rally in Manorhamilton', *Leitrim Observer*, 6 May 1972.

[224] 'Ex-Minister of Home Affairs sends Michael Farrell to jail', *Republican News*, 27 June 1973.

[225] Peter Cosgrove, 'People's Democracy Member 1969: Part 3' (21 November 2014). Available at https://irishrepublicanmarxisthistoryproject.wordpress.com/2014/11/21/peoples-democracy-member-1969-part-3/ (Accessed 15 February 2017).

socialists' and thus relevant to the grassroots PIRA volunteers who wanted 'to see Ireland ruled by her people, not by the bosses'.[226]

The question of precisely which Marxian ideas influenced PD members remains unclear. Contemporary descriptions of PD's 'hostility to theoretical work' with 'only the very slightest interest in political education' may go some way towards explaining this lacuna.[227] PD figurehead Farrell regarded with caution the unstable implications of international sympathies. Members were encouraged to be cautious when citing global influences, as Farrell explained in 1970. Due to its association with Stalin, 'communism' was a 'dirty word' in Northern Ireland; PD identified with Lenin but it was policy to 'avoid talking about Cuba and China' lest the movement become internally divided and stratified: PD members' degrees of familiarity with global political theory differed.[228]

Farrell and PD publicity preferred the more capacious language of 'anti-imperialist' avoiding revolutionary sectarianism and inviting broad sympathy among radicals and republicans in Ireland.[229] Beneath the surface, PD members' international interests were diverse. Another prominent PD figure, Kevin Boyle, thought neither China nor the USSR 'socialist at all', while Eamon O'Kane, a schoolteacher and PD member, scorned US consumerism.[230]

1.4 Conclusions

Activists in Northern Ireland's civil rights movement graduated to diverse political trajectories, suggesting the analytical challenges of locating the Irish experience in 'the '68 years'. Those who proceeded to defence committees in Belfast and Derry, and furthermore to militant republicanism, sit uneasily among taxonomies of the international New Left.

It is unsurprising that few scholars have located resurgent Irish republicanism among New Left politics in Europe and North America.[231] Northern Ireland's descent into an

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[226] Dara Vallely, 'New assailant in the Sinn Fein controversy', *Donegal Democrat*, 21 January 1972.
[227] Brian Trench, 'Misplaced Hopes: People's Democracy in the Six Counties', *International Socialism*, 74 (January 1975), pp. 26-27.
[228] Barbara Bright, 'People's Democracy in Northern Ireland', *Institute of Current World Affairs* (31 August 1970).
[229] Michael Farrell, *Northern Ireland: The Orange State* (London: Pluto Press, 1980), p. 12.
[230] Barbara Bright, 'People's Democracy in Northern Ireland', *Institute of Current World Affairs* (31 August 1970).
[231] Northern Ireland receives a chapter-length treatment in Martin Klimke & Joachim Scharloth's edited collection *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), but is absent from other notable accounts of '68 and its aftermath. See, for example, Anna von der Goltz (ed.), *'Talkin' 'bout my generation': Conflicts of Generation Building and Europe's '1968'* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2011); Gerd Rainer-Horn & Padraic

enduring bloody conflict from 1968 deviates wildly from prevailing typologies of New Leftists in Europe and America maturing into the so-called 'new social movements' of environmentalism and identity politics. Today, many '68ers treat West Germany's and Italy's 'terrorists' with New Left backgrounds as aberrations from the overarching legacies of '68.[232] Republicans' armed insurgencies have created similar epistemological problems.

Northern Ireland's variegated civil rights movement of the late 1960s can more easily be accommodated among the global New Left. Yet NICRA's split in 1969 and 1970, combined with the burgeoning republican armed struggle, marginalised civil rights politics for almost two decades.[233] In retrospect, NICRA is perhaps best understood as an umbrella of diverse, embryonic ideas on the eve of lasting political turbulence: the organisation spanned liberal unionists, student radicals, Official republicans – who, after the OIRA ceasefire in May 1972, edged closer to NICRA's leadership[234] – and enduringly militant Provisionals.

Republicanism in the '68 years defies straightforward categorisation. Before the republican movement split in 1969 and 1970, Sinn Féin's hostility towards the USSR and USA reflected New Left positions. Whereas foreign affairs defined European New Left politics, they were a secondary concern for SF leaders. The Officials' Third Worldist sympathies in the early 1970s recalled New Left perspectives – but the Officials were essentially Old Left, to the extent that they did not condemn the Soviet Union.[235] Republicans seldom exhibited the same libertarian or anarchist currents which suffused sections of the New Left. PD students imitating the Sorbonne activists of May 1968 and formulating

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Kenney (eds.), *Transnational Moments of Change: 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Vladimir Tismaneanu (ed.), *Promises of 1968: Crisis, Illusion and Utopia* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2011).

[232] Anna von der Goltz's survey of '68 trajectories reflected many activists' subsequent dismay at the 'terrorist' afterlives of '68 in Europe. von der Goltz (ed.), *'Talkin' 'bout my generation'*, 33.

[233] Chapter 2 addresses how diverse political groups 'rediscovered' civil rights politics in and around 1988.

[234] By February 1972, Officials occupied 10 of the 14 places on the NICRA executive. Vincent Browne, 'SF Officials controls CRA', *Irish Press*, 17 February 1972.

[235] Many remnants of the Official republican movement, constituted from 1982 as the Workers' Party (WP), supported the Soviet Union until its demise in 1991. The WP established fraternal relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1983. In September 1986, WP General Secretary Seán Garland and Chairperson Proinsias de Rossa asked the CPSU for funding to support the 'world struggle for Peace, Freedom, and Socialism'. Benjamin R. Young has demonstrated connections between the Workers' Party and the ruling Korean Workers' Party in North Korea during the 1980s. John Mulqueen, 'The Red and the Green', *Dublin Review of Books*, 2 December 2013; Irish Election Literature (hereafter, IEL): Sean Garland and Proinsias de Rossa to Secretary, Central Committee, CPSU, 15 September 1986; Benjamin R. Young, 'Hammer, Sickle, and the Shamrock: North Korea's Relations with the Workers' Party of Ireland', *Journal of Northeast Asian History*, 12 (2015), pp. 105-130.

intellectual critiques of republican factions constituted a rare republican mirror of the European New Left.

Republicans and leftists in Ireland's '68 years differed in the extent to which they attempted to apply concepts from '68 to their own politics. Leftists in SF, especially those who sided with the Official movement from 1970, and PD activists tended to locate Ireland among global political developments, reflecting particular understandings of interconnected historical processes. Through 1968 and 1969, PD's efforts to influence the civil rights movement drew upon the Sorbonne Assembly, with loose organisation and 'faceless committees'. PD students' alliances with workers and trades unions echoed France's student movement. Provisional and Official republicans attempted no such connections in the '68 years, functioning instead as urban guerrillas engaged in local defence.

Official leaders in 1970 situated Ireland amid a global anti-imperialist, socialist revolution. By contrast, Provisionals in the early 1970s were generally less interested in foreign politics, orienting themselves towards the local and the national. Provisionals saw international struggles more abstractly, with any resemblance to their own situation more coincidental than didactic. They framed their campaign as unique and broadly disconnected from events outside Ireland, whereas PD activists and the civil righters who became the SDLP in 1970 looked more intensively to different strands of the African-American civil rights movement for tactical lessons and inspiration.

Provisionals in the early 1970s repeatedly reinforced their credentials in more national frames. They positioned themselves in succession to the rebels of Ireland's revolutionary decade between 1912 and 1923 and subsequent campaigns. As shrewd, pragmatic interpreters of embattled northern nationalist communities, the early Provisionals cast their Official rivals as lofty intellectuals, militarily ineffective in an emergency, and more interested in Budapest than Ballymurphy. The Provisionals established community roots far more extensively, and enduringly, than the Officials or PD.

How republicans related to the global '68 years, and the extent to which they applied New Left concepts in their own analysis and activism, changed across time and space between 1968 and 1973. Rising violence in 1969 and 1970 profoundly upended and reshaped pathways to and through mobilisation. In urban Belfast and Derry, the fledgling Provisional movement succeeded localised defence committees and swiftly organised across large areas of the north. As Graham Spencer and Richard English have argued, the Provisional

republican movement cultivated its image as defenders of the Catholic populations of Belfast and Derry in particular.[236] The reputation endured in collective memory long beyond 1969.

Local inflections were prominent and particular. In Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone, for instance, civil rights activism and republican politics interacted and overlapped far more than in Derry, for instance. In Derry City in 1973, civil rights activists called for the British Army to cease harassment to encourage 'moderate opinion' in Creggan. The North Derry Civil Rights Association was open to all constitutional options in 1971 including normalising British rule, considering popular support for republicanism driven by contingent 'disillusionment with the British forces'.[237]

Pre-existing networks, long dormant, reactivated. Having been central in 1968 and 1969, NICRA was marginalised, and republicanism dominated contentious politics from 1970 onwards. Provisionalism's social transformation stressed locality and rejected compromise, denigrating authorities in nationalist society such as the Catholic Church and NICRA. Urban Provisionals' early emphasis on community defence echoed, perhaps accidentally, Black Panther rhetoric. However, Provisional republicans did not cite the Panthers as inspiration in the way that leftist revolutionaries Bernadette Devlin and Eamonn McCann did.[238]

It is tempting simply to remark upon seemingly quantum leaps in individual trajectories through these tumultuous years, between civil rights and militant republicanism. Perhaps a more helpful response is to understand such trajectories as evidence of the striking spectrum of NICRA in the late 1960s. The variegated quality of Northern Ireland's civil rights movement bequeathed similarly diverse republican responses to the escalating crisis during the 1970s.

Chapter 2 extends chronologically this analysis of how themes in the global '68 influenced Irish republicanism. It explores interactions between commemoration of '68 and strategic shifts in republicanism from the late 1970s.

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[236] Spencer, *From Armed Struggle*, 46; Richard English, *Does Terrorism Work? A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 100.

[237] '"Undeclared martial law" – CRA', *Derry Journal*, 17 August 1973; LHL NIPC North Derry Civil Rights Association, *Northern Ireland: There is only one way!* (Belfast: North Derry Civil Rights Association, 1971).

[238] The Black Panthers were founded in 1966. Their ten-point programme included a commitment to confront police brutality. Philip S. Foner (ed.), *The Black Panthers Speak* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Da Capo Press, 1995) [First edition Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1970], pp. xi, xxix.

Chapter 2: Republicanism, international politics and memory of civil rights, c.1978-c.1988

Between the tenth and twentieth anniversaries of Northern Ireland's '68, republicans organised narratives and historicised events since 1968 in different ways. In 1978, republicans and former civil rights activists contested the legacies of '68. These commemorations had contemporary political implications, amid the campaign against the criminalisation of republican prisoners. This campaign lasted from 1976 to 1982, including the hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981. It had profound consequences for republican injustice frames and repertoires of action. Police and loyalist counter-protesters attacked civil rights marches in 1968 and 1969. From 1978, republicans marched again. Campaigns supporting republican prisoners during the late 1970s and early 1980s also renewed the language of rights so dominant in 1968 and 1969.

Collective memory of civil rights in Northern Ireland shaped republican mobilisation, repertoires of action, injustice frames, and political opportunity structures through the late 1970s and 1980s.[239] As Chapter 1 showed, activists in Northern Ireland's '68 pursued divergent trajectories in subsequent years. Civil rights politics infused republican mobilisation in 1969, and later pervaded republicanism anew, especially in and around the twentieth anniversary of Northern Ireland's '68 in 1988. Through the 1980s, republicans reformulated their positions by interpreting the history of their own struggle, with its complex roots including the civil rights protest of the 1960s. Variations in how republicans framed and negotiated these contested pasts, in local, national, and international contexts, informed republican heterogeneity.

Analysts such as Mark Ryan, M. L. R. Smith, Kevin Bean, and Marc Mulholland have assessed how the Provisional republican movement responded to international political developments and reverses in its own struggle, adapting its tactics in the late 1980s.[240] For

[239] Social movement theorists have furnished scholars with analytical tools apt for assessing contentious politics. Frames 'evoke the purpose, goals, identity, and character' of a movement, using 'metaphors, symbolic representations, and cognitive cues' to 'stimulate collective action'. Political opportunity structures assess a regime's 'receptivity or vulnerability to political change'. Moy & Bosch, 'Theories of Public Opinion', 297; Zald, 'Culture, Ideology, and Strategic Framing', 262.

[240] Ryan, *War and Peace*; Mark Ryan, 'From the Centre to the Margins: The Slow Death of Irish Republicanism', in Chris Gilligan & Jon Tonge (eds.), *Peace or War? Understanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 72-84; Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*; Smith, 'Fin de Siècle'; Bean, *New Politics*; Marc Mulholland, 'Irish Republican Politics and Violence before the Peace Process, 1969-1994', *European Review of History*, 14 (2007), pp. 397-421.

Mark Ryan, peace talks in South Africa and Israel-Palestine, combined with *glasnost* and *perestroika* in the Soviet Union, turned republican attention from 'maximalist', absolute objectives towards consensus-building and political pragmatism.[241] This chapter embeds Provisional strategic and tactical adaptations in their national context, too: in the late 1980s, Provisional republicans recapitulated the language of 1960s civil rights politics as one component of broader of broader rethinking around electoralism, pan-nationalism, and new international connections.

This chapter will analyse how collective memories of civil rights shaped republicanism across time and space. How did Irish activists historicise their struggle, manage tensions between local, national, and international framings of their campaign, and negotiate contradictions between multi-organisational alliances and the primacy of their particular movements?

Writing in 1974, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) organisers recognised that their movement had lost the momentum it had enjoyed in the late 1960s. Republican armed struggle now dominated media coverage.[242] As Chapter 1 showed, historians and social movement analysts have rarely considered Ireland's experience through the 1970s and 1980s in discussions of the 'afterlives' of '68. Unease with political violence stemming from '68's global revolt is not restricted to scholars. In their colossal oral history synthesis of New Left trajectories, Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring found '68ers equally disinclined to situate 'terrorism' among the many strands of the '68 legacy:

> In their accounts of activism, former 1968 militants are torn between a number of competing models or scripts of resistance. The first is the heroic model of the idealised revolutionary, a second that of the non-violent guru or civil rights campaigner, and a third, favoured by some female activists, that of the leader of a mass movement. *One model to be avoided was that of the gun-toting terrorist. Activists who are drawn to the heroic model of the revolutionary need to avoid any association with terrorism by demonstrating that they inflicted no harm on innocent people*.[243]

Provisionals similarly repudiated the 'terrorist' *Rote Armee Fraktion* and *Brigate Rosse* in West Germany and Italy, respectively, portraying the organisations lacking popular support or a coherent programme for action. Speaking in 1986, Belfast PSF representative Joe Austin

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[241] Ryan, *War and Peace in Ireland*, pp. 7, 9, 16, 33, 71.
[242] 'NICRA organisers' report for the April 1974 AGM' quoted in Gregory Maney, 'White Negroes and the Pink IRA: External Mainstream Media Coverage and Civil Rights Contention in Northern Ireland', in Bosi & de Fazio (eds.), *Troubles in Northern Ireland*, 84.
[243] Gildea, Mark & Warring (eds.), *Europe's 1968*, 279. My italics.

argued that comparisons between the Provisionals, RAF, and RB were untenable, since only the Provisionals enjoyed popular support: Austin cited PSF's 59 councillors elected in May 1985.[244] Provisional republicans' tendency for organisational centralism likely disdained Italy's scattered left-wing terrorist cells. The PIRA and INLA accounted for almost all republican attacks through the 1970s, whereas some 484 leftist organisations claimed attacks in Italy in the same period.[245]

Yet today's hotly-contested debates on republican roles in Northern Ireland's '68 demonstrate that significant sections within republicanism look to 1968 (and 1969) as a point of departure. '68's tenth anniversary coincided with rising republican protests against criminalisation. The late 1970s and early 1980s stimulated new republican mobilisation narratives, injustice frames,[246] political opportunities, repertoires of contention, and tactics. For a new generation of republicans, the hunger strike of 1981 became a nexus for renewed recruitment and revolutionary thought. In 1978 and 1988,[247] republicans framed their campaign's history. Activists explained and stimulated mobilisation with varying emphases on local, regional, and global spheres of political contestation. Situating developments in Irish republicanism through the late 1970s and 1980s in these changing, multi-layered contexts enriches understanding of republicanism's mosaic quality. '68 and '81 profoundly shaped Irish republicanism through subsequent decades.[248]

The first section of this chapter analyses republican commemorations of civil rights on the tenth anniversary of '68, assessing how republicans approached multi-organisational alliances during the anti-criminalisation protests of the late 1970s and early 1980s. The second section examines Provisional recapitulations of rights-based politics and interactions with moderate nationalism from the mid-1980s. The chapter's final section considers former '68ers' reflections in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

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[244] Tim Burt, 'War of Attrition', *Palatinate*, 30 January 1986.
[245] Moss, *Politics of Left Wing Violence*, 1-2, 68, 85; PSF, *The Politics of Revolution* (1986).
[246] British criminalisation policy caused what James M. Jasper and Jane D. Poulsen have termed 'moral shock'. The prison protests, culminating in hunger strikes in 1980 and 1981, affected widening publics and brought them into various forms of contact with republicanism. James M. Jasper & Jane D. Poulsen, 'Recruiting Strangers and Friends: Moral Shocks and Social Networks in Animal Rights and Anti-Nuclear Protests', *Social Problems*, 42 (1995), pp. 493-512.
[247] In 1996, PSF resurrected civil rights calls for 'one man, one vote'. Campbell, '"We Shall Overcome"', 13.
[248] Gathering data from 60 PSF activists in 1999, Cynthia Irvin found that pathways to mobilisation for some 65 percent of her sample began with civil rights or anti-criminalisation protests. Cynthia L. Irvin, *Militant Nationalism: Between Party and Movement in Ireland and the Basque Country* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), p. 144.

2.1 Prison protests and republican renewal, c.1978-c.1981

On the tenth anniversary of Northern Ireland's '68, commemorations illuminated the contested legacies of civil rights. Contemporary political debates profoundly shaped how activists remembered '68. In August 1978, 10 years after the seminal NICRA march between Coalisland and Dungannon, Relatives Action Committees (RACs) in County Tyrone organised a march. Tyrone RACs advocated political status for republican prisoners and British withdrawal.

The rump of the NICRA organisation dissociated itself from the 1978 march. Divergent activist trajectories during the previous decade reflected different interpretations of '68 legacies, foreshadowing similar arguments on the twentieth anniversary in 1988. Republicans of different generations and degrees of socialist conviction joined the march as a broad front and stressed its continuities with the civil rights struggles of the 1960s.

Non-violent civil rights activists portrayed the 1978 march as a violent perversion of its progressive, reformist antecedent. As the local NICRA branch, Tyrone Civil Rights Association acknowledged that 'discrimination, repression and blatant sectarianism' still dominated politics in Northern Ireland, but held that 'violence from whatever source is evil and terrible' and called for Westminster to 'grant Civil Rights' to eradicate popular support for 'the men of violence'. Similarly, Austin Currie, a former civil rights activist and, by 1978, a senior figure in the SDLP, dismissed the march as 'run by the IRA'.[249] By contrast, republican supporters of the march included veterans Kevin Agnew, independent nationalist Frank Maguire, Frank McManus of the marginal Irish Independence Party, and younger leftists Bernadette Devlin, Michael Farrell, and Eamonn McCann, all former PD members.[250]

After 1978, the escalating campaign against the criminalisation of republican prisoners eventually prompted the Provisional leadership to contemplate a multi-organisational alliance.[251] After unsuccessful attempts at broad front campaigns embracing other organisations earlier in the decade, Provisional leaders initially demanded primacy in

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[249] 'Tyrone CRA and "the struggle for democracy ten years on"', *Ulster Herald*, 2 September 1978.
[250] Devlin stressed continuity between civil rights causes in the 1960s and the 1978 march, and defied opposition in doing so: 'It seems strange to me that certain people can claim that today's march has nothing to do with that of 10 years ago. I was one of those people who walked then and whose head was filled with ideas of how we could achieve a better life. The very people who say today has nothing to do with ten years ago are the ones who started it all by sowing the seeds of these ideas in our heads… It is not true that the demands have changed and have nothing to do with our original requests for houses, jobs and votes… We are demanding the withdrawal of all British interference in Ireland because we have discovered where the root of the problem lies'. 'On the road again from Coalisland to Dungannon', *Ulster Herald*, 2 September 1978.
[251] The pre-eminent study of the campaign against criminalisation is Ross, *Smashing H-Block*.

any new alliance. In 1979, PSF boycotted a march commemorating the march between Belfast and Derry of January 1969. Many groupings participated in the tenth anniversary march, but Belfast Provisionals withdrew and attacked it in a local nationalist newspaper when other organisers notified police of the march. Meanwhile, PD organisers lambasted PSF's

> inflexibility… Sinn Fein have never been happy working with other organisations. Time and again they have withdrawn from united committees and united fronts.[252]

The Irish Republican Socialist Party's (IRSP) official narrative of the umbrella National H-Block/Armagh Committee (NHBAC) has Provisionals demanding control in 1980.[253]

To this day, former IRSP and INLA members similarly recall Provisional republicans repeatedly presuming authority over the IRSP and its military wing, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), not least during imprisonment. IRSP veteran Fra Halligan remembers

> there were some within the Provisional republican movement that to put it nicely would have loved the Republican Socialist movement to disappear, and over the years the Republican Socialist movement felt this dislike in many different ways, but continued nonetheless.[254]

Ex-INLA volunteer Gerry Foster:

> The Provos never respected any other organisation. They were the one true legitimate army of Ireland, and the only legitimate opposition to British rule: that was their elitism. There wouldn't have been respect.[255]

Former INLA prisoner Seamus McHenry recalled the prison protests of the late 1970s:

> You knew the Provisionals didn't like you. They tried to put their authority on you. If you'd have been weak, you'd have fell in with them, so you would have. They wanted to debrief me as being a member of their organisation, and was only when you were willing to say, "fuck off, I'm nothing to do with yous, this is who I am".[256]

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[252] Not all ranks of Provisionals observed the Belfast boycott, however. PSF members in County Derry organised and participated in the march, which also incorporated Relatives Action Committees, PD, IRSP, Trade Union Campaign Against Repression, Student Campaign Against Repression, Women Against Imperialism, Red Republican Party, Socialist Labour Party, and Independent Socialist Party. 'Burntollet: marching against repression', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Vol. 2 No. 1 [1979].

[253] IRSP, 'H-Block/Armagh Broad Front: An Assessment' (1981). Available at http://www.hungerstrikes.org/racs/assessment.html (Accessed 15 February 2017).

[254] Fra Halligan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 15 September 2015.

[255] Gerry Foster interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 August 2015.

[256] Seamus McHenry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 7 December 2017.

Provisional republicans routinely use 'the republican movement' as shorthand for their own organisation.[257]

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the NHBAC constituted the most organised and enduring broad front among republicans and fellow travellers in the history of the conflict. Yet almost paradoxically, organisational identity and independence was pronounced. Although ostensibly cooperating within the NHBAC, Provisional republicans, IRSP-INLA members, and PD activists, alongside other smaller groupings, retained strong senses of being separate organisations with particular histories. Boundaries between and across republican organisations frayed and blurred in respect of themes such as socialism, revolutionary theory, feminism, and international politics, as Chapters 3 to 6 elaborate. However, in the NHBAC and in committees marking the tenth anniversary of Northern Ireland's '68, republicans accentuated organisational distinction.

PD activists in the NHBAC criticised Provisional tactics between 1978 and 1981 for inordinately privileging the PIRA campaign and monopolising the broad front. Through the late 1970s and much of the 1980s, PD tactics were malleable, even pragmatic. In January 1978, when the Provisional delegates argued that support for the PIRA's armed struggle should be a precondition for participating in the NHBAC, PD members asserted that such a clause would alienate vast potential support. By October 1979, PD won the argument, and the Provisionals acquiesced in the NHBAC as a single-issue campaign advocating republican prisoners' five demands.[258] After PIRA prisoner Paddy Agnew won the Dáil seat for Louth in June 1981, PD member Brian Hughes told a NHBAC conference that Agnew should resign his seat so a non-abstentionist alternative could take the seat and publicise the anti-criminalisation campaign by disrupting Leinster House proceedings.[259]

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, PD activists invoked the memory of civil rights protests and contemporary world politics to criticise NICRA for neglecting class analysis. In 1979, a PD member writing in the group's newspaper denounced NICRA for allowing 'right-wingers like John Hume' and the Derry Citizens' Action Committee (DCAC) to divert

[257] A former Provisional prisoner cast the INLA outside republicanism: 'The INLA… I just didn't have a lot of time for them… It's a pity they didn't apply themselves and join the republican movement'. Former Provisional republican activist interview with Jack Hepworth. County Donegal, April 2017.
[258] LHL NIPC P1001: PD, *Prisoners of Partition: H-Block/Armagh* (Belfast: PD, 1980).
[259] Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (hereafter, PRONI) Public Records CENT/1/10/62: A. K. Templeton, 'Northern Ireland Office: Protests and Second Hunger Strike: Weekly Bulletin No. 28, 0900 Thursday 3 September – 0900 Thursday 10 September' (10 September 1981).

activists from the pressing need for 'local defence committees' in 1969.[260] A year later, a PD writer argued that NICRA had become an 'irrelevant… talk-shop' since it did not support Irish unity: 'We don't want to make the same mistake with the H-Block Campaign'.[261]

Revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua in 1979 also suffused PD's manifesto for the NHBAC, according to which the NHBAC must become a vehicle for a mass movement against British rule in Ireland. As in the early 1970s, republican socialists located Ireland in a succession of popular anti-imperial revolutions. PD newspaper *Socialist Republic* editorialised in 1979 celebrating the Iranian Revolution as a breakthrough for 'Mass Action' encompassing general strikes and enormous demonstrations.[262] For PD activist Ciaran Mac Naimidhe, the Sandinistas' victory in Nicaragua in 1979, and the unity of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), formed of five left-wing organisations in October 1980, demonstrated mass action's revolutionary rewards.[263]

Simultaneously, PD activists lambasted the PIRA for prioritising an armed struggle which was no substitute for building mass support for socialism and Irish unity across the sectarian divide. Writing in PD's newspaper, Joe Carter would not condemn the PIRA campaign – 'for genuine Marxists… a legitimate expression of the Irish people's right to take up arms' – but argued that physical force must not become 'an article of faith… impervious to reason'. While the Provisional leadership continually asserted the importance of military struggle against British rule, Carter argued the campaign had become 'ghettoised', and could not 'demoralise… imperialism'. Carter's belief that militarism alone could not 'educate, organise and mobilise the majority of workers' echoed PD's late 1960s engagement with the Protestant working class.[264] Writing in 1981, PD activist John North feared the Provisionals' interminable 'search for a military solution', neglecting class politics, could engender 'a very confused attitude to the bourgeois nationalist parties'.[265] A *Socialist Republic* editorial in

[260] The lessons of August '69', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples Democracy*, Vol. 2 No. 1 [1979].
[261] LHL NIPC P1008: PD, *H-Block Struggle: Irish revolution on the march* (Belfast: PD, 1980).
[262] 'Iran: Mass Action shows the Way. Victory to the Revolution!', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Vol. 2 No. 1 [1979].
[263] Ciaran Mac Naimidhe, 'U.S. hands off El Salvador!', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Vol. 4 No. 2 [1981].
[264] Joe Carter, 'Armed struggle, revolution and the IRA', *An Reabhloid*, Volume 5 Number 1 (n.d. [1982?]).
[265] John North, 'Republican movement', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Vol. 4 No. 7 [August 1981].

1981 contended that the PIRA and INLA campaigns had alienated popular support, derailing 'mass united action' in support of republican prisoners.[266]

PSF's electoral experimentation in the early 1980s encouraged pragmatic PD activists to offer cautious support from the general election of June 1983.[267] Provisional representatives' community activism appealed to PD conceptions of mass mobilisation and leftist agitation. In November 1984, assessing changes in Provisional republicanism, PD member James Gallagher welcomed the Provisionals' 'turn to the left'.[268]

In June 1984, the editorial board on PD's newspaper argued that a 'small party of revolutionary marxists' lacking the 'means' to stand candidates in elections should support PSF candidates, mindful of the 'potential' of republican militants.[269] This support for the Provisional movement was qualified, however. In 1983, PD's official position pressed Provisionals to 'go beyond the rhetoric about a Socialist Republic', mobilise through trades unions, and 'state clearly their strategy'.[270] A book reviewer in *An Reabhloid* in 1984 lauded PSF's electoral successes, but argued that the Provisionals must prioritise broadening their base above the PIRA's armed campaign.[271]

2.2 Pan-nationalism and the return of civil rights, c.1986-c.1991

During the late 1980s, Irish republicans of varying political hues diagnosed fragmentation and crisis in their campaign. In November 1986, when the PSF *Ard Fheis* voted to take seats in Leinster House, between 80 and 100 delegates left to form Republican Sinn Féin (RSF). Former Provisional Army Council member Dáithí Ó Conaill, RSF's founding chair, denounced 'evasive and deceptive' Gerry Adams for entering talks with SDLP leader John Hume.[272] The same year, approximately 60 PIRA prisoners resigned from

[266] 'H-Block/Armagh: Strategy for victory', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Vol. 4 No. 2 [1981].
[267] Not all PD activists were convinced by PSF's electoral turn, however. Writing in 1991, former PD member Clara Connolly rued erstwhile comrades moving 'into line (some uneasily) behind the "men of war"'. Connolly, 'Communalism', 217.
[268] ILA: James Gallagher, *Our Orientation to the Republican Movement* (10 November 1984).
[269] That the editorial anticipated 'political sectarians in the socialist movement' insisting that PSF was 'not a workers [sic] party' suggests internal dissent against this support for the Provisionals. 'Fighting Back: The P.D. View', *An Reabhloid: Journal of Peoples Democracy*, Volume 1 Number 1 (June 1984).
[270] 'Why socialists should vote Sinn Fein', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Volume 6 Number 3 (June 1983).
[271] 'Book Reviews', *An Reabhloid: Journal of Peoples Democracy*, Volume 1 Number 1 (June 1984). Belfast PD councillor John McAnulty, a senior member of the organisation, edited book reviews in *An Reabhloid*.
[272] 'Cuimhneacháin na Cásca 1988', *Saoirse*, No. 13 (May 1988).

the movement and established the League of Communist Republicans (LCR) in Long Kesh. In 1987, the IRSP-INLA split.

The PIRA faced heavy military reverses and controversial operations attracted increasing dissent within republicanism. In east Tyrone, a traditional heartland, the PIRA lost 28 volunteers between May 1987 and February 1992. In 1987, security forces seized vast materiel on the Eksund, denying the PIRA a cargo from Libya including rocket-propelled grenades, surface-to-air missiles, and a ton of Semtex explosive.[273] The Provisionals lost further weaponry in January 1988, when Gardaí discovered an arms cache at Malin Head, County Donegal, including 100 Kalashnikov rifles, 45 kilograms of Semtex, and almost 50,000 rounds.[274]

The PIRA's bomb in Enniskillen in November 1987 killed 12 people and prompted unprecedented internal argument. A PIRA spokesman said the bombing was an unsanctioned 'mistake' and 'a major setback' for the movement.[275] Earlier that year, PIRA prisoners Anthony McIntyre and Micky McMullan had argued that 'for the most part, Republican strategy has failed substantially to alter the factors pertaining to Britain remaining in Ireland'.[276] In January 1989, after a series of operations in which civilians were killed, the Provisional Army Council stood down a seven-person unit operating from south Donegal.[277]

Yet the unionist backlash against the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985 presented new political opportunities for republicans, to which the Provisional premiership was especially receptive. PSF councillors elected in 1985, abused in council chambers across Northern Ireland,[278] employed new injustice frames amid a changing political opportunity structure.[279] From 1985, PSF's tactical participation in Northern Ireland's council chambers, combined with unionist representatives' often self-destructive fury after the Anglo-Irish

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[273] Moloney, *Secret History*, 319.
[274] O'Brien, *Long War*, 143-144.
[275] 'Sinn Féin councillor sparks new outrage', *Irish Examiner*, 11 November 1987.
[276] Micky McMullan & Anthony McIntyre, 'Ideas from Long Kesh', *Ainriail: A Belfast Anarchist Bi-Monthly*, No. 6 (January-February 1987).
[277] 'IRA disband unit "as SF ploy"', *Irish Press*, 25 January 1989.
[278] In June 1985, a civil servant in the Republic of Ireland noted that 'tactically impeccable' PSF councillors 'behaved with unflappable decorum in the face of unionist rancour, sectarianism and unwisdom, coolly taking advantage of every unionist false move to strengthen their own position and torment the unionists to further extremes of bigotry and discrimination'. NAI Public Records TSCH/2015/89/91: M. J. Lillis, 'Sinn Féin in the Northern Councils: The British Problem' (11 June 1985).
[279] For Doug McAdam, political opportunity structure concerns the ruling regime's receptivity or vulnerability to change, and therefore informs the 'ebb and flow' of radical opposition's collective action. Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 40-41.

Agreement, altered republican perceptions of the political opportunity structure: council chambers became an important public arena in which PSF representatives could amplify rights-based grievances and demonstratively endure unionist vitriol.

They drew comparisons with civil rights marchers facing loyalist counterdemonstrations in the late 1960s. PSF councillors highlighted social issues which garnered increasing media attention, often reminiscent of the protests of the 1960s. New interpretations of the legacy of Northern Ireland's '68 were both causes and consequences of Provisional adaptation in the late 1980s. Republicans historicised their campaign since '68 and proposed new tactics accordingly.

PSF representatives' grassroots activism from the mid-1980s heightened Provisional awareness of social issues which connected to civil rights politics. Especially in urban housing estates, sectarian threats against Catholics proliferated after the Anglo-Irish Agreement. In the summer of 1986 more than 300 families, mostly Catholics, fled their homes amid loyalist uproar. In Lisburn alone, 124 Catholics were physically attacked.[280]

Many of the 59 PSF councillors elected in May 1985 campaigned around unemployment and sectarian intimidation of Catholics, embedding PSF activism in the particularly localised experiences of the Catholic working class. Councillors knew their areas well and reflected this in their work, strengthening Provisional credentials in collective memory along lines of class, locality, and defence amid adversity. By May 1989, PSF candidates' manifestos for local elections accentuated representatives working in council chambers to 'challenge political and religious discrimination'.[281]

In April 1988, County Fermanagh PSF councillor Paul Corrigan criticised new limits on housing benefit. Corrigan told a seminar in Belfast that

> Fermanagh is widely accepted as a disadvantaged area, with a high unemployment rate and a recognised housing crisis… Now, from the start of April [1988], large numbers of the sick, disabled, unemployed and elderly will find it virtually impossible to acquire beds.[282]

In Omagh, County Tyrone, PSF councillor Tommy McNamee publicised intimidation against Catholic building contractors in August 1988.[283] Provisional councillors recapitulated civil rights politics, noting sectarian segregation and rising unemployment and poverty.[284]

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[280] Chris Ryder, 'Catholics flee new wave of attacks', *Sunday Times*, 17 August 1986.
[281] 'Vote Sinn Fein', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 11 May 1989.
[282] 'Council Chairman says Social Fund "designed to humiliate"', *Fermanagh Herald*, 23 April 1988.
[283] 'Contractor intimidated', *Fermanagh Herald*, 3 September 1988.
[284] Unemployment figures in Catholic-majority wards by July 1993 were as high as 60 percent and 52 percent in Derry's Brandywell and Creggan respectively, and 58 percent in Belfast's Falls and Whiterock areas. At this juncture, half of Northern Ireland's people lived in areas classified as having

Entering council chambers across Northern Ireland, PSF representatives experienced antagonism and endured considerable unionist acrimony from the mid-1980s. When unionist councillors abused PSF members and demanded they be barred from committees, they escalated public-facing sagas which paved the way for Provisionals to invoke the language of rights denied and discrimination. On occasion, unionists' sheer pettiness cast republican councillors in a favourable light. On Craigavon Borough Council in March 1986, two local PSF councillors were denied a written copy of an otherwise unremarkable motion. When Brendan Curran protested, unionist alderman David Calvert shouted that Curran had 'no rights', prompting Curran and a colleague to walk out in protest.[285] When PSF councillor Francis Mackey was elected chairman of Omagh District Council in June 1987, DUP members verbally abused him, one refused to take a seat beside Mackey, and another told Mackey: 'I have no respect for you chairman, so you can keep quiet when I speak'.[286] Local newspapers recorded such exchanges in detail.

In the late 1980s, PSF activists imposed a republican narrative on the collective memory of 1968. They recast Northern Ireland's '68 as republicanism's reawakening, in a new emphasis on civil rights and cross-community equality as part of a struggle for Irish unity. These depictions exaggerated republican contribution to the heterogeneous NICRA of the late 1960s, although they did not fabricate it entirely.

Gerry Adams, his allies, and the Provisional movement's newspaper, under Danny Morrison's editorship, reinforced '68 as a watershed for the republican struggle. *An Phoblact/Republican News* editorialised in October 1988 that the Derry march of 5 October 1968 was

> one of the starting-points in the history of the subsequent phase of the Irish struggle for self-determination. Subsequent events showed that the Orange state which the civil rights marchers went out to change was irreformable. The lesson today is still the same – there can be no civil rights without national rights.[287]

Addressing the Strabane '68 Committee in June 1988, Adams's ally Tom Hartley evoked 1968 as the 'year in which those suffering discrimination and injustice began to fight back'.[288]

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a 90 percent or greater majority Catholic or Protestant population. David McKittrick, 'Jobless figures highlight stark inequality', *Independent*, 5 July 1993.

[285] John Bingham, 'Sinn Fein stage walk-out after snub', *Lurgan Mail*, 6 March 1986.

[286] 'Sinn Fein back in council chair', *Tyrone Constitution*, 4 June 1987.

[287] ''68-'88: The struggle goes on', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 6 October 1988.

[288] ''68 civil rights group formed', *Donegal News*, 2 July 1988.

These narratives collapsed the previous two decades into a stalemate which justified renewed attention to '68 as an epochal moment, reminiscent of Walter Benjamin's conception of historical 'ruptures' and 'moments of danger' which regenerate perceptions of time and space, exploding 'the continuum of history' and creating radical political possibilities.[289] The Provisional leadership combined policy proposals and PIRA actions to respond to social grievances their councillors witnessed among working-class Catholics. In 1987, PSF's *Ard Comhairle* produced a policy document highlighting sectarian discrimination in employment and supporting the MacBride Principles for equal opportunity.[290]

Recapitulating civil rights legacies, Provisionals redefined the PIRA campaign as 'resistance', deviating from the military offensive the Army Council had heralded in 1971. Tapping into collective memory of the founding Provisionals as community defenders in 1969, the PIRA retained an important part in the Provisionals' identity as the militant opposition to sectarian attack. Ongoing PIRA activity, conjuring the memory of 1969, helped allay grassroots fears that participation in councils could undermine the armed struggle: in 1989, senior Derry republican Mitchel McLaughlin admitted that the Provisionals no longer constituted the 'movement of the streets' of the late 1960s and early 1970s: council activism could divert energy from marches, demonstrations, and protests.[291] The Provisionals recalled the legacy of 1969 and invoked their representation as defenders of the people. In a community leaflet issued in April 1986, the Provisionals referred explicitly to 1969 and 1974 and the 'very real danger' that the residents of areas such as the Short Strand, Ardoyne, and New Lodge now faced repeated threats from loyalists. PSF informed local residents that PIRA vigilante teams were ready, with 'preparations' made for first aid in the event of loyalist incursions.[292] The PIRA also directed its campaign against sectarianism in the workplace.[293]

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[289] Benjamin, *Illuminations*, 262.
[290] LHL NIPC P2771: PSF, *Setting the Criteria: Tackling Discrimination – Sinn Féin's Analysis and Proposals* (Dublin: PSF, 1987). The document was proposed policy for the PSF *Ard Fheis* between 30 October and 1 November 1987.
[291] Irvin, *Militant Nationalism*, 11.
[292] Robert Taylor, 'Ulster on knife-edge as new breed of hard men emerges', *Observer*, 20 April 1986.
[293] Catholics comprised just 8 percent of staff at Short's aircraft factory in east Belfast in 1983. As part of the loyalist backlash against the Anglo-Irish Agreement, union flags and bunting appeared in increasing numbers from 1986. More than 1,000 loyalist sympathisers went on strike in 1987 in protest at the management's ban on political flags and emblems on the shop floor. In 1988, ten Catholic employees received death threats from Protestant workers who accused them of republican sympathies. Between 1989 and 1991, the PIRA bombed Short's seven times. PRONI Public Records DED/17/2/2/122A: D. W. Thomson, 'Shorts: Flags and Bunting' (6 July 1987); PRONI Public

Representing themselves as the militant premiers of an ongoing civil rights movement in the late 1980s enabled the PSF leadership to conceptualise a broad-based 'nationalist community', unified by the common experience of denied rights. The vague formulation of a 'nationalist community' appeared in Provisional publicity in the late 1980s. Writing in October 1988, Provisional correspondent Kevin McCool described the response from 'the nationalist community of outrage, anger and resolve' after the civil rights movement was repressed in 1968.[294] The PIRA campaign was not directed simply towards 'Brits out' – a demand now re-termed 'self-determination', suggestive of a more inclusive, open-ended dialogue on the constitutional position.[295]

There was an international dimension to the Provisional leadership's new diagnosis of rights denied the 'nationalist community'. As Kevin Bean has argued, the Provisionals drew 'moral authority' from their association with the African National Congress (ANC) through the late 1980s as the anti-apartheid movement became increasingly popular globally.[296] Cognisant of the anti-apartheid movement entering the political mainstream in Britain and Ireland in the early 1980s,[297] Provisionals compared the 'nationalist people' of Northern Ireland and the black people of South Africa in statements for media consumption, especially from 1985. These efforts appear to have been coordinated, since they came from PSF President Adams, PIRA units, and local PSF councillors alike. After killing two RUC officers in Armagh on 1 January 1986, the PIRA, in a press release, likened republicans to black South Africans who had 'no choice' but to fight.[298] For Provisionals, the salient aspect of this link was evoking a British presence, and the local RUC and UDR, as repressive as Pik Botha's increasingly discredited forces. Openly appealing to 'the stage of world opinion', Fermanagh PSF councillor Stephen Maguire in January 1986 described the increasingly 'anti-Catholic… oppressive treatment and brutality' of the local UDR as the 'twin' of Botha's

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Records DED/17/2/2/122A: E. Mayne, 'Fair Employment: Shorts' (20 March 1987); 'RUC probe Short's threat', *Irish Press*, 27 April 1988; HVA D01380 Tape 99: UTV News (ITV, Broadcast 5 March 1991).

[294] Kevin McCool, 'Duke Street – the point of no return', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 6 October 1988.

[295] Adams, 'A Republican', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 52-53.

[296] Bean, *New Politics*, 148.

[297] In 1983, the British Labour Party sent solidarity to the ANC and SWAPO. Supported by feminists in the Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement (NIWRM) and the independent Belfast Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions staged anti-apartheid events in 1986. Frampton, 'Squaring the circle', 53; Rhiannon Vickers, *The Labour Party and the World, Volume 2: Labour's Foreign Policy Since 1951* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p. 139; LHL NIPC PPO2223: *Support the struggle for liberation in South Africa and Namibia* (1986).

[298] 'IRA midnight blast kills two policemen', *Times*, 2 January 1986.

regime.[299] When arms shipments from South Africa destined for Northern Ireland's loyalists were intercepted, Belfast PSF representative Joe Austin equated apartheid with the 'neo-fascist nature of loyalism'.[300]

Provisional republicans engaged new repertoires of contention again in August 1989, marking the twentieth anniversary of British troops' deployment in Northern Ireland. PSF organisers such as Barry McElduff in Omagh, County Tyrone, organised 'symbolic pickets' in towns across the north to demonstrate 'defiance and resistance'. Such protests reduced the previous 20 years to political impasse: echoing Gerry Adams, McElduff told 150 PSF pickets that Northern Ireland had been on 'life support' since it 'collapsed' in 1969. Press releases conjured memories of civil rights protesters, accentuating the peacefulness of the pickets, in stark contrast to aggressive RUC and loyalist counter-protesters.[301] In Strabane, County Tyrone, PSF councillor Ivan Barr narrated political regression for 'the nationalist community' over the previous two decades: discrimination in housing and employment had worsened, and republican publicity was censored.[302]

Communications between PSF President Gerry Adams and SDLP leader John Hume in 1988 revealed the Provisional hierarchy's shifting injustice frames and burgeoning interest in international diplomacy. Adams's new emphasis on the injustice of repression and sectarianism revisited themes of Northern Ireland's '68 in a wide-ranging attempt to 'popularise opposition to British rule' and establish 'some form of broad anti-imperialist campaign'.[303] British withdrawal was no longer purely the republican military imperative, but instrumental to make 'sectarianism shrivel'.[304] Irish unification was not a timeless entitlement, but a specific expression of universal 'democratic rights' to self-determination. Adams's rights-based arguments appealed to international opinion. In 1988, he argued that

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[299] '"No misleading": Cllr', *Fermanagh Herald*, 18 January 1986.
[300] Tim Burt, 'War of Attrition', *Palatinate*, 30 January 1986.
[301] 'Sinn Fein's "symbolic picket" on Army Camp', *Ulster Herald*, 19 August 1989.
[302] 'Civil rights demands "not met" – S.F. Cllr', *Strabane Chronicle*, 19 August 1989.
[303] Adams suggested various campaigns in which PSF and the SDLP could jointly highlight 'discrimination' and 'equality of opportunity in employment'. These included protests against 'extradition, plastic bullets, strip searching, RUC brutality, repatriation of prisoners, SOSP[Secretary of State's Pleasure]s and Lifers [prisoners] reviews, the Diplock courts, the UDR, P[revention of] T[errorism] A[ct], the E[mergency] P[rovisions] A[ct], Payment of Debt Act, discrimination in employment and high nationalist unemployment, cultural rights, British economic cut backs and changes in social security laws'. 'Sinn Féin Document No.2' (19 May 1988) in LHL NIPC P3396: PSF, *The Sinn Féin-SDLP Talks, January-September 1988* (Dublin: PSF Publicity Department, 1989).
[304] LHL NIPC P3396: 'Sinn Féin Document No.1' (17 March 1988) in LHL NIPC P3396: PSF, *The Sinn Féin-SDLP Talks, January-September 1988* (Dublin: PSF Publicity Department, 1989).

partition contravened Article 6 of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.[305]

By contrast, Hume historicised the previous two decades as an aberration from the auspicious prospects civil rights activists faced in the late 1960s. Like Adams, Hume identified with Northern Ireland's '68, and both men invoked their political trajectories since that starting point to justify their analysis and strategy. Where Adams's language of repression and rights suggested a new opportunity for unity among a broad anti-unionist front, Hume expressed his reservations by narrating political regression since '68, with the Provisionals central to this malaise. Hume portrayed the PIRA campaign exacerbating nationalists' suffering: the Provisionals' methods had 'become more sacred than the[ir] cause'.[306]

The Provisional leadership's rediscovery of civil rights in the late 1980s alarmed many republican leftists, who perceived appeals to a broad-based 'nationalist community' presaging programmatic vagueness and compromise. Republicans, especially on the left, had long disdained 'nationalism', with its historical connotations of constitutionalism, compromise with Britain, neglect of class politics, and toadying to the Church.[307] LCR writer John Albert regarded the Hume-Adams talks of 1988 as the 'cul-de-sac of ghetto nationalism'.[308]

Members of the Irish People's Liberation Organisation (IPLO) and PD were not hostile to anti-imperialist alliances per se, but eschewed potential partnerships with organisations which lacked socialist commitment. In 1986, Jimmy Brown, formerly IRSP chair and later IPLO leader, criticised the perceived looseness of the Provisionals' 'broad front'. Writing from Crumlin Road Jail, Brown approvingly quoted Lenin's conception of the vanguard engaging mass support among workers, and appealed for an anti-imperialist alliance. However, Brown repudiated the SDLP, which would 'stabilise' capitalism in Ireland. Brown perceived PSF becoming entrenched in the 'selective patronage' of Northern

[305] LHL NIPC P3396: 'Sinn Féin Document No.2' (19 May 1988) in LHL NIPC P3396: PSF, *The Sinn Féin-SDLP Talks, January-September 1988* (Dublin: PSF Publicity Department, 1989).
[306] LHL NIPC P3396: 'SDLP Document No.1' (17 March 1988) in LHL NIPC P3396: PSF, *The Sinn Féin-SDLP Talks, January-September 1988* (Dublin: PSF Publicity Department, 1989).
[307] Left-wing republican veteran Brian Keenan recalled his hostility to republicans who 'limited their politics to nationalism' in the early 1970s. Neil Jarman applies the category 'nationalist' to the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which 'espouse[s] the ideal of an Irish nationalism inseparable from the Roman Catholic religion and valorise[s] the military heroes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who fought their wars premised on distinctions of faith, which predated a politicised national identity'. 'Prisoner B26380's dilemma', *WeeklyWorker*, 732 (20 July 2008); Neil Jarman, *Material Conflicts: Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Berg, 1997), p. 136.
[308] 'Humes [sic] Offer', *Congress '86*, No. 5 (Winter 1988).

Ireland's local councils, distracting from the need to 'lead workers in DIRECT struggles'.[309] Similarly, a representative of Brown's Socialist Republican Collective (SRC) sceptically observed a '68 Committee meeting in Coalisland, County Tyrone. The writer supported the venture in principle, but noted the 'lack of clarity by the present [Provisional] leadership regarding the objectives and outcome of the struggle'.[310]

PD representative John McAnulty expressed similar concerns about vagueness in the Provisionals' pan-nationalist programme. McAnulty suggested that the ANC's alliances with 'sections of the capitalist class' constituted its 'historical political weakness', and he disliked the conception of a 'nationalist family' or 'Stalinist notions of a "popular front"' which might include Fianna Fáil, which he held to be anti-working class. For McAnulty, PSF's 'loose framework [for] "Freedom, Justice, Peace" means nothing unless it is tied to definite proposals for action'.[311]

The Provisional leadership in the late 1980s harnessed the mobilising power of what Karl Mannheim termed a 'political generation' to galvanise '68ers with republican trajectories spanning the past two decades. Simultaneously, republicans recapitulating the language and ideas of Northern Ireland's civil rights movement amid commemoration of '68 and contemporary debates about civil rights addressed wider publics beyond the '68 'generation unit'.[312] Place shaped these initiatives in 1988 and 1989, as it had during the Provisionals' initial mobilisation in 1969 and 1970. Commemorations in 1968 and 1969 deliberately recalled the sites of resistance from two decades earlier, recalling Walter Benjamin's conception as spaces as storage for memory.[313]

Ironically, the Provisional leadership's turn in the late 1980s to rights-based arguments and pan-nationalism resembled the pre-split republican movement's 'agitate, educate, organise' strategy of the late 1960s. Anthony Coughlan, an academic who left the republican movement in 1970, foreshadowed the Provisionals' turn to a broad front in the late 1980s. Writing in October 1986, Coughlan argued that Irish republicans must attract support

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[309] Jimmy Brown, 'The broad front', *Borderline* (April 1986); 'Pitfalls of electoral politics', *Borderline*, Volume 1 Number 2 (Summer 1986).
[310] ''68 revisited: civil rights 1988', *Socialist Republican: Quarterly Publication of the Socialist Republican Collective*, Volume 1 Issue 1.
[311] 'Irish National Congress: A way forward?', *An Reabhloid*, Volume 5 Number 1 (n.d.).
[312] For Mannheim, a 'political generation' or 'generation-unit' was conceived among individuals who experienced particular sociohistorical processes in similar ways. These shared experiences engender affinities and common modes of interpretation and action. Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations' (1952), in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*.
[313] Benjamin argued that memory could be organised and recollected spatially. 'A Berlin Chronicle', in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings* (transl. Edmund Jephcott) (New York: Schocken Books, 1978), pp. 3-60.

from the Labour left.[314] Some 20 years after rejecting Cathal Goulding's efforts to broaden the republican base, Provisionals resorted to similar methods as they sought a resolution to political and military impasse.

2.3 Northern Ireland's '68ers reflect, c.1988-c.1994

Retrospectives among former '68ers in Ireland formed two broad categories in the late 1980s, reflecting crystallised networks. For Gerry Adams and his supporters in the Provisional republican movement, although political deadlock defined the previous 20 years, the republican struggle could now be redefined as essentially a question of rights – and the Provisionals would engage a wide repertoire of contention to achieve Irish unity. By contrast, for different reasons, socialist republicans and moderate nationalists lamented the impasse. Left-wing republicans in the INLA, IPLO, and LCR feared the Provisionals' new aspiration to 'pan-nationalism' signalled drift and compromise. Moderate nationalists in the SDLP narrated republicans sabotaging the progressive zeitgeist of '68 with their own violent assault on rights.

Former '68ers hostile to the Provisionals downplayed historical republican involvement in Northern Ireland's civil rights movement. Simultaneously these activists accentuated differences between an honourable civil rights legacy and the present-day Provisional campaign. Reflecting in 1989, former NICRA leader Conn McCluskey dismissed suggestions that republicans had infiltrated the organisation in the late 1960s.[315] Similarly, Bob Purdie's nuanced study, published in 1990, concluded that republicans committed to 'broad-based political activism' supported civil rights campaigns in the 1960s, but this did not imply that NICRA was a Trojan horse for the PIRA's physical-force republicanism. Purdie regretted that republican armed struggle had subsequently eclipsed non-violent activism.[316]

Moderate '68ers and Provisional republicans disputed the civil rights movement's historical achievements, and these arguments informed divergent political prognoses for

[314] 'Class Struggle' Correspondent, 'Ireland's Neutrality & Irish Republicanism', *Class Struggle*, Volume 11 Number 1 (March 1987).
[315] McCluskey, *Up Off Their Knees*, 7.
[316] As a member of the International Marxist Group until 1976, Edinburgh-born Purdie advocated Irish unity, but by the 1980s he publicly rejected violence and the PIRA. With Paddy Devlin, he attempted to reinvigorate the Northern Ireland Labour Party. In 1992, he joined the Scottish National Party. Bob Purdie, *Politics in the Streets: The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1990), pp. 157, 251-252; Ó Dochartaigh, 'What Did the Civil Rights Movement Want?'; George Kerevan, 'Dr Robert 'Bob' McGovern Purdie, historian', *Scotsman*, 8 December 2014; Connal Parr, 'Bob Purdie: 1940-2014', *Dublin Review of Books*, 12 December 2014.

Northern Ireland 20 years on. Speaking in 1988, Paddy Joe McClean, NICRA's chair between 1974 and 1981 before he joined the Workers' Party, said the Provisionals would 'attempt to hide' behind civil rights politics but had 'washed away [NICRA's] democratic gains' such as disbanding the B Specials and widening the franchise.[317] For McClean, republican violence since the early 1970s had exacerbated repression and polarised and alienated a progressive majority in Northern Ireland. Portraying the late 1960s as a halcyon period of mass engagement, McClean lamented how 'people now have retreated into their shells… people are dead in their minds politically'.[318]

By contrast, the Provisionals' Publicity Department valorised the civil rights organisations of the late 1960s, and accentuated their republican inflection. Provisional writer Kevin McCool noted that the Derry Housing Action Committee (DHAC) promoted commemoration rallies in 1968 in honour of the socialist-republican James Connolly.[319] In 1986, PSF's Publicity Department exhorted support for PIRA fugitives Brendan McFarlane and Gerry Kelly with a pamphlet including photographs of the civil rights march ambushed at Burntollet in January 1969.[320]

PSF leaders Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness aligned with civil rights legacies while criticising NICRA's strategy, thereby justifying the Provisionals' profound departure from non-violent protest. Writing in 1988, Adams noted NICRA's 'serious defect': it

> underestimated the reactionary and irreformable nature of the state itself… Full civil rights and the existence of a partitionist and gerrymandered apartheid state were incompatible.[321]

Similarly, Martin McGuinness remembered in 1991 the 'inability of the civil rights movement to actually achieve anything', necessitating armed struggle.[322]

Although a small coterie of Provisional leaders advocated the pan-nationalist agenda in talks with SDLP leader John Hume in 1988,[323] PSF councillors who supported the leadership mirrored Adams's and McGuinness's optimism that the Hume-Adams initiative

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[317] '"No room for ambivalence on terror" – P. J. McClean', *Ulster Herald*, 10 December 1988.
[318] HVA D01260 Tape 93: *Sullivan's Story* (UTV, Broadcast 28 September 1989).
[319] Kevin McCool, 'Duke Street – the point of no return', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 6 October 1988.
[320] LHL NIPC P1798: PSF Publicity Department, *Do Not Extradite the H-Block Escapees* (Belfast: PSF, 1986).
[321] Adams, 'A Republican', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 47-48.
[322] LHL NIPC P10564: *An interview with Martin McGuinness* (Derry: publisher unknown, 1991).
[323] PSF's *Ard Comhairle* established a subcommittee to manage communications with the SDLP in 1988. Its members were Adams, McGuinness, Tom Hartley (General Secretary), Seán MacManus (Party Chairperson), Danny Morrison (Director of Publicity), and Councillor Mitchel McLaughlin. 'Sinn Féin Statement on the End of Present Round of Sinn Féin/SDLP Talks' in LHL NIPC P3396: PSF, *The Sinn Féin-SDLP Talks, January-September 1988* (Dublin: PSF Publicity Department, 1989).

could realise Irish unification after 20 years of stalemate. Assessing the Provisional movement's support in rural areas in 1988, west Tyrone PSF councillor Barry McElduff, who supported the leadership, noted that 'some Republicans have come to acquiesce unquestioningly in that which "the leadership" prescribes'.[324] For Fermanagh PSF councillor Paul Corrigan, although there had been 'only cosmetic changes' since 1968, the twentieth anniversary marked a new opportunity for 'pan-nationalism… discussions between the various strands of Nationalism is [sic] something that is necessary and must be welcomed'.[325] Similarly, PSF councillor Tommy Maguire told party activists in Enniskillen that the 'united support of all Nationalists' for Owen Carron in the Fermanagh-South Tyrone by-election in January 1986 would 'speed the day when real negotiations can begin for a final permanent British withdrawal'.[326]

Among '68ers who had moved into constitutional nationalism during the 1970s and 1980s, commemorating civil rights was a much more pessimistic affair. Nationalists described physical-force republicans hijacking the political momentum of the civil rights years. In this narrative, Northern Ireland was on the cusp of non-violent democratic progression when the Provisionals launched their subversive campaign in 1970. To this end, SDLP representatives in the late 1980s condemned the PIRA as oppressors of the communities they purported to represent. SDLP activists perceived Provisionals exploiting Catholic grievances and waging a divisive military campaign. SDLP leader John Hume wrote in 1989 that the Provisionals bore 'the hallmark of fascism'. If a civil rights programme was to be relaunched in the north, Hume argued, the PIRA would be identified as the greatest oppressors.[327] In 1986, Derry SDLP councillor Teresa Coyle explained that her party refused to support PSF councillors' proposal to confer the freedom of the city on Nelson Mandela not out of any lack of support for the ANC, but because the PIRA denied Derry's citizens the

> freedom to go shopping without being bombed or shot, freedom to go to work without being kidnapped or intimidated, freedom from unjust courts, kangaroo or otherwise.[328]

In May 1987, senior SDLP representative Austin Currie attended the funeral of a civilian killed by the SAS in the aftermath of a failed PIRA bomb attack on the RUC station at Loughgall, County Armagh. Speaking after the burial in Caledon, County Tyrone, in May

[324] LHL NIPC P3097: Barra Mac Giolla Dhuibh, *Republican Politics: A 'rural' Six-Counties perspective* (Omagh: Published by the author, 1988).
[325] 'Council's Sinn Fein Chairman', *Fermanagh Herald*, 30 January 1988.
[326] 'British withdrawal only answer – councillor', *Fermanagh Herald*, 18 January 1986.
[327] 'John Hume on the end of the Unionist veto in Ulster', *London Review of Books*, Volume 11 Number 3 (2 February 1989).
[328] 'Angry exchanges at council meeting', *Derry Journal*, 7 March 1986.

1987, Currie remembered his civil rights sit-ins in the village in the late 1960s, lamenting how the 'men of violence' had 'exploited the situation' in the intervening years.[329]

SDLP representatives were not unique among former '68ers disillusioned with the two decades since NICRA's zenith. Radical former civil rights activists who had followed divergent subsequent pathways were also aggrieved with political impasse in Ireland north and south. Former civil rights campaigner and Official republican Máirín de Burca commented in 1988 that the 'dreams' of revolutionary possibilities of 1968 were now 'broken and dead'. A founding member of the Irish Women's Liberation Movement in the early 1970s, de Burca pointed to global wars, 'ruthless' big business, and the continuing oppression of women and ethnic minorities. Eamonn Melaugh, a veteran of the DHAC who had become a pacifist, lamented the violence which had engulfed Northern Ireland.[330] Speaking in 1985, Belfast Workers' Party representative Mary McMahon thought it 'particularly nauseating' that the Provisionals asserted civil rights credentials while the PIRA continued killing.[331]

Former PD activists Michael Farrell and John McAnulty shared moderates' negativity about political impasse since '68, but for different reasons. These divergences reflected subjectivities regarding the meanings of Northern Ireland's '68. Whereas SDLP representatives considered armed struggle a betrayal of NICRA's work, Farrell and McAnulty thought enduring social conservatism in Ireland the chief indictment of the previous two decades. The Catholic Church had retained its 'special position', underpinning constitutional bans on divorce and abortion, and Farrell remarked sadly that Irish politics had 'not changed much'.[332] Reflecting in 1993, McAnulty admitted PD had made 'plenty [of] mistakes' but held that these demonstrated the 'impossibility of workers' unity within the confines of the sectarian state'.[333] Perceptions of the Provisionals failing to build a mass movement reinforced this pessimism. Writing in PD's discussion journal in 1992, PD member Joe Carter argued the Provisionals' stated efforts to broaden their base were now 'dead as a fossil', with the movement reliant instead on an 'apolitical' military campaign which 'contradicted' mass mobilisation, marginalised working-class agency, and 'underestimated' imperialism.[334]

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[329] HVA D01050 Tape 82: *BBC Northern Ireland News* (BBC, Broadcast 11 May 1987).
[330] Máirín de Burca, 'Sixties radicals', *Irish Press*, 27 January 1988.
[331] HVA D00850 Tape 70: *BBC Northern Ireland News* (BBC, Broadcast 9 September 1985).
[332] Farrell, 'Long March', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 72-73.
[333] John McAnulty, 'No unity in the Union?', *Socialist Review*, 170 (December 1993).
[334] Joe Carter, 'The limits of republicanism', *An Reabhloid: Journal of Peoples Democracy*, Volume 7 Number 1 (Spring 1992).

Leftist republican critics of the Provisional leadership dismissed pan-nationalism as a corrupting, rightward compromise. Writing in 1990, Derry PSF's Education Officer considered alliances with the SDLP or Fianna Fáil a 'waste of time'. The SDLP was an 'arch-enemy' of republicanism, since it 'conform[ed] to the pro-EEC/USA anti-nationalist ethos'.[335] Traditionalists in Republican Sinn Féin (RSF) and leftists in the League of Communist Republicans (LCR), all of whom had broken with the Provisionals in the late 1980s, similarly condemned pan-nationalism. In 1988, LCR member John Albert condemned Adams's attempts to 'court Hume and Haughey', who would 'trade away what little self-determination the Irish people retain'.[336] An editorial in RSF's newspaper *Saoirse* the same year branded Adams and his colleagues 'ruthless dealers' for talking to the SDLP.[337]

Local dynamics informed the afterlives of '68ers' political subjectivities and republican politics into the late 1980s.[338] Republican commemoration of '68 gained little traction in south Armagh, for example, where the civil rights movement and republicanism were historically polarised.[339] By contrast, in County Fermanagh, civil rights activism and physical-force republicanism overlapped extensively, as Chapter 1 showed.[340] By the mid-1970s, Fermanagh Civil Disobedience Committee (FCDC) espoused a far greater degree of sympathy with the republican movement than any other civil rights organisation. The testimony of Austin Currie, a civil rights activist turned SDLP politician, also highlights the radicalism of the civil rights movement in County Fermanagh. PD had constituted a significant element in Fermanagh's Civil Rights Association. Currie was a longstanding enemy of PD, which he considered to be the 'tail wagging the [civil rights] movement' in the late 1960s. Currie recalled his distaste for the PD's 'emphasis on demands which were not part of the mainstream civil rights programme'.[341]

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[335] Tony Doherty, 'The end and the means', *Iris Bheag*, 27 (September 1990).
[336] John Albert, 'The price of sovereignty', *Congress '86*, 5 (Winter 1988).
[337] 'Ruthless dealers at work', *Saoirse*, 14 (June 1988).
[338] As Sarah Campbell has argued, Northern Ireland's civil rights politics were capacious, with 'ever-present wavering between militancy and constitutionalism'. Stephen Hopkins, 'Ideology and Identity in the Founding Group of the Social Democratic and Labour Party: Evaluating the Life-Writing of a Political Generation', in Burgess (ed.), *Contested Identities*, 202.
[339] In Newry, the civil rights organisation had launched a 'Say No to the Provos' campaign in August 1972, when a PIRA bomb exploded prematurely and killed three republicans and six local civilians. Edward Burke, *An Army of Tribes: British Army Cohesion, Deviancy and Murder in Northern Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018), p. 194.
[340] On Fermanagh's civil rights-republican nexus, see Chapter 1. Edward Burke's detailed study of south Fermanagh suggests that the milieus of civil rights activists and PIRA volunteers intermeshed in the early 1970s. Burke, *Army of Tribes*, 292.
[341] Austin Currie, *All Hell Will Break Loose* (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2004), pp. 116-117.

In the late 1980s, Fermanagh's '68ers welcomed PSF's self-appointment as guardians of the civil rights legacy. Before the Fermanagh-South Tyrone by-election of January 1986, 39 Fermanagh former civil rights activists wrote an open letter to the local newspaper imploring support for the PSF candidate, Owen Carron – a former NICRA activist – against the moderate nationalist Austin Currie. For these civil righters with histories of 'peaceful, non-violent agitation' in the late 1960s, support for Carron would expedite 'full Civil Rights – which we set out to achieve in 1968'.[342] Established in June 1988 after a public meeting to discuss a 'nationalist' response to security force harassment, Fermanagh's '68 Committee publicised traditional republican grievances with the RUC, UDR, and British Army. Roslea PSF councillor Brian McCaffrey chaired the committee, while Father Joe McVeigh and veteran civil rights activist Oliver Kearney were high-profile organisers.[343]

2.4 Conclusions

Irish radicals' references to transnational politics and their readings of global developments highlighted the plurality of republicanism. Jennifer Curtis frames the civil rights movement as a catalyst for 'political mobilisation and direct action'.[344] For Marc Mulholland, civil rights activism, repressed in the late 1960s, 'reignited the dynamic of sectarian polarisation and the tradition of nationalist insurgency'.[345] These stimuli had lengthy afterlives, and Northern Ireland's '68 remained an important touchstone in local contentious politics, especially in and around 1988. Activists often perceived their historical roles in Northern Ireland's '68 very differently to their self-perceptions in 1988. These disjunctions problematized historical social identities amid turbulent group consciousness.[346]

This chapter has also suggested the diachronic aspect of political variations in networks and milieux. Kristin Ross has demonstrated a generation's changing political contexts reshape memories and legacies of past activism. Actors can historicise their own radical pasts, imputing particular interpretations of historical positions to vindicate new

[342] 'Owen Carron, the Sinn Fein candidate', *Fermanagh Herald*, 18 January 1986.
[343] 'S.F. Cllr's accusations against Roslea-based soldiers', *Fermanagh Herald*, 3 September 1988.
[344] Jennifer Curtis, *Human Rights as War by Other Means: Peace Politics in Northern Ireland* (Philadelphia, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), p. 6.
[345] Marc Mulholland, 'Northern Ireland and the Far Left, c.1965-1975', *Contemporary British History* (2018), p. 17.
[346] Henri Tajfel pioneered social identity theory as a branch of social psychology, concerned with the relationship between the individual and the group. Individuals attach social, emotional, and political values to membership of a group. Across time and space, these values can be upended. Brannan, Esler & Strindberg, 'Talking to "Terrorists"', 5, 17.

trajectories which may bear little resemblance to the old.[347] In 1978, and in and around 1988, activist trajectories in particular republican organisations were especially important in shaping how republicans remembered '68 and historicised their struggle. Republican subjectivities on the achievements and shortcomings of the civil rights movement of the 1960s pervaded the dialogue among Irish republicans in the late 1970s and late 1980s.

From the mid-1980s, Provisional electoralism, council work, and grassroots activism, combined with loyalist reaction against the Anglo-Irish Agreement, prompted the Provisional leadership and its supporters to invoke the political language of '68. Provisional leaders reconfigured their struggle as a rights-based campaign for self-determination, against repression, and promoted 'pan-nationalism', courting the SDLP and, internationally, the ANC. Republican leftists, meanwhile, criticised the Provisionals' new pan-nationalist agenda from the late 1980s, perceiving in it reformism and rightward drift.

When the Provisional premiers and their supporters recapitulated civil rights politics and claimed a stake in the legacies of Northern Ireland's '68, they triggered republican responses which varied sharply across the geography of the north of Ireland. In the Republic's border counties, for instance, memories of civil rights lacked the political capital that they commanded in 'places of memory' in Northern Ireland's civil rights struggles like Coalisland, Dungannon, Derry, and Enniskillen. The Provisionals established '68 Committees exclusively in these places.

Moderate '68ers who graduated to constitutional nationalism assessed the civil rights movement's achievements differently to Provisional leaders in the late 1980s. Adams and McGuinness positioned themselves as inheritors of civil rights, cognisant of NICRA's perceived shortcomings: pan-nationalism offered a new rights-based pathway to Irish unity. By contrast, leftist republicans narrated the Provisional leadership invoking civil rights as a move towards clientelism and opportunism.[348] Constitutional nationalists, meanwhile, lamented the republican armed struggle hijacking the democratic gains of the late 1960s.

Throughout these processes, place remained important. As Deborah Martin and Byron Miller argue, space 'constitutes and structures relationships and networks… [and] situates social and cultural life including repertoires of contention'.[349] In Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone, for example, collective memories of '68 were integral to the Provisional republican

[347] Ross, *May '68*.
[348] These leftist critics included Provisional dissenters, others who had recently left the Provisional movement, including the LCR and RSF, and elements from the IRSP-INLA, IPLO, and PD.
[349] Deborah Martin & Byron Miller, 'Space and Contentious Politics', *Mobilization*, 8 (2003), pp. 144-145.

movement, and the two milieux overlapped. Conversely, where civil rights politics were historically less embedded, in Belfast and south Armagh, for example, the language of rights remained peripheral to republican identities in subsequent decades. Republican collective memory in and around 1978 and 1988 emphasised places of memory in the north and marginalised the national or transnational frame of civil rights.

Republicans commemorating Northern Ireland's '68 accentuated the uniqueness of their struggle in the context of many years of political and military stalemate. Not until the early 1990s did the Provisional leadership, developing its pan-nationalist initiative, consistently frame its long struggle and civil rights credentials in international contexts amid a 'new world order'.

Chapter 3 analyses further Irish republicanism's shifting strategies and tactics from the late 1970s. It analyses the movement's internal dynamics of response to significant changes in external conjuncture.

Chapter 3: Republican strategy, tactics and repertoires of contention,[350] c.1979-c.1998

[350] Social movement theorist Charles Tilly used 'repertoire of contention' to describe 'ways that people act together in pursuit of shared interests'. 'Strategy' comprises a social movement's proposed pathway for achieving overarching objectives. 'Tactics' are the sub-mechanisms and forms of collective action publicly deployed to advance strategic objectives. Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758-1834* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 41; Lee A. Smithey, 'Social Movement Strategy, Tactics, and Collective Identity', *Sociology Compass*, 3 (2009), p. 660.

Think of all the lives that could have been saved had we accepted the 1975 truce. That alone would have justified acceptance. We fought on and for what? What we rejected in 1975.

Former Belfast PIRA commander Brendan Hughes (1948-2008), in conversation with ex-PIRA prisoner Anthony McIntyre in 2000.[351]

In 2000, having become profoundly disillusioned with the Provisional republican movement, former Belfast PIRA leader Brendan Hughes reviewed the republican struggle. Between the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and his death a decade later, Hughes became one of PSF's most prominent critics. His retrospectives highlight the contentiousness within republicanism of the Provisionals' electoral experimentation in the 1980s, ceasefires and peace negotiations in the 1990s, and exclusive constitutionalism from 1998. These evolving 'repertoires of contention' transformed republicanism during these decades, prompting widespread discussions which underscored republicanism's dynamic multiplicity.

These debates remain potent today. So-called 'dissenting' and 'dissident' republicans denounce PSF as 'sell-outs' administrating British rule in Ireland. Formed in September 2016, Saoradh, which describes itself as a 'revolutionary socialist-republican party', constitutes the latest republican challenge to PSF. In 2017, a Saoradh spokesperson in Derry denounced PSF for abandoning 'principle and ideology' and 'assimilat[ing] into British imperialist structures'.[352] By contrast, PSF representatives advocate a constitutional pathway to a united Ireland, and routinely condemn 'dissident' violence. As Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland in May 2012, PSF's Martin McGuinness denounced 'dissident' groups such as the Real IRA and Continuity IRA as 'deluded' and 'pathetic' opponents of progress in Ireland.[353]

Months after the PIRA ceasefire of August 1994, M. L. R. Smith implored scholars to examine changing strategies and tactics in Northern Ireland's enduring conflict.[354] Subsequently, analysts such as Marc Mulholland, Joost Augusteijn, Mark Ryan, and Kevin

[351] 'A dark view of the process', *Fourthwrite: Journal of the Irish Republican Writers' Group* (March 2000).
[352] 'Saoradh: Sinn Fein has capitulated. It is guilty of unparalleled treachery', *Derry Journal*, 10 November 2017.
[353] Henry McDonald, 'Martin McGuinness accuses dissident republicans of being enemies of Ireland', *Guardian*, 26 May 2012.
[354] M. L. R. Smith, 'Holding Fire: Strategic Theory and the Missing Military Dimension in the Academic Study of Northern Ireland', in Alan O'Day (ed.), *Terrorism's Laboratory: The Case of Northern Ireland* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing, 1995), pp. 233-234.

Bean studied republicans' long campaign, especially developments in the Provisional movement. These diverse analyses of overarching political processes within republicanism were theoretically sophisticated, but did not scrutinise republican groups' internal dynamics during these piecemeal changes.[355] As Cynthia L. Irvin has argued in comparative work on Irish republicanism and Basque separatism, debates around strategy and tactics reveal much about radical organisations' internal dynamics.[356]

Social movement theorists Donatella della Porta, Sidney Tarrow, and Hanspieter Kriesi suggest that a contentious movement is especially liable to split when strategies and tactics change. Militants may assume leadership in a fragmented organisation, or break with mainstream protest and establish new splinter groups engaging different methods. Della Porta, Tarrow, and Kriesi drew extensively on the experiences of Students for a Democratic Society and the Weathermen Underground in the USA, Italian student protest, and the *Rote Armee Fraktion* in West Germany.[357]

Yet as Tarrow has noted, while social movement theorists have addressed mobilisation extensively, demobilisation processes are undertheorised. Tarrow posits several factors reducing social movement activism: regime repression; activist exhaustion; contenders' claims being facilitated; social movement organisations radicalising and alienating erstwhile supporters; and activist groups becoming institutionalised and incorporated into orthodox politics.[358]

This chapter will analyse republican responses to changes in strategy, tactics, and repertoires of contention between the prison protests of the late 1970s and the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. During this period, the Provisional movement engaged two broad

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[355] Smith and Mulholland argued the PIRA's armed struggle had become increasingly counterproductive through the 1980s. For Smith, the movement's fixation with sustaining its guerrilla campaign diminished its political imagination. Augusteijn suggested that discrete analytical categories of so-called hardliners and moderates were unhelpful; particular moments required closer examination to illuminate understandings of the movement's intricacies. Ryan and Bean more overtly criticised the Provisionals' perceived compromises through electoralism and 'peace' initiatives. Agnès Maillot terms the post-peace process Provisionals 'new Sinn Féin'. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*; Mulholland, 'Irish Republican Politics'; Joost Augusteijn, 'Political Violence and Democracy: An Analysis of the Tensions within Irish Republican Strategy, 1914-2002', *Irish Political Studies*, 18 (2003), pp. 1-26; Kevin Bean, 'The New Departure? Recent Developments in Republican Strategy and Ideology', *Irish Studies Review*, 10 (Spring 1995), pp. 2-6; Bean, *New Politics*; Ryan, *War and Peace*; Ryan, 'From the Centre'; Agnès Maillot, *New Sinn Féin: Irish Republicanism in the Twenty-First Century* (London: Routledge, 2004).

[356] Irvin, *Militant Nationalism*, 13.

[357] Bert Klandermans, 'Disengaging from Movements', in Jeff Goodwin & James M. Jasper (eds.), *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2003), pp. 116-128.

[358] Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 190.

processes: from the early 1980s, electoralism; from the late 1980s, peace initiatives. This chapter will explore the cohesiveness of how Provisional republicans responded to these 'new departures'.[359] The first section interrogates the Provisionals' electoral turn in the 1980s. The second section examines PSF's peace initiatives in the 1990s, between the Downing Street Declaration (1993) and the Good Friday Agreement (1998).[360]

3.1 Republicanism and electoralism, c.1979-c.1989

Since the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, republicans opposed to PSF's constitutional strategy often locate in the Provisionals' 1980s electoral experimentation the first steps towards compromise and 'sell-out'. Writing in 2005, Liam O'Ruairc, then aligned with the IRSP, narrated the Provisionals' transition from 'principled revolutionary organisation to opportunist, reformist, constitutional, nationalist party', starting with PSF's electoral interventions in 1981.[361] The chronology of Anthony McIntyre's critique extended further still. A former PIRA volunteer who spent 18 years in Long Kesh, McIntyre in 2008 lamented that the 'post-truce [Provisional] leadership' had 'insisted on fighting to an inglorious conclusion'.[362] Yet these retrospectives collapse the gradualism and contingency of the Provisionals' tactical and strategic changes during the 1980s and 1990s. Electoralism entered Provisional repertoires of contention in piecemeal, stuttering fashion over many years.

Even among Provisional leaders, electoral interventions sharply divided opinion in 1981. The origins of Bobby Sands's seminal election campaign are contested. Joe O'Neill, a founding Provisional from Bundoran, County Donegal, claimed in 2006 that Dáithí Ó

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[359] This chapter alludes to leftist critiques of Provisional electoralism and peace initiatives, but these topics are examined more fully in Chapter 4.

[360] Peter Shirlow and Cillian McGrattan locate the origins of PSF's peace initiatives in the party's policy document *Scenario for Peace* (1987) and Gerry Adams's secret meetings with SDLP leader John Hume the following year. For Shirlow, *Scenario for Peace* signalled a 'move towards a peace strategy' and cross-community dialogue. Although McGrattan warned against overstating the conceptual shifts in the document – the Provisionals still approached unionism as a false consciousness to be debunked – he argued that it 'represented the first tentative steps by Sinn Féin to develop a political strategy since the early 1970s'. However, for the purposes of this chapter, the point of departure is the Downing Street Declaration of December 1993. The Declaration, shortly followed by the PIRA ceasefire in August 1994, stimulated widespread republican engagement with what became widely known as the peace process. Peter Shirlow, 'Sinn Féin: Beyond and Within Containment', in Jörg Neuheiser & Stefan Wolff (eds.), *Peace at Last? The Impact of the Good Friday Agreement on Northern Ireland* (New York: Berghahn, 2002), p. 68; McGrattan, *Northern Ireland, 1968-2008*, 125-126.

[361] Liam O'Ruairc, 'Going respectable', *The Plough*, Volume 2 Number 36 (22 May 2005).

[362] Anthony McIntyre, *Good Friday: The Death of Irish Republicanism* (New York: Ausubo Press, 2008), p. 8.

Conaill, an ardent abstentionist, had initially suggested Sands's candidacy, while Gerry Adams and his supporters were reluctant. O'Neill had longstanding differences with Adams, and his testimony should not be uncritically accepted. However, his anecdote suggests the ad hoc, experimental character of PSF's electoral tactics that year.[363] Mitchel McLaughlin, later an elected PSF representative in Derry, initially refused to assist with Bobby Sands's election campaign in 1981: 'I was a committed abstentionist and I was actually anti-electoralism'.[364]

Republican electoral successes in 1981 – not least during the hunger strike, which witnessed seven PIRA prisoners yielding 64,985 votes and three seats across the island[365] – prompted prominent Provisionals to advocate further electoral challenges. Danny Morrison became an especially vocal proponent of tactical electoralism. Writing under a pseudonym in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* immediately after Northern Ireland's local elections of May 1981, Morrison criticised the party's constitution for preventing PSF candidacies. It had been a 'miscalculation' not to contest the elections, Morrison argued, mindful of the 'clear militant shift in nationalist opinion', with 25 PD, IRSP, and Irish Independence Party representatives elected.[366] Over 30 years on, Morrison admitted that he and his senior colleague Jimmy Drumm repudiated electoralism until they observed polling results in 1981:

> We started to see the propaganda advantages of participating in elections and were confident that there was a vote to be won on that.[367]

Yet the momentous events of 1981 did not convert all republicans to electoral opportunists. Oral histories reveal the complexity of republicans' historic misgivings about 'politics'. Patrick Magee favoured

> Being politically on the ground at community level – yes, I completely bought that. But I was a late convert to the notion that through electoral politics… It was such a learning curve through the hunger strike.[368]

Histories of negotiation and compromise in, inter alia, 1921 and 1975, loomed large in republican collective memory, and 1981 did not eliminate these concerns. 'Politics' was the

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[363] O'Neill left the Provisional movement over abstentionism in 1986 when, alongside Ó Conaill and others, he founded Republican Sinn Féin. 'Facts wrong on hunger strike – Joe O'Neill', *Donegal Democrat*, 18 May 2006.
[364] Mitchel McLaughlin interview with Robert W. White, 1990. White, *Provisional Irish Republicans*, 142.
[365] Bobby Sands (30,493) won the Fermanagh-South Tyrone by-election on 9 April 1981, while Kieran Doherty (9,121) and Paddy Agnew (8,368) won Cavan-Monaghan and Louth respectively on 11 June 1981.
[366] Peter Arnlis, 'H-Blocks rocks middle ground', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 30 May 1981.
[367] Danny Morrison interview with Graham Spencer. Spencer, *From Armed Struggle*, 114.
[368] Patrick Magee interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 August 2015.

business of those who sold short military sacrifice. Conor Murphy, who subsequently became a PSF councillor in 1989 before being elected as an MLA and MP, recalls:

> There always was a sense, when you got down to the theory of revolution – Irish revolutions had failed in the past in that the military people had fought to whatever the negotiations, small number of people done the negotiations, then a political class came in and took over the solution.[369]

Such misgivings were apparent in April 1985, weeks before local government elections, when four Belfast PIRA members were expelled for allegedly opposing funding for PSF's council campaigns.[370] In the Provisional movement in the early 1980s, the keywords of 'politics' and the 'grassroots' possessed simultaneously the centripetal and centrifugal forces Mikhail Bakhtin perceived colliding. 'Politics' was loaded with historical connotations of recrudescent compromise and reformism, yet the grassroots connoted broadening support and a mass revolutionary movement.[371]

The particular circumstances surrounding each electoral campaign determined PSF's approach between 1981 and 1985. Danny Morrison and Owen Carron, senior party figures at the forefront of the electoral experiments of 1981, did not propose PSF intervention in the elections of October 1982. Morrison and Carron met PD and SDLP representatives in Carrickmore, County Tyrone, five months before polling day for the Assembly, seeking a unified boycott. Only when the SDLP insisted on standing candidates did PSF follow suit.[372]

Even those Provisionals who advocated electoral strategy in October 1982 did so only to invalidate James Prior's Assembly. Mindful that the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) had refused to boycott the Assembly elections, seven County Tyrone republican prisoners in Magilligan considered PSF candidates' abstentionist campaigns vital to 'boycott this farcical British Assembly'. The republican women in Armagh Jail implored the 'Nationalist community' to vote for Provisional representatives to stymy Prior's attempt to 'reinstate the Unionist regime of old'.[373] Brian Feeney's argument that the Provisional leadership championed a 'twin-track' strategy of military and electoral campaigns simply to 'keep the IRA on board while seeking a move into the political mainstream' does not ring

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[369] Conor Murphy interview with Jack Hepworth. Newry, 16 September 2015.
[370] Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, 169.
[371] 'Alongside verbal-ideological centralisation and unification, the uninterrupted processes of decentralisation and disunification go forward… Every utterance participates in the 'unitary language' (in its centripetal forces and tendencies) and at the same time partakes of social and historical heteroglossia (the centrifugal, stratifying forces)'. Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', 272.
[372] 'Sinn Féin and the Assembly elections', *Iris*, 4 (November 1982).
[373] 'Prisoners support Sinn Fein', *Ulster Herald*, 16 October 1982.

true for this position in the mid-1980s.[374] Even after council elections in 1985, future electoral interventions remained a discussion point. The party leadership hosted community forums to discuss strategy, mindful of the seemingly 'irreconcilable contradictions' involved when a 'revolutionary' party used electoralism as a tactic.[375]

Oral histories also attest the range of views within the Provisional movement regarding electoral experiments in the early 1980s, even among activists unified by support for the initiative then and now. Raymond McCartney, a PIRA prisoner between 1977 and 1994, remembered how each election in the early 1980s was judged on its own merits, with debate developing subsequently:

> With Bobby's success in 1981 and the election of the two TDs, they were seen as successes… I remember the first Assembly election in 1982: the story was Sinn Féin… People then ask other questions, because what's the success for? Why get elected? You get elected to represent people. The discussion around the politics of it then came.[376]

By contrast, veteran ex-prisoner Séanna Walsh described the movement's tactics in the early 1980s in more straightforwardly destructive terms: 'Whatever the Brits put up, we'd knock it down'.[377] Testimonies also highlight how individual perspectives shifted with developments through the mid-1980s. By 1986, McCartney espoused a classic tactical pragmatist position on the Leinster House abstentionism debate: 'My view was that abstentionism doesn't work in a state where the majority of people recognise that parliament'.[378]

For republicans who have left the Provisional movement, reflections on electoralism through the 1980s reinforce dichotomies between republican militancy and 'politics' which featured in discussions of the republican split of 1969 and 1970. Kevin Hannaway

> never came into the republican movement to be a politician; it was about Irish freedom, which is a God-given right, and no country has the right to be in another man's country… As far as I was concerned, it was black and white to me, it wasn't the political thing, it was to get them out and sort the country out after that.[379]

Albert Allen, a former PIRA veteran, asserts that he never joined PSF, even as the political wing: 'I never would have liked to become a Sinn Féin councillor, which I had every opportunity to do'.[380]

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[374] Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, 14-15.
[375] 'Forums', *Iris*, 10 (July 1985).
[376] Raymond McCartney interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 18 September 2015.
[377] Séanna Walsh interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 12 August 2015.
[378] Raymond McCartney interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 18 September 2015.
[379] Kevin Hannaway interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.
[380] Albert Allen interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 December 2017.

Even the leading architects of Provisional electoralism maintained throughout the 1980s that the PIRA's armed struggle remained 'the cutting edge' of the republican campaign. Election campaigns offered potential propaganda coups and encouraged the movement to develop its grassroots connections. A Provisional statement published in September 1981 insisted that the party would not participate in 'constitutional politics' until a united Ireland had been achieved. The statement's authors either forgot or discounted PSF councillors serving in the Republic since 1974.[381] Ahead of the Assembly elections of October 1982, Morrison reassured the readership of the movement's weekly newspaper that the Provisionals would not be abandoning the armed struggle – or, as Morrison had it, alluding to the Official IRA's ceasefire of May 1972, 'going Sticky'. There could be no 'parliamentary road' to a united socialist republic, nor could any number of electoral successes displace the 'primacy' of the armed struggle.[382]

Party education repudiated the 'reformist' notion that Northern Ireland could be 'democratised' through the electoral process.[383] PSF's activism would not undermine or detract from the armed campaign. Rather, it would play a secondary, supporting role. 'Whether Sinn Féin increases its vote, or decreases its vote', constitutional politics would 'not deliver' a British withdrawal, said Gerry Adams in 1984.[384] When PSF won 59 council seats in May 1985, Martin McGuinness told reporters that 'winning any amount of votes' would not 'bring freedom to Ireland'; only 'the cutting edge of the IRA' could 'bring freedom'.[385] Such reassurances were popular among the Provisional membership at large: a majority at the *Ard Fheis* of 1982 stipulated that all election candidates must 'be unambivalent [sic] in support of the armed struggle'.[386] The party's internal education programme emphasised the historical legitimacy and efficacy of 'electoral intervention': in 1983, PSF's Education Department primed members on historical precedents for 'electoral interventions' and asserted the efficacy of Kieran Doherty's and Paddy Agnew's more recent

[381] 'IRA attitude on elections', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 5 September 1981.
[382] Peter Arnlis, 'The War Will Go On', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 16 September 1982.
[383] LHL NIPC P2009: PSF Education Department, *Election Interventions – Historical & Contemporary* (Dublin: PSF, 1983).
[384] HVA D00770 Tape 63: *Brasstacks: The Armalite and the Ballot Paper* (BBC, Broadcast 17 July 1984).
[385] Supporters in Derry's Guild Hall chanted 'I-R-A' and 'Up the 'RA' as they held victorious PSF candidates aloft, suggesting that they shared McGuinness's belief in the primacy of the armed struggle. HVA D00860 Tape 70: *Real Lives: At the Edge of the Union* (BBC, Broadcast 16 October 1985).
[386] LHL NIPC Tom Hartley Collection PH504: PSF, *Ard Fheis 1982: Clár agus Rúin* (Dublin: PSF, 1982).

election to the Dáil, which had 'effectively destabilised the Free State government and forced an early general election in 1982'.[387]

PIRA prisoners were an important source of support for electoral interventions in the early and mid-1980s. Prisoners welcomed these campaigns as an additional strand of struggle apt for demonstrating mass republican sympathies and delegitimising British rule in Ireland, with echoes of the hunger strike elections which had brought such elation, if only temporarily, in Long Kesh. Sands's election sparked jubilation in the H-blocks in April 1981. PIRA prisoner Tony O'Hara – brother of INLA volunteer Patsy, who joined the hunger strike on 22 March – recorded in a comm dated 10 April:

> I find words hard to describe the jubilation felt here this evening. With the result of the election there is a feeling here tonight which has not been here in a very long time… and the screws are visibly shattered – it's just great![388]

Prisoners in H6 observed the mass mobilisation of 1981 and argued that PSF should contest elections to local councils in Northern Ireland and to the Dáil alongside 'other left-wing and anti-imperialist groupings'.[389]

Especially for prisoners with experience of the anti-criminalisation protests in the late 1970s and early 1980s, electoral campaigns had enormous potential to publicise republican grievances. PSF's successes in 1982 reinforced these memories of the previous year. Writing on behalf of the PIRA men in Long Kesh in May 1983, the prisoners' public relations officer argued that the Assembly elections had vindicated Morrison's 'ballot box and armalite' strategy. This 'principled abstention' policy had its part to play in undermining normalisation and ending British rule.[390] Writing from Leicester Prison in December 1982, PIRA volunteer Brian Keenan applauded PSF's electoral victories as propaganda successes representing 'who speaks for the oppressed'. For Keenan, even PIRA militarists recognised that the 'savage war of peace' awaited a victorious republican movement, and local republican representatives would form 'an embryo of our future government'.[391]

Republican prisoners naturally did not witness PSF's advice centres at first hand, but regarded electoral campaigns as opportunities to garner international publicity. Fermanagh

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[387] LHL NIPC P2009: PSF Education Department, *Election Interventions – Historical & Contemporary* (Dublin: PSF, 1983).
[388] Aidan Hegarty, *Kevin Lynch and the Irish Hunger Strike* (Belfast: Camlane Press, 2006), p. 50.
[389] LHL NIPC PA0144: H6 resolutions for the PSF Ard-Fheis, 8 October 1981 (1981).
[390] PSF received 64,191 votes, yielding five candidates elected, in October 1982. LHL NIPC PA0147: H-block prison comm from PRO for the 1983 hunger strike commemoration (1983).
[391] NAI DFA/2012/59/1662: Brian Keenan, 'Letters from Irish POWs incarcerated in prisons in England', *P.O.W.: Bulletin of the Irish Political Prisoners in Britain* (December 1982).

PIRA prisoners exhorting support in a local newspaper for Danny Morrison's EEC campaign in June 1984 celebrated the opportunity for Irish nationalists to 'expose repression… on an international platform'.[392] Conor Murphy, imprisoned between 1981 and 1984, remembered that jailed republicans

> would have considered the political struggle, involved in the elections, trying to get as many votes as to demonstrate support for our prisoners, as an important – maybe not as important – but certainly an important new direction to try and generate, you know, it was part of the same struggle as far as we were concerned. So there was quite a degree of overlap between who was involved in the military struggle and who was involved in trying to start to build the political struggle.[393]

For Patrick Magee, popular support for PSF in the mid-1980s constituted a 'new field' enabling the Provisional movement 'to demonstrate our power'.[394]

Electoral interventions broadened PSF's repertoires of contention from the early 1980s. Party representatives assisted their grassroots, lobbying the Housing Executive, offering advice on attaining welfare benefits, and reporting and publicising security force 'harassment' of nationalists. A focal point of civil rights in the north, housing was especially important in Provisional activism.[395] After five PSF candidates were elected to the Assembly in October 1982, PSF in Belfast instituted a Housing Department to engage with the Housing Executive. In each of the 10 party branches in west Belfast, at least one member was delegated to housing duties.[396] Local party representatives combined campaigns calling for the unpopular Divis and Moyard flats to be demolished and public housing to be fairly allocated with support for individual properties' deficiencies such as subsidence and poor sanitation.[397] By June 1983, PSF had opened full-time advice centres in all of the constituencies it had contested in the Assembly elections eight months earlier.[398] Sean

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[392] Liam Ferguson, Kevin Lynch, Gerry Mulligan, Marcus Murray, Eamon McElroy, James Tierney, Eugene Cosgrove, Republican POW's, H-Block, 'Vote Sinn Fein say prisoners', *Fermanagh Herald*, 9 June 1984.
[393] Conor Murphy interview with Jack Hepworth. Newry, 16 September 2015.
[394] Patrick Magee interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 August 2015.
[395] Housing had powerful historical connotations for the minority community in Northern Ireland. As Chapter 2 showed, Provisional housing agitation in the 1980s recapitulated these rights-based politics of the late 1960s.
[396] Sean Delaney, 'Sinn Féin and Housing in Belfast: Building community confidence', *Iris*, 9 (December 1984).
[397] In 1985, Lagan Valley PSF representatives Lucy Murray and Damien Gibney were noted for having 'fought and won cases with the local Housing Executive'. EHI: *Lagan Valley Bulletin*, 3 (April 1985).
[398] 'Sinn Fein: the voice of principled leadership' election flyer (SF Election Headquarters, Dungannon, 1983).

McKnight, a PSF candidate elected to Belfast City Council in March 1984, implored constituents to direct 'any problem' to the party's full-time advice centres.[399]

Present-day oral histories illuminate how republicans interpreted electoralism, and the enduring contentiousness of this tactical innovation. As Michael Frisch noted, oral histories chart experience's complex journey towards becoming memory, connecting individual experience with its social context and the past becoming part of the present.[400] 'Dissident' republicans trace to the early 1980s processes they repudiate in PSF today. Released from prison in 1982, Nuala Perry worked in PSF's new Housing Department. A founding member of socialist-republican party Saoradh and a staunch critic of PSF, Perry reflected in 2016 on an 'election stunt to get the people on our side' in advance of the general election of 1983, when Gerry Adams won West Belfast.

> People were coming in[to the Department] with their problems – I mean, I was still a member of the IRA – but people were coming in and talking to you about problems with their housing. We were saying, "yes, we'll do this, we'll do that". But to me it was being filed under, "let's pretend", and "we don't want anything to do with that". And I found that a very difficult thing to do.[401]

Francie McGuigan recalled an authoritarian tendency in the Provisional leadership's tactical innovation in 1986: 'Most of the people in Belfast, and I assume in other parts, were ordered which way to vote'.[402]

By contrast, Conor Murphy, a former PIRA prisoner who became a PSF councillor in 1989 and remains an elected representative today, narrates electoral experimentation from the early 1980s as an ongoing opportunity for mass mobilisation, flourishing from the grassroots:

> Quite a lot of people, apart from the thinkers at the top of the movement, quite a lot of ordinary volunteers when they hadn't been through the prison system where there was a sort of form of internal education, hadn't probably delved [into politics] too much, it was more an instinctive, you know, nationalist reaction rather than a thought-through political, "we want to change the nature of the state and here's what we want to put in its place". But as the political [struggle] started to develop, probably around the time of the hunger strikes, and a realisation that you could mobilise people, and you could mobilise that as part, as a parallel, if you like,

[399] EHI: Sean McKnight, Belfast City Council Election (22 March 1984). Election flyer: *For an uncompromising stand on the national question*.
[400] Michael Frisch, 'Oral History and *Hard Times*: A Review Essay', *Oral History Review*, 7 (1979), pp. 70-79.
[401] Nuala Perry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 30 March 2016.
[402] Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.

to the armed struggle, then the thinking started a lot "if we do mobilise people, if we can create political change, what sort of society do we want?"[403]

By the mid-1980s, Provisional republicans overwhelmingly identified the movement's leadership, especially Morrison, as the pioneers of electoralism. Adams and his allies enjoyed considerable support and authority, especially among northern republicans. The *Ard Fheis* of 1985 passed motions congratulating the *Ard Comhairle* for the tactic, after Morrison spoke extensively on 'Electoral Intervention and the Armed Struggle'. It was left to the PSF executive to determine future approaches to elections.[404]

Divisions about tactics and their implications for overall strategy became more entrenched during debates about abstentionism in 1985 and 1986. PIRA prisoners were among the most prominent advocates for tactical innovation. PIRA volunteers in English jails, who had been arrested operating outside Ireland, approached the argument from a particular perspective, perhaps less inclined to orthodoxies, and were especially vocal in 1985 and 1986. John Hayes, incarcerated in somewhat isolated circumstances in Albany Jail on the Isle of Wight, differed from the anti-abstentionist majority among republican prisoners in English jails. In a letter of support to RSF in 1987, Hayes denounced the Provisionals' decision as 'a lie and a betrayal' making the PIRA a 'phantom army'.[405]

Several PIRA prisoners had written from English jails in 1985, exhorting the *Ard Fheis* to consider abstentionism a dispensable tactic.[406] The following year, high-profile PIRA members in Leicester Prison including Patrick Magee and Brian Keenan urged the Provisionals to end Dáil abstentionism and build support in the Republic 'through the ballot box'.[407] Brendan Dowd, described as the PIRA's chief organiser in Britain at his arrest in 1976, wrote from Frankland Prison to congratulate the movement for the 'courageous' decision to abandon abstentionism in 1986.[408] Additionally, PIRA prisoners from County Kerry including Martin Ferris and Michael Browne, arrested for gun-running from the USA, immediately stated their support for the *Ard Fheis* decision in November 1986.[409]

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[403] Conor Murphy interview with Jack Hepworth. Newry, 16 September 2015.
[404] 'IRA man at 'secret' session', *Irish Press*, 4 November 1985.
[405] 'Truly revolutionary', *Republican Bulletin: Iris Na Poblachta*, 5 (April 1987).
[406] 'Electoral strategy', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 7 November 1985.
[407] Richard Ford, 'Jailed IRA men back Provos' drive for Dail', *Times*, 1 September 1986.
[408] Dowd denounced 'arrogant elitists who betrayed the struggle at the recent *Ard Fheis* by walking out… Sinn Fein must now formulate policies that are logical, practical and relevant to our people. Sinn Fein must also expose the traitors of Leinster House and the capitalist parasites who exploit our people and our country'. Brendan Dowd, 'A message from Frankland', *Kerryman*, 5 December 1986;.
[409] Stephen O'Brien, 'Brothers on opposing sides as Provos split', *Kerryman*, 28 November 1986.

Ideas of group solidarity and the importance of collective identity in this large prison community may have discouraged PIRA prisoners in Long Kesh from overtly identifying with another organisation, even if privately sceptical about Provisional policy. Few prisoners publicly switched allegiance to the pro-abstentionist rump, Republican Sinn Féin. In January 1987, only three Long Kesh prisoners identified with RSF on 'principles', and even these admitted they would 'not identify totally with your [RSF's] politics'.[410] By October 1987, only 11 republican prisoners sent greetings to Ó Brádaigh's organisation.[411] However, tense undercurrents permeated Long Kesh after the vote, as Don Browne recalls:

> 1986, I was in the H-blocks, and the IRA started to split, with Republican Sinn Féin, and that started to come into the jail, because the IRA were running the jail, and I remember others objecting to it – *Objecting to dropping abstentionism?* – Oh aye. Serious stuff. So by 1990, '91, '92, it was physical fights. Most people don't like to talk about it, but then if I didn't like you, I would sabotage your cell.[412]

Activist trajectories and opinions of the leadership informed individuals' positions. Abstentionism did not crystallise straightforward geographical patterns of allegiance: commitment to abstentionism was not the preserve of southern republican veterans.[413] Networks around tactical innovators in PSF's highest ranks perceived abstentionism obstructing efforts to broaden the base. PSF National Organiser Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin from County Monaghan and Vice-President John Joe McGirl from County Leitrim highlighted the party's poor electoral performance (no seats, and just 46,931, or 3.3 percent, of first-preference votes) in the Republic's local elections in June 1985. For Ó Caoláin and McGirl, deficient organisation in the Republic was damaging PSF's vote. Offering local representation in the south could attract support, especially among young people who might sympathise with PSF's social and economic policies, if not the PIRA's armed struggle.[414]

Pat Doherty from County Donegal, an ally of the Adams leadership who served as PSF Vice-President from 1989, noted PSF's electoral success in local elections in Northern Ireland in 1985, and in 1986 his speech lauded Adams and McGuinness, who had 'started to pick up the pieces' after 'the disastrous 1975 truce'. Doherty rebuked those in the movement

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[410] The prisoners were Kevin Donegan, Martin Heaney, and Pat Mullin. 'Long Kesh support', *Republican Bulletin: Iris Na Poblachta*, 3 (January-February 1987).
[411] 'Faoi ghlas ag gallaibh', *Saoirse*, 6 (October 1987).
[412] Don Browne interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 12 December 2017.
[413] As Robert W. White has noted, republican veterans of the 1940s close to Adams's leadership, including Joe Cahill and J. B. O'Hagan, supported the *Ard Fheis* decision. White, *Out of the Ashes*, 222.
[414] 'Standing ovation for McGirl at Sinn Fein *Ard Fheis*', *Leitrim Observer*, 8 November 1986.

'engaging in public abuse and personalised attacks on the leadership'.[415] South Armagh PSF councillor and *Ard Comhairle* member Jim McAllister argued in 1986 that dropping abstentionism would further the republican cause.[416]

By contrast, republicans distant from Adams's presidency, including former leaders Adamsites had displaced, interpreted abstentionism as immutable. For these abstentionists, who we might term 'orthodox', guided principally by ideas of historical legitimacy, entering Leinster House betrayed republican catechism. At the *Ard Fheis* of 1985, former PSF President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh's fidelity to historical precedent extended to proposing PSF unilaterally declare an all-Ireland assembly modelled on the 1921 Dáil.[417] Tom Maguire, the last survivor of the 1921 Dáil and a veteran of the War of Independence, rebuked the Provisionals in November 1986 for accepting 'the Leinster House partition parliament'.[418] At the RSF *Ard Fheis* of 1989, the c*umann* from Ballyshannon, County Donegal branded proposals for a federal Ireland a retreat from reconvening the Second Dáil of 1921.[419] For Dáithí Ó Conaill, formerly PIRA Chief of Staff, the Provisionals' 'naïve belief in the power of parliamentary politics' violated 'fundamental principles'. Ó Conaill located this development in a series of miscalculations in the Provisional leadership which had superseded himself and Ó Brádaigh. The 'long war' strategists in the highest ranks lacked 'single-mindedness'.[420]

PSF's *Ard Fheis* of 1985 demonstrated how place and milieu informed perspectives on intra-republican debates. PSF's branches from disparate areas of the Republic, unconnected to the Adams leadership, implored the conference to maintain abstentionism, and in some cases even to abandon electoralism altogether.[421] The debate produced no uncomplicated binaries, since even veteran republicans who accentuated military primacy could still accommodate taking seats in Leinster House towards building grassroots support

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[415] LHL NIPC P2275: *The Politics of Revolution: The main speeches and debates from the 1986 Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, including the presidential address of Gerry Adams* (Belfast & Dublin: Republican Publications, 1986).
[416] 'Abstentionism: an historic decision', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 6 November 1986.
[417] Several *Ard Comhairle* members, including Morrison, spoke against the 'impracticable' and 'unworkable' motion, and it was defeated. NAI TSCH/2015/89/61: Declan O'Donovan & Peter McIvor, 'Sinn Fein *Ard Fheis*, 2-3 November 1985' (12 November 1985).
[418] 'Sinn Fein split causing rifts', *Offaly Independent*, 21 November 1986.
[419] 'Éire Nua', *Saoirse*, 31 (November 1989).
[420] 'Limerick remembers Seán Sabhat', *Republican Bulletin: Iris Na Poblachta*, 4 (March 1987).
[421] The Michael O'Hanrahan and Langan/McDonnell *Cumainn* from New Ross, County Wexford and County Sligo, respectively, rejected all involvement with Leinster House elections (Motions 178 and 179). PSF branches from Galway, Limerick, Mid-Leinster, and Bundoran, County Donegal, all advocated retaining abstentionism (Motions 180, 185, 189, and 190). LHL NIPC P1656A: PSF, *Ard Fheis '85: Clár agus rúin* (Dublin: PSF, 1985).

and 'winning the peace' in the unified Ireland of the future. Joe Cahill, a leading Belfast republican since the 1930s, supported dropping Dublin abstentionism in 1986, 'confident' that by the next election, 'the freedom fighters of the IRA will have forced the Brits to the conference table'.[422] A close confidante of Monaghan PIRA commander Jim Lynagh recalled being surprised when Lynagh greeted him at the 1986 *Ard Fheis* proclaiming the necessity of removing abstentionism to 'move with the times'.[423]

In the Provisionals' middle ranks, opposing Resolution 162 did not automatically mean rupture with the Provisional movement. In County Donegal, for example, four PSF branches and three party delegates voted to retain abstentionism. When the vote was lost, all three remained active party members.[424] PSF councillor Lughaidh Mac Ghiolla Bhrighde, an abstentionist from south Derry, told the *Ard Fheis* there should be no split however the vote went: 'No-one is any more or less a republican according to their position on Leinster House'.[425]

Nuala Perry candidly highlights a more intangible, but nevertheless significant, dimension of debates around abstentionism:

> You see, most of us, ordinary volunteers on the streets, we couldn't have told you, we didn't care less about what was going on at the Ard Fheis in '86. We weren't really interested about what Ruairí Ó Brádaigh was saying or what Ruairí Ó Brádaigh wasn't saying. When I look back on it, it was profound.[426]

For many activists amid a guerrilla war, political processes within PSF seemed distant, as Conor Murphy recalls:

> When you're outside, involved in the movement like that, you tend to be doing what you're doing and your part without, there's not, there's no away days, think-ins, or very little opportunity for them – it's just too dangerous. It wasn't hierarchical in that there was a chief and they just decided what to do; there was a structure where people and obviously a structure where people got dialogues and strategies in terms of tactics. But you probably had less time to do that [outside prison] because you were evading the law and living hand to mouth, and, you know, less time for socialising with people than you would have had in jail where you

[422] LHL NIPC P2275: *The Politics of Revolution: The main speeches and debates from the 1986 Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, including the presidential address of Gerry Adams* (Belfast & Dublin: Republican Publications, 1986).
[423] 'Jim Lynagh Part 2: Loughgall Martyrs 20th Anniversary' (2008). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbXqC8Vm8x0 (Accessed 14 March 2018).
[424] 'Split in Donegal Sinn Féin after *Ard Fheis* decision', *Donegal Democrat*, 7 November 1986; 'Abstentionist Sinn Fein group to organise here', *Derry People & Donegal News*, 8 November 1986.
[425] 'Abstentionism: an historic decision', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 6 November 1986.
[426] Nuala Perry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 12 December 2017.

had more time for sit-down dialogue and discussion. So the jail acted almost as the think-tank for the movement on the outside. Quite a lot of the ideas and thinking and discussions would have come back out from there. It was like a ready-made source for a think-tank.[427]

For republicans whose organisational allegiances have since changed, hindsight confers amplified importance on seminal moments, and the sense that today's constitutionalism originated by stealth decades ago:

> I felt then [1986] that the ones who walked were wrong. I thought, "they're splitting the republican movement, we should be trying to revamp and regain momentum and we have split". Now I know the people who split, split for all the right reasons! But at that time… you had people who were saying, "Well, the people who fought the war are still fighting the war, and still on board". But we were too naïve to see that what was being played out at that point was basically a game of very bad brinkmanship. The people who walked had their eye on the ball. They knew where it was all going. It was a strange, strange time.[428]

3.2 Ceasefires and peace negotiations, c.1992-c.1998

In the belief that the Provisionals constituted the driving force in a campaign which was broadening and nearing a successful conclusion, PIRA prisoners were among the most prominent advocates for peace initiatives in the 1990s. In the early 1980s, PIRA prisoners supported electoral interventions to destroy British Ulsterisation and normalisation initiatives. By contrast, in the early 1990s, PIRA prisoners understood PSF's electoralism as a constructive step towards political dialogue in a peaceful, united Ireland. Anticipating the general election of April 1992, County Tyrone PIRA prisoner Patrick Grimes lauded PSF as a 'party for change'.[429] In May 1993, ahead of local elections, County Fermanagh Provisionals Seán Lynch, Barry Murray, and Gerard Maguire wrote from prison urging support for PSF representatives who would, if elected, espouse a 'new radical constructive initiative… A vote for Sinn Fein is a vote for peace with justice, equality and democracy'.[430] Pragmatists perceived the ceasefire as a step towards victory – and, if this did not succeed, the PIRA could return to war.

PSF leaders shaped peace initiatives in the 1990s, but prisoners were included in internal discussions. Through December 1993 and January 1994, volunteers jailed in Long

[427] Conor Murphy interview with Jack Hepworth. Newry, 16 September 2015.
[428] Nuala Perry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 30 March 2016.
[429] Patrick Grimes, H4 Long Kesh, 'Peace is central to SF manifesto and how to achieve it', *Irish Press*, 9 April 1992.
[430], Barry Murray & Gerard Maguire, 'Republican prisoners urge vote for local SF candidates', *Fermanagh Herald*, 8 May 1993.

Kesh debated the Downing Street Declaration, before reporting to their commanding officers in February 1994.[431] Although suspicious of the Major government's intentions,[432] many prisoners considered the Provisionals in a commanding position to attain Irish unity at the climax of their 'long war'. In their statement to the *Ard Fheis* of February 1994, PIRA prisoners remained unconvinced by the Declaration's claim that Westminster would facilitate Irish unity if a majority within Northern Ireland voted for it. However, the prisoners interpreted their own leadership as the proactive authors of these initiatives for 'peace and unity'. It was incumbent upon Major's government to cease attempts to 'thwart' this process bound for the telos of a united Ireland, and instead 'join the ranks of the peace-makers' and 'persuade unionists to consider visualising an accommodation with the rest of the people of Ireland'.[433] In Portlaoise Prison in May 1994, senior Kerry republican Martin Ferris similarly framed the peace process as republican initiatives, downstream of PSF's dropping abstentionism (1986), *Scenario for Peace* (1987), and talks with the SDLP (1988).[434]

Today, retrospectives outside the Provisional movement doubt the sincerity of the Provisionals' internal consultation. Don Browne, a former INLA prisoner subject to the PIRA's command structure from the late 1980s

> noticed, at the end of every conversation, it was "we'll send this stuff forward, to the IRA, and ultimately the IRA will make a decision based on these thoughts". But there was nobody ever seeing the votes.[435]

Outside prison, senior Provisionals reassured veterans in 1994 that the movement was near an historic breakthrough. Longstanding comradeship between members of a guerrilla movement underwrote these conversations. Albert Allen reflects 'no doubt about it, I trusted these people'.[436] Francie McGuigan remembers being told that the cessation was

> an opportunity for peace, that was the way you were supposed to look at it. "We're getting the victory we fought for".[437]

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[431] The extent to which parallel debates took place among PIRA women in Maghaberry is unclear.
[432] The failure of talks in 1972 and 1976 informed widespread republican suspicion of the British government. Writing from H3 in February 1994, Danny Morrison also cited British 'deception' during the hunger strike of 1980 as he explained why he and his comrades had rejected the Declaration, a 'masterpiece of ambiguity'. 'Morrison: Why we haven't said "Yes"', *Irish Press*, 25 February 1994.
[433] 'H-Block Submission to Sinn Féin Peace Commission', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 6 Number 1 (Summer 1994).
[434] ILA: PRO Republican POWs, Portlaoise Prison, *Volunteer Jim Lynagh Lecture 1994: Peace strategy debated in Portlaoise*.
[435] Don Browne interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 12 December 2017.
[436] Albert Allen interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 December 2017.
[437] Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.

Believing that the movement's military prowess was at an all-time zenith,[438] a majority of PIRA prisoners were prepared at least to explore the peace initiative. Writing in 1994, Belfast PIRA prisoner Gerard Hodgins argued that a peaceful united Ireland was 'attainable' and unionist domination would 'never be imposed upon us again', provided the British ceased their 'intransigence' and cooperated with republican initiatives.[439] John Pickering from Belfast had spent 17 years in prison by December 1993. Addressing a public meeting during Christmas parole, Pickering said of the Downing Street Declaration:

> Times change, people change. You can't just have war, war, war. The document looks like nothing, but it would be foolish to turn away.[440]

As a corollary of their considerable confidence, prisoners argued that PSF should repudiate the Declaration since the Provisionals could levy further pressure and receive a 'better opportunity' in future.[441] The prisoners insisted that the position was no 'golden opportunity' or 'last chance' for peace.[442] Ignacio Sànchez-Cuenca has argued retrospectively that the PIRA could no longer sustain its guerrilla campaign by the turn of the 1990s, but crucially, this did not define prisoners' outlook in 1994.[443]

Prisoners' responses to the PIRA ceasefire of 31 August 1994 reflected strong support for a leadership they considered the architects of the peace process. Discussing the ceasefire late in 1994, Long Kesh Provisionals praised the PIRA leadership's 'courageous initiative' and regarded British withdrawal as 'inevitable': the British government would help persuade the unionist community to accept all-Ireland self-determination.[444]

Martin Ferris, released just weeks after the ceasefire, reported from his contacts with republicans in jails across Britain and Ireland that they were 'totally behind the ceasefire' and

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[438] Drawing upon oral histories with ex-prisoners, Dieter Reinisch has argued that prisoners' expected an influx of materiel and an 'Irish Tet offensive', bolstering morale in the late 1980s. Dieter Reinisch, 'Dreaming of an "Irish Tet Offensive": Irish Republican Prisoners and the Origins of the Peace Process', 6 August 2018. Available at http://www.theirishstory.com/2018/08/06/dreaming-of-an-irish-tet-offensive-irish-republican-prisoners-and-the-origins-of-the-peace-process/#.W8XKf2hKhPa (Accessed 16 October 2018).

[439] Gerard Hodgins, 'Past wrongs and healing truths', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 6 Number 1 (Summer 1994).

[440] Carl Shoettler, 'Parolees from IRA talk peace', *Baltimore Sun*, 1 January 1994.

[441] Republican POWs, H-Blocks, 'Prisoners' Address to Sinn Féin *Ard Fheis*', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 6 Number 1 (Summer 1994).

[442] 'H-Block Submission to Sinn Féin Peace Commission', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 6 Number 1 (Summer 1994).

[443] Ignacio Sànchez-Cuenca, 'The Dynamics of Nationalist Terrorism: ETA and the IRA', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 19 (2007), p. 297.

[444] *Towards a Negotiated Settlement*. Statement issued by prisoners in the H-Block cumann, PSF (9 December 1994). Copy in author's possession.

anticipating the prospect of decommissioning in a united Ireland.[445] Having spent three years as PIRA Officer Commanding (OC) in Portlaoise, Ferris was a high-profile supporter of the Adams leadership, and his claims should be treated with caution accordingly. However, his testimony reveals that such conversations were happening in jails, with well-known figureheads like Ferris important conduits.

Republican optimism was evident in west Belfast, too, where republican motorcades and tricolours greeted the ceasefire. The mothers of two PIRA prisoners joined crowds on the Andersonstown Road and looked forward to their relatives' early release from Long Kesh: 'I thought I'd never see the day. We've won and we'll go down in history'.[446]

A generational dimension influenced subjectivities in 1994, too. Especially for a younger generation of republican prisoners, born in the 1970s and unburdened with memories of unsuccessful ceasefires in 1972 and 1975, 1994 seemed a move away from the conflict which had dominated their youth.[447] Francie McGoldrick, a PIRA prisoner born in 1973 in Lisnaskea, County Fermanagh, remembered that he and his fiancée were 'overjoyed at the IRA initiative to push forward the political situation' in August 1994, since 'neither of us had witnessed peace in our young lives'.[448]

South Africa's contemporary peace process was a major influence for both Gerry Adams, as Kevin Bean has argued,[449] and Seán Lynch, PIRA OC in Long Kesh from 1993. Lynch, from County Fermanagh, was the first OC since Bobby Sands to enjoy access to all republican prison wings.[450] Identifying the Provisionals' struggle with the ANC's long campaign against the apartheid regime, Lynch supported the PSF leadership's initiatives before and after the PIRA's ceasefires of 1994 and 1997. Early in his tenure as OC, Lynch

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[445] Martin Ferris, from County Kerry, had completed a 10-year sentence in Portlaoise Prison. Conor Keane, 'Surrender of IRA arms a matter for talks says Marita Ann gunrunner', *Kerryman*, 16 September 1994.
[446] 'Ceasefire', *Andersonstown News*, 3 September 1994.
[447] In her work on leftists in Italy and West Germany, Donatella della Porta argued that a 'second generation' of activists experienced radical action as 'routine'. For the Provisionals' second generation, however, tactical changes offered an exciting opportunity to end the long struggle. Donatella della Porta, 'Introduction: On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations', in della Porta (ed.), *Social Movements and Violence*, 23.
[448] Francie McGoldrick quoted in *Journal of Prisoners on Prisons*, 7 (1996-1997), p. 11.
[449] In *An Phoblacht/Republican News* in June 1995, Adams wrote of applying lessons from South Africa: 'While there are obvious difficulties between Ireland and South Africa, there are also similarities. I hope to have the opportunity to learn from their experience of developing a peace process and to translate their efforts into the Irish peace process'. Quoted in Michael Cox, 'Bringing In the "International": The IRA Ceasefire and the End of the Cold War', *International Affairs*, 73 (1997), p. 678; Bean, *New Politics*, 148.
[450] Peter Foster, 'Inside story of the Maze, a jail like no other', *Daily Telegraph*, 28 July 2000.

lauded Adams as a 'real peace-maker' for engaging with SDLP leader John Hume.[451] After reading Mandela's autobiography, Lynch saw the Provisionals following 'lessons' from ANC strategy, declaring a ceasefire in 'good faith', emulating the ANC's 'mass action strategy' in its community bases, and looking ahead to negotiations for a 'giant step forward'.[452] Lynch derived confidence from the South African situation, considering the 'universal experience of people imprisoned for their political beliefs' and anticipating Long Kesh becoming, like Robben Island, a museum.[453] Lynch's international outlook and confidence in this new tactical flexibility reflected Adams's portrayal of Provisional strategy. Shortly after the ceasefire of August 1994, the PSF President said he had, since the mid-1980s, identified the

> international dimension as a very important one. The experience of South Africa, the Palestinian situation and Central America is that when there is a stalemate, an outside element can in fact move the situation on.[454]

For Adams, Irish-America and the European Union provided the external impetus. For Lynch, South Africa provided the inspiration.

However, during the 18-month ceasefire between August 1994 and February 1996, many PIRA prisoners became increasingly frustrated with the perceived deficiencies of the British government's response. Writing to *An Phoblacht/Republican News* after the PIRA ceasefire ended with the Docklands bomb on 9 February 1996, prisoner Tarlac Ó Conghalaigh from Armagh attempted to rally his comrades, who had 'come down' after the initial excitement of the ceasefire.[455] Armed struggle remained viable. Republicans who understood PSF as the instigators of the peace process framed Major's government as spoilers and stallers, and reminded their comrades that the ceasefire was not sacrosanct. In Maghaberry, one year after the cessation, PIRA OC Rosaleen McCorley asked: 'What have

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[451] Sean Lynch, H-Block 5 (A Wing), Long Kesh, 'Prisoners' support for Adams/Hume talks', *Fermanagh Herald*, 11 December 1993.
[452] Seán Lynch, 'Lessons of a Peace Process', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 8 Number 1 (Winter 1996). Lynch pointed to the ANC's success in F. W. de Klerk's agreement in February 1992 to release political prisoners and legalise liberation groups.
[453] Seán Lynch, 'Jail Struggle – a universal experience', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 8 Number 2 (Spring 1997). Lynch's hopes for Long Kesh were prophetic. HMP Maze closed in 2000, and Maze Long Kesh Development Corporation reports that 450,000 people have visited the site for events and tours since 2012: 'A site once associated with conflict has the potential to become a transformational project of international significance'. In May 2013, the Corporation envisaged the site becoming a 'landmark development of local, regional and international significance'. See http://mazelongkesh.com/ (Accessed 10 April 2018).
[454] '"Sooner rather than later": Gerry Adams speaks out', *Andersonstown News*, 24 September 1994.
[455] Letter from Tarlac Ó Conghalaigh, PIRA prisoner, H5, to *An Phoblacht/Republican News* (28 March 1996). Copy in author's possession.

we gained?'[456] By July 1995, the government's prevarication had angered County Tyrone PIRA prisoners, who reiterated that that their struggle would 'never be over until the Brits leave Irish soil for good'. Unless Major showed greater 'imagination', the military campaign would resume.[457]

During the PIRA ceasefire from August 1994, PIRA prisoners from across Northern Ireland studied global conflict transformations and argued prisoner releases must be the government's priority. In April 1995, PIRA prisoners from south Armagh looked to Palestine and South Africa, where prisoner releases had been 'essential' to peace processes, and lamented republicans' 'unresolved' position. Calling for Major's government to respond positively to the PIRA's 'courageous' ceasefire, 18 PIRA prisoners from Belfast issued a statement arguing that immediate prisoner releases should be a precondition of the peace process.[458]

PSF's new ginger group, Saoirse, established in December 1994, campaigned for early releases. Saoirse's attempts at mass mobilisation beyond the republican core recalled the umbrella National H-Block/Armagh Committee during the anti-criminalisation campaigns of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Newry PIRA prisoner Sean Mathers hoped Saoirse could spearhead mass mobilisation like the hunger strike campaigns in the early 1980s. Mathers implored clergy, community groups, trades unions, and students to publicise prisoners' 'plight' and ensure 'world-wide attention'.[459]

The 'new departure' caused increasing unease among PIRA prisoners after PSF's leadership accepted the Mitchell Principles in May 1996.[460] Some prisoners in Long Kesh

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[456] McCorley's fellow prisoners Martina Anderson from Derry and Ailish Carroll from Armagh were more confident, hoping that a peace settlement remained possible provided the British agreed to 'inclusive talks'. Carroll, however, questioned the Major government's 'sincerity' and feared it remained intent on 'breaking forever the Republican movement'. Rosaleen McCorley, Martina Anderson, and Ailish Carroll interviews with Philomena Gallagher. Maghaberry, 1995. Philomena Gallagher, 'An Oral History of the Imprisoned Female Irish Republican Army', MPhil (Trinity College Dublin, 1995), pp. xvii, 48.

[457] Tyrone P.O.W.'s Long Kesh, *Martin Hurson* (13 July 1995). Copy in author's possession.

[458] 'Statement from the S. Armagh/Newry Republican POW's, Long Kesh' (1995); 'Statement from the S/Strand, Markets & L/Ormeau Rd Republican Prisoners' (1995). Copies in author's possession. These positions were not unanimous, however. At PSF's *Ard Fheis* in March 1996, Mary Ellen Campbell, recently released from Maghaberry, spoke against a motion which proposed to prioritise prisoner releases in the peace process. The motion was defeated. Mairtín Óg Meehan, 'Sinn Féin's 90th *Ard Fheis*: A POW delegate's view', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 8 Number 2 (Summer 1996).

[459] Sean Mathers, H4B Long Kesh, *Saoirse* (1995). Copy in author's possession.

[460] Named after United States Senator George Mitchell, the six principles stipulated rules for all political parties engaging in peace talks. Parties must commit to disband paramilitary organisations and engage solely in democratic politics. In May 1996, one month before all-party talks, PSF's

perceived PSF's support for the principles as necessary pragmatism to ensure the party qualified for all-party talks, while others worried that PSF was 'deliberately distancing itself from OHN [Oglaigh na hÉireann, i.e. PIRA]' and disowning the armed struggle. However, most prisoners, including ardent opponents of the Principles, chiefly insisted that the movement must not split. Reminiscent of prison debates on the Downing Street Declaration in 1993, PSF's H-Block *cumann* discussed the Mitchell Principles in 1996 and reported that although the Principles had caused consternation among the prison population, the majority remained optimistic, provided the movement stayed unified and continued internal consultation on the peace process:

> There is a general feeling that pragmatism has served us well. We have advanced enough politically to understand that a pragmatic approach to the difficulties that confront us is a sound one and is not a dilution of our principles.[461]

County Tyrone prisoners essentially repudiated the Principles in May 1996, opining that the PIRA would 'reserve the right to take up arms' until British jurisdiction in Ireland ceased. Yet they backed the leadership's strategy and urged the public to support PSF candidates on 30 May to advance the struggle.[462] In April 1997, County Fermanagh prisoners railed against the Principles as Major's attempt to extract concessions from republicans, or even to exclude republicans from talks altogether. They still held that popular support for PSF candidates in May 1997's general election would advance the peace process.[463]

Despite misgivings, the majority continued to endorse the Provisional leadership early in 1996. At the PSF *Ard Fheis* of March 1996, the H-Block *cumann* pledged support for Adams and McGuinness.[464] Probably encouraged by prison releases – the Dublin government released 12 PIRA prisoners from Portlaoise in July 1995, and the British government restored 50 percent remission in November 1995 – some 18 prisoners who had opposed the PIRA's cessation in August 1994 lamented the end of the ceasefire in February 1996.[465]

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leadership announced the party would support the Mitchell Principles. David McKittrick, 'Sinn Fein ready to accept Mitchell principles', *Independent*, 20 May 1996.

[461] *Mitchell Principles* (1996). 'The following report, compiled from a series of discussions among the membership of the H-Block Sinn Féin Cumann (June 1996), outlines our position in relation to the announcement by the Sinn Féin leadership in regard to the Mitchell Principles'. Copy in author's possession.

[462] Tyrone POWs statement [1996]. Copy in author's possession.

[463] '"Give us a voice" says McHugh', *Fermanagh Herald*, 30 April 1997.

[464] Mairtín Óg Meehan, 'Sinn Féin's 90th *Ard Fheis*: A POW delegate's view', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 8 Number 2 (Summer 1996).

[465] Eddie Cassidy, 'Republican prisoners seek a restoration of ceasefire', *Cork Examiner*, 25 March 1996; Alan Murdoch, 'Dublin frees IRA prisoners to bolster peace', *Independent*, 29 July 1995; 'North paramilitaries freed', *Evening Herald*, 17 November 1995.

The Provisionals' ceasefire in 1994 and position on the Mitchell Principles in 1996 were more unpopular among the active PIRA and PSF organisers in border areas than among prisoners. PIRA volunteers in north Monaghan defied the ceasefire of 1994 by continuing to test mortar bombs along the border throughout 1995.[466] When the PIRA held a convention in County Donegal to discuss the Mitchell Principles in October 1997, a majority of senior volunteers granted PSF leaders 'special dispensation' to contravene republican doctrine on this occasion and endorse the Mitchell Principles as a pragmatic means to advance negotiations.[467] Some 35 leading PIRA members reportedly resigned in protest, however, including the majority of the 1st Battalion of the South Armagh Brigade. In bordering County Louth, four members of PSF's *Comhairle Ceantair* resigned in November 1996, reporting declining confidence in party strategy and repudiating the Mitchell Principles.[468] In contrast to PIRA prisoners' experiences, aggrieved PSF members in Dundalk resigned in November 1997 citing a lack of intra-party consultation on the Mitchell Principles. In Dundalk, former PSF candidate Owen Hanratty and the party's assistant secretary, Rory Duggan, were among more than 12 who resigned in November 1997. Hanratty complained 'we never got a chance within the party to debate the Mitchell Principles or whether we should accept them or not'.[469]

In the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), opinions on the PIRA ceasefires of 1994 and 1996 were mixed. Some INLA volunteers straightforwardly repudiated the PIRA cessation as surrender. The PIRA ceasefire in 1994 disillusioned Gerry Foster, a Belfast INLA volunteer released from prison that year:

> I came out in 1994 and walked away from it all, because all the talk was about the ceasefires. I thought it was wrong: I thought we should be increasing the level of violence, that we could still win this militarily. I took a very dim view of it. I just thought: it's over, and the good guys lost.[470]

As late as 1997, IRSP spokesperson Willie Gallagher argued that the majority of INLA prisoners in Long Kesh favoured escalating attacks and repudiated military cessations.[471] INLA leaders, by contrast, were open-minded about peace talks, but eager to assert themselves in negotiations lest the Provisionals dominate. In April 1995, the INLA leadership

[466] 'Two who attempted to kill security force members among nine IRA men to be freed', *Irish Times*, 18 December 1997.
[467] Suzanne Breen, '35 said to have quit IRA in south Armagh', *Irish Times*, 12 November 1997.
[468] 'Journalists first to know about SF resignations', *An Phoblacht*, 13 November 1997.
[469] 'More defections from SF feared', *Evening Herald*, 7 November 1997.
[470] Gerry Foster interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 August 2015.
[471] 'British Army cuts back on security patrols in Belfast', *Irish Examiner*, 29 July 1997.

declared it had observed an unannounced ceasefire since July 1994. It now advocated 'a new non-violent approach' and the IRSP prepared a delegation to the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation.[472]

Through 1995 and 1996, perceived preferential treatment for PIRA prisoners sharpened organisational identity and considerably worsened pre-existing inter-republican tensions in jails. INLA prisoner Eddie McGarrigle from Strabane, County Tyrone, arrived in Long Kesh in 1993 and found that PIRA

> camp staff were controlled directly by Adams and McGuinness and the rest of the IRA Army Council outside… They controlled the prisoners and controlled their thought and no dissent was allowed in the jail. The last thing they wanted was an INLA volunteer standing his ground.

INLA prisoners' relationships with senior PIRA figures were

> poor enough. [PIRA] camp staff didn't want INLA volunteers on the wing. We were coming into this process and we had a different viewpoint on the Downing Street Declaration, for example, and we voiced it.[473]

McGarrigle recalled PIRA staff incensing INLA volunteers by branding them 'civilians', and thought many PIRA prisoners nominally supported the nascent peace process as they

> would have done anything to get out of jail… [for the] majority... [the] level of political awareness was pretty low. I think they would have swapped their freedom for their principles.[474]

In August 1995, four INLA prisoners in English jails began a blanket protest after Conservative Home Secretary Michael Howard refused to repatriate the men to Ireland or reduce security during visits,[475] and the same year three INLA volunteers in Portlaoise commenced hunger strike for parity with PIRA prisoners on early releases and compassionate parole.[476] In December 1996, INLA prisoners in Portlaoise protested when PIRA prisoners

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[472] 'INLA started ceasefire last July, court told', *Irish Examiner*, 26 April 1995.
[473] Eddie McGarrigle interview with Prisons Memory Archive. Long Kesh, 2007. This interview was one of 175 filmed walk-and-talk interviews with people who had a connection to Armagh Jail and Long Kesh. Interviewees included former prisoners, prison staff, relatives, teachers, chaplains, lawyers, medical staff, and maintenance workers. Available at http://prisonsmemoryarchive.com/portfolio_entries/full/page/2/ (Accessed 28 January 2019).
[474] Ibid.
[475] Republican Socialist P.O.W.s H-6, Long Kesh, 'Blanket Protest', *Strabane Chronicle*, 5 August 1995.
[476] 'INLA end fast without gains', *Irish Independent*, 1 September 1995.

enjoyed two extra days' of temporary leave at Christmas.[477] Yet outside prisons, feuds damaged the INLA in 1996, as they had in 1987.[478]

Through 1997 and 1998, INLA prisoners and IRSP leaders jointly criticised the PSF hierarchy's organisational supremacy in a peace process republican socialists increasingly dismissed. In 1997, fearing the Provisionals would imminently settle for 'a revamped Northern state', the IRSP *Ard Comhairle* declared 'opposition' to the peace process and demanded immediate dialogue with PSF.[479] With no such talks forthcoming, and after the Good Friday Agreement of April 1998, the IRSP *Ard Comhairle* condemned PSF's 'arrogant' leadership supporting an agreement which would 'copper-fasten partition… [a] capitulation to reactionary unionism'. The IRSP executive decried PSF for 'despicable attempts to neutralise and marginalise… the republican ideal' and courting Irish-America's 'imperialist capitalism'. In contrast, republican socialists advocated

> an Ireland for the ordinary people, not for big multi-national business, not for the Americans… [nor] for the capitalist pan-nationalist front.

The IRSP exhorted rank-and-file Provisionals to oppose 'the Adams leadership'.[480] Similarly, INLA prisoners in Long Kesh lambasted PSF's 'compromise' leadership for 'marginalising' republican socialism, and the 'sell-out of the Republican Struggle'. Amid their critique of the Good Friday Agreement, INLA prisoners reiterated their support for the 'leadership of the Republican Socialist Movement'.[481]

Between May and August 1998, two momentous events left the IRSP-INLA especially isolated and triggered abrupt changes. In May, the referendum on the Good Friday Agreement passed with a 71.1 percent majority. In August, a Real IRA (RIRA) bomb in Omagh, County Tyrone, killed 29 civilians, causing widespread outrage, especially towards the 'dissidents' who maintained armed struggle. The IRSP had campaigned for a 'No' vote in the referendum, and at the party's *Ard Fheis* in December 1997 a 109-11 majority had

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[477] Eamon Timmins, 'Prisoner protest looms over IRA Christmas parole', *Irish Examiner*, 24 December 1996.
[478] In internal feuds in 1996, six INLA volunteers and nine-year-old Barbara McAlorum were killed, while others were injured. Jim Cusack, 'Torney's death ends present INLA feud', *Irish Times*, 4 September 1996.
[479] IEL: IRSP, *The Republican Forum* (1997).
[480] *Easter Message from the Leadership of the Republican Socialist Movement 1998*. Copy in author's possession.
[481] *Easter Statement from R.S. P.O.W.s, Long Kesh* (1998). Copy in author's possession.

defeated a motion calling for an INLA ceasefire.[482] Days after the Omagh bombing, the IRSP *Ard Comhairle* reversed the position of the *Ard Fheis* eight months earlier and implored the INLA to declare a ceasefire since there was 'now no basis for continuation of armed struggle by Irish republicans'. The *Ard Comhairle* acknowledged that INLA prisoners were divided on the issue.[483]

3.3 Conclusions

The distinction between 'tactics' and 'strategies' underpins this chapter. As we have seen, social movement theorists such as Charles Tilly and Lee A. Smithey distinguish sharply between tactics – the sub-mechanisms and forms of action publicly deployed to advance strategic objectives – and strategies – the overarching pathway towards the movement's objectives.[484] However, from the early 1980s, the Adams leadership repeatedly blurred these categories. Adamsites framed new departures – for example, standing abstentionist PSF candidates for elections in 1981, or recapitulating the language of civil rights in council chambers from 1985 – as expedient 'tactical' changes. As the debate over abstentionism at PSF's Ard Fheis in 1985 demonstrated, 'tactics' were temporary and dispensable, and did not commit the movement to any more profound changes to its fundamental 'strategy': a military-led campaign to force the British government to withdraw from Northern Ireland.

Ultimately, these purportedly 'tactical' shifts through the 1980s developed into more profound, lasting 'strategic' changes, culminating, in 2005, with the Provisionals' commitment to 'exclusively democratic means'. The armed struggle was no more. The controversy as to how, when, and why tactical adaptation bled into strategic change is paramount in republican fragmentation today.

This chapter has analysed the internal dynamics of the Provisional republican movement through tactical and strategic innovation in the 1980s and 1990s. The movement had a history of entrusting such decisions to its leaders. The party *Ard Fheis* of 1977 took no final decision on whether or not to contest European elections. Instead, Gerry Adams's successful amendment left the *Ard Comhairle* to decide 'how best to combat the EEC'.[485] Through electoralism and peace strategies alike, PSF leaders initiated piecemeal tactical

[482] A motion for the INLA to continue its policy of 'defence and retaliation', which had been in place since March 1995, was unanimously approved. Peter Urban, 'IRSP *Ard Fheis*' (23 December 1997). Available at http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/61/276.html (Accessed 31 October 2018).
[483] 'INLA set to call ceasefire, says its political wing', *Irish Examiner*, 18 August 1998.
[484] Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain*, 41; Smithey, 'Social Movement Strategy, Tactics, and Collective Identity', 660.
[485] 'Ard-Fheis dodges Euro-vote', *Irish Examiner*, 24 October 1977.

experimentation, securing support among middle ranks, and ostensibly consulting, and often influencing, the grassroots.

Tactical change avoided catastrophic splits thanks to two central factors:[486] influential individuals in PSF and the PIRA vocally supported 'new departures'; and the rank-and-file were broadly confident in their leaders and the struggle's overall prospects. Positive that British withdrawal was either imminent, or inevitable in the longer term, the majority of Provisionals considered electoral interventions, ceasefires, and peace negotiations welcome additions to their 'repertoires of contention'. Tactical pragmatists embraced variations in what Doug McAdam terms 'the structure of political opportunities'.[487] Republican tactics transmuted according to changing internal perceptions of the strength and vulnerability of their own movement and the British regime respectively.

To differentiate broadly Provisional republicans' strategic thought in this period, it is best to distinguish between what might be termed 'pragmatists' and 'orthodox'. Often, these factions formed around the extent to which individuals and their milieux identified with the Adams leadership which emblematised these changes. Personal connections and spatial affinity with Northern Ireland shaped these dynamics.

'Pragmatists' were not necessarily any less committed to republican aspirations or particular methods, such as armed struggle, than 'orthodox'. Rather, a greater degree of openness to tactical innovation, having perceived shifts in political opportunities or master frames, set pragmatists apart.

By contrast, republican 'principles' and historical precedent were orthodox lodestars who repudiated pragmatists' 'new departures'. For example, Frank McCarry, an Antrim councillor who transferred his allegiance from PSF to RSF in March 1987, explained his

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[486] Della Porta, Tarrow, and Kriesi argued that major changes in strategy, tactics, or repertoires of contention risked splits in radical organisations. The Provisional movement experienced breakaways in 1986 and again in 1996 and 1997. Many activists who drifted from the movement quietly for various reasons are hidden from history. Yet the bulk of the Provisional movement remained intact. Relative to its size, defections from the Provisional movement through the 1980s and 1990s were minor. In 1985, four senior PIRA members in Belfast were expelled, while in 1986 approximately 130 people formed Republican Sinn Féin after the Provisionals ended Dublin abstentionism. The League of Communist Republicans publicity admitted its membership was small and restricted almost entirely to Long Kesh, and defence analysts suggested the Real IRA, founded in 1997 in opposition to the PIRA ceasefire, had between 70 and 170 members. Robert W. White, *Ruairí Ó Brádaigh: The Life and Politics of an Irish Revolutionary* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006), pp. 307-308; LHL NIPC P3600: League of Communist Republicans, *From Long Kesh to a Socialist Ireland* (Shannon: League of Communist Republicans, 1988); 'How the Real IRA was born', *Guardian*, 5 March 2001.

[487] McAdam, *Political Process*, 41-42.

decision by his 'allegiance to the 32-County Irish Republic as proclaimed in 1916'.[488] Tactical innovators did not alter the fundamental 'master frames' of their struggle, invoking instead 'timeless' ideas of republican history. In November 1985, in a rare *Ard Fheis* appearance, a member of the Provisional Army Council told delegates that the PIRA campaign would 'not end until every British soldier has been driven from our shore', recalling the chiliastic militarist rhetoric of the early 1970s.[489]

Tactical innovation in the Provisional movement was top-down, but entailed consulting, informing, and influencing the middle-ranks and grassroots. Director of Publicity, Danny Morrison, championed early electoral strategy. In 1983, in a bid to appeal to republican orthodoxists who held historical precedent as sovereign, the party's Education Department published a booklet charting past republican electoral successes such as Philip Clarke and Tom Mitchell, IRA prisoners who won Westminster polls in May 1955.[490] Speaking against Dublin abstentionism at the *Ard Fheis* in 1986, PSF's National Organiser, Pat Doherty from Carrigart, County Donegal, credited the Adams leadership for engineering 'electoral propaganda successes'.[491] Kevin Bean's assertion that the leadership simply 'managed' debates to assuage the majority oversimplifies these gradualist processes, understating the agency and tactical opportunism through strata of the Provisional movement.[492]

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[488] 'Antrim councillor pledges allegiance', *Republican Bulletin: Iris Na Poblachta*, 5 (April 1987); Bean, 'New Departure'.
In the late 1980s, members of the League of Communist Republicans were exceptional among republican critics of Provisional strategy inasmuch as they did not hold with republican orthodoxists such as Ó Brádaigh. Instead, LCR members critiqued particular aspects of PSF's electoral strategy, rather than all electoral strategy per se. The LCR diagnosed in Provisional electoralism a drift from revolutionary socialism to populism. LCR prisoners' drew upon the Republican Congress, founded by anti-Treaty republican socialists in 1934, for historical inspiration. In October 1987, James Tierney, an LCR member in Long Kesh, described discussions with comrades calling for 'the re-founding of the Republican Congress… the basic skeleton for a popular front must be constructed'. James Tierney quoted in LHL NIPC P3080A: *Armed Struggle: The Communist Party's open letter to the Provisional IRA and the complete and unedited contributions to the debate that appeared in the party's press* Irish Socialist *and* Unity (Dublin: Communist Party of Ireland, 1988).
[489] Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness, and Danny Morrison abstained from the vote, but advocated the 'tactic' lobby. The other five members of the *Ard Comhairle* voted 4-1 in favour of 'tactic' over 'principle'. 'IRA man at 'secret' session', *Irish Press*, 4 November 1985.
[490] The booklet accompanied a lecture in PSF's internal education programme. LHL NIPC P2009: PSF Education Department, *Election Interventions – Historical & Contemporary* (Dublin: PSF, 1983).
[491] LHL NIPC P2275: *The Politics of Revolution: The main speeches and debates from the 1986 Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, including the presidential address of Gerry Adams* (Belfast & Dublin: Republican Publications, 1986).
[492] Bean, *New Politics of Sinn Féin*, 128.

After the fact, critiques of PSF portray the peace process as a series of events which happened *to* the Provisionals.[493] However, debating the ceasefire in 1994 and negotiations in subsequent years, Provisional pragmatists perceived themselves driving the process, with Major's government the obdurate party which would eventually be overwhelmed by republicans' multifaceted campaign. Republican prisoners from County Fermanagh reflected this combination of frustration and determination as they observed the Drumcree standoff in July 1996. As disputes flared over Orange marches traversing Catholic areas of Portadown, County Armagh, Fermanagh prisoners denounced Catholics' ongoing suffering – 'nothing has changed over the past 28 years' – but reaffirmed that 'the days of Nationalists lying down are over'.[494]

Broadly speaking, PSF leaders successfully navigated their own movement's heterogeneity during peace talks and negotiations, to the extent that they appeared to consult their base and move gradually, without committing to swingeing compromises. From the Downing Street Declaration of December 1993, PIRA prisoners were determined to maintain input in the movement's tactics. In Portlaoise in May 1994, 'numerous' PIRA prisoners reiterated the need for prisoners to contribute to these debates.[495]

David A. Snow and David A. Benford argue that 'anchoring master frames… constrain' movement tactics,[496] but the Provisionals' master frame – of British rule as the central problem – was sufficiently broad to accommodate considerable tactical change. As Gordon Clubb has argued, the PIRA's 'disengagement frame… maintained narrative fidelity with the mobilising frame that underpinned the Provisional IRA in the 1960s'.[497] Peace strategy advocates handled internal dissent by privately framing tactical changes as pragmatic means towards Irish unity. Bernadette Sands, who co-founded the 32 County Sovereignty Committee in December 1997, remembered challenging PSF strategists during the peace process when the party appeared to make concessions. Sands recalled a typical response: 'It's

[493] For Timothy Shanahan, the Provisionals 'capitulated' to British initiatives. Shanahan, *Provisional Irish Republican Army*, 2.
[494] ''U'-Turn at Drumcree no surprise – Fermanagh Republican Prisoners', *Fermanagh Herald*, 31 July 1996.
[495] ILA: PRO Republican POWs, Portlaoise Prison, *Volunteer Jim Lynagh Lecture 1994: Peace strategy debated in Portlaoise*.
[496] David A. Snow & David A. Benford, 'Master Frames and Cycles of Protest', Morris & McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, 146.
[497] Gordon Clubb, 'Selling the End of Terrorism: A Framing Approach to the IRA's Disengagement from Armed Violence', *Small Wars & Insurgencies*, 27 (2016), p. 614.

only a bit of paper, it means nothing. We're still going to achieve our objectives'.[498] After 1998, the Provisional leadership refuted its internal critics more publicly and forcefully. Paddy Fox from Dungannon, County Tyrone, was a PIRA prisoner between 1991 and 1996, but after criticising the peace process, local Provisionals threatened him with violence:

> When people asked me what I thought of the [Good Friday A]greement, I would voice my opinion. I tell them I don't think the struggle was worth that. Is that what men were fighting and dying for? Is that why we went to jail?[499]

Provisional discussions of peace initiatives in the 1990s drew heavily upon international politics, whereas conversations about electoral interventions in the 1980s had not. In the 1980s, PSF's electoralists asserted local credentials in republican communities across the north; from the mid-1990s, the leadership found diplomatic potential in South Africa's peace process and Irish-America. Mark Ryan situated the Provisionals' 'new departures' in a global context spanning the USSR's collapse and conflict transformations in Palestine and South Africa.[500] Yet until conversations about prisoner releases from 1995, the PIRA rank-and-file seldom spoke of emulating conflict resolutions elsewhere.[501] The transnational element of republicans' strategic thinking regarding electoralism and peace initiatives was restricted chiefly to Gerry Adams, Seán Lynch, and Danny Morrison. Imprisoned in the early 1990s, Morrison read ANC member Albie Sachs's *The Soft Vengeance of a Freedom Fighter*. In a letter to Gerry Adams in October 1991, he quoted Sachs on the need to 'confront hard decisions' and

> accept major but incomplete breakthroughs now, transforming the terrain of struggle in a way which is advantageous to the achievement of our ultimate goals.[502]

Oral histories illustrate the complexity of subjective positions on debates around electoralism and abstentionism. Individuals formed and negotiated positions in various ways. Firstly, there is the microstructural interpersonal level. Social movement theorists David A. Snow, Louis A. Zurcher, and Sheldon Ekland-Olson found that personal networks were

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[498] 'Interviews with Dissident Republicans Bernadette Sands and Rory Duggan'. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvuI3c4nsBo (Accessed 23 October 2018).
[499] Henry McDonald, 'I spoke against peace so now they want to kill me', *Observer*, 31 January 1999.
[500] Ryan, *War and Peace in Ireland*, 7, 9.
[501] In December 1994, PSF founded Saoirse to advocate prisoner releases, following the ANC's contemporary successes negotiating early releases for political prisoners. Saoirse enjoyed grassroots support, with regional groups instituted with help, often from prisoners' relatives and recently-released PIRA volunteers. PSF representatives across Ireland celebrated Nelson Mandela's release from prison in February 1990, but this was hardly the preserve of Irish radicals. Within five months of Mandela's release, Taoiseach Charles Haughey of Fianna Fáil hosted Mandela in a state reception in Dublin, where he received the freedom of the city. 'What A Man!', *Western People*, 11 July 1990.
[502] Danny Morrison interview with Graham Spencer. Spencer, *From Armed Struggle*, 144.

pivotal in determining initial mobilisation.[503] In the Provisional republican movement, these connections remained vital *after* mobilisation. Kinship and friendship ties were important, especially during schisms within the movement. Writing in March 1983, shortly before Seamus Kerr became PSF's first councillor in Northern Ireland, PIRA prisoner John Tracey hoped his friend Kerr would win to 'reinforce' PSF's demand for a British withdrawal in line with the previous year's Assembly elections. Tracey trusted Kerr as a kindred spirit outside jail.[504] Seán MacManus, who chaired PSF's *Ard Fheis* in 1986, reflected that the anti-abstentionist position profited greatly from having 'people of the calibre' of veterans John Joe McGirl, Fergie Albert McGovern, and Joe Cahill. 'Certainly hundreds of delegates who would have seen them as inspirational figures' were 'to some degree swayed'.[505]

Secondly, the complexity revealed in oral testimony showed a conjunctural dimension. Views were subject to ad hoc, contingent considerations in particular times and places. Friendships influenced republicans' experience through internal divisions and disagreements. Clonard republican Nuala Perry, whose local friends Eddie Carmichael and Dan McCann were expelled from the PIRA in 1985 for criticising electoralism, remembered how Carmichael drifted from the Provisionals whereas McCann rejoined and was later killed in Gibraltar in 1988. For both men

> I think it was basically a fish out of water feeling. A lot of people weren't talking to Dan on the road, the same with Eddie. They were completely ostracised by so many people. I think Eddie was sort of of the opinion, "we've been betrayed here". I think Dan was of the opinion, "well the war is still going on and maybe it can work out".[506]

Thirdly, there was a cognitive dimension. Very few activists immutably maintained a conservative position on tactics. Some republicans reversed their support for tactical innovation. Despite being elected as PSF's first councillor in Northern Ireland in 1983, Seamus Kerr had misgivings about extending PSF's electoral involvement, and in 1986 he favoured retaining Dublin abstentionism.[507] Peter Albert McGovern, from Swanlinbar,

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[503] Snow, Zurcher & Ekland-Olson, 'Social Networks and Social Movements', 787-801.
[504] John Tracey, H-Block 3, Long Kesh, 'Sinn Fein's Message', *Ulster Herald*, 19 March 1983.
[505] Seán MacManus interview with John Morrison, 29 May 2008. John Morrison, 'Why Do People Become Dissident Irish Republicans?', in P. M. Currie & Max Taylor (eds.), *Dissident Irish Republicanism* (New York: Continuum, 2011), p. 28.
[506] Nuala Perry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 30 March 2016.
[507] 'Interview: Seamus Kerr', *Frontline*. Available at https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ira/inside/kerr.html (Accessed 19 April 2018);

County Cavan, whose IRA activities dated back to the late 1950s, initially sided with the Provisionals at the split in 1986, but later joined Republican Sinn Féin.[508]

Chapter 4 develops these discussions of political programmes and priorities within republicanism, assessing republican interactions with the revolutionary left. Like the preceding chapters, it locates Irish republicanism in dynamic, international cycles of contestation.

Chapter 4: Irish republicanism and the revolutionary left, 1968-1994

For the revolutionary left, the period between 1968 and 1994 spanned the international ramifications of '68 and the Soviet Union's disintegration. Throughout these years, Irish republicans engaged critically with the international left.[509] Republicans negotiated tensions between national and international politics, and between nationalism and socialism, in different ways. This chapter assesses the complex ecology of republicans interpreting and refracting left-wing politics.

Irish republicanism broadly repudiated left-wing 'terrorist' splinters of the New Left in West Germany, Italy, and France during the 1970s and 1980s, and those organisations and their campaigns differed profoundly from republican experience.[510] Although left-wing

[508] 'Obituaries', *Fermanagh Herald*, 25 May 2005.
[509] This chapter follows John Molyneux's definition of the 'revolutionary left' whose 'central task is to transform the elemental working class struggle within capitalism into a political struggle to overthrow capitalism. This is essentially a struggle for state power, which requires the revolutionary to ally fidelity to Marxist principles with close contact with the mass workers' movement'. John Molyneux, 'What do we mean by ultra-leftism?', *Socialist Worker Review*, 80 (October 1985).
[510] West German and Italian left-wing 'terrorist' trajectories spanned the radical wing of student rebellion, organised labour, and leftist subcultures. Armed actions were designed to stir the masses and trigger state repression. RAF drew considerable support from the educated bourgeoisie, while BR proclaimed class war and attacked far-right activists. Many Italian leftists were educators and blue-collar workers who had broken with the *Partito Comunista Italiano*. France's *Gauche Prolétarienne*

currents in republicanism were not as doctrinaire or socially isolated as those pervading the *Brigate Rosse*, *Rote Armee Fraktion*, or *Gauche Prolétarienne*, socialist ideas influenced republicans nevertheless. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, political developments locally, nationally, and internationally informed republican trajectories. Republicans differed in the extent to which they engaged with the global left between 1968 and 1994.

Among academics, there is near-consensus that the Provisional republican movement's attitude towards socialism was, at best, ambiguous, and increasingly disinterested during tactical revisions in the 1980s and 1990s.[511] Recently, Richard English has asserted that socialism should be seen as a 'commitment… [a] significant secondary goal' for the Provisional movement.[512] This chapter follows English's call and explores how republicans negotiated left-wing ideas within an enduring master frame which emphasised the British presence, rather than international capitalism, as the enemy.

Uneasy interactions between Irish republicanism and left-wing politics remain controversial today. For ex-Provisional dissenters, Adams and his supporters invoked superficial socialist rhetoric to bolster revolutionary credentials before 'selling out'. Former

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contemplated urban guerrilla tactics. This Maoist group claimed supporters among intellectuals and factory workers. Gehrig, 'Sympathising Subcultures?', 235; Dorothea Hauser, 'Terrorism', in Klimke & Scharloth (eds.), *1968 in Europe*, 269, 271-272; Guido Panvini, 'Neo-Fascism, The Extraparliamentary Left Wing, and the Birth of Italian Terrorism', in Dubinsky, Krull, Lord, Mills & Rutherfords (eds.), *New World Coming*, 87-96; Moss, *Politics of Left-Wing Violence*, 2, 36, 43, 49.

[511] For Kevin Bean, the Provisionals 'were not Marxist in either the orthodox Soviet or Trotskyist sense; their Republican socialism had more in common with the anti-imperialism and radical nationalism of guerrilla groups. This eclecticism reflected the porous nature of the Republican theoretical tradition and its susceptibility to the ideological pull of external forces… In the late 1970s and early 1980s, they positioned themselves as national liberationists and closely identified with like-minded movements in the postcolonial states', but had no 'sustained ideological or material links with the former Soviet Union or its allies'. Eoin Ó Broin agrees: PSF's 'socialism during the 1980s was rhetorical and declaratory rather than based on a serious critique of Irish, European or global capitalism… By the end of the 1980s it was increasingly clear that the domestic and international context was unconducive to Sinn Féin's assertive democratic socialism… The harsh reality of Sinn Féin's socialism is that it has never been much more than the rhetorical expression of a demand for a more equal society. Whether in its early [1970s] Christian socialist formulation, in the command economy of the mid 1980s, or in the communitarian and egalitarian formulations of the 1990s, the party's socialism has been ambiguous, underdeveloped and at times contradictory'. Writing in 1994, Mark Ryan argued that PSF, since engaging a pan-nationalist alliance in the late 1980s, had dropped all mention of socialism and become 'a traditional social-democratic party'. For Tommy McKearney, a left-wing activist and commentator, and a former Provisional, the Provisionals' lack of a 'clear socialist programme', and an internal hostility to discussion of such matters, prevented them from mobilising mass support in the Republic of Ireland. Martyn Frampton has diagnosed 'innate pragmatism and flexibility' in PSF's foreign policy, and the 'duality' of sympathising with the world's oppressed while forging connections among neoconservatives in Irish-America and the White House. Bean, *New Politics*, 74, 147; Eoin Ó Broin, *Sinn Féin and the Politics of Left Republicanism* (London: Pluto Press, 2009), pp. 297, 308; Ryan, *War and Peace*, 71, 75; McKearney, *Provisional IRA*, x, 107, 135; Frampton, 'Squaring the circle', 44, passim.

[512] English, *Does Terrorism Work?*, 109-110, 129.

PIRA volunteer Richard O'Rawe, now a leading critic of evolving Provisional strategy, has written scathingly about how Provisional publicists treated socialism in the late 1970s and early 1980s:

> In many ways the language of socialism which was used was very wispy and airy-fairy. It was as if we were going to take over the whole country, not just the North, and have a thirty-two county socialist republic. We were not concerned about democracy because that was about the dreaded proletariat.[513]

Now a prominent member of socialist-republican party Saoradh, Nuala Perry scorns the 'trendy left-wing thing' which 'really, really took off' in the Provisional movement in the late 1970s. 'These people who talked all the socialist talk in the prison, when they came out, were anything but'. Perry remembers supporters of Gerry Adams in the late 1970s and early 1980s 'saying "get rid of [PIRA founding member Billy] McKee, he's Catholic conservative"'.[514]

Similarly, Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) testimonies discuss their organisation's historical complexity, and the turmoil that socialism triggered. In September 1984, the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) formally adopted the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, but the party's membership was not uniform. Former INLA prisoner Gerry Foster said his politics as a young prisoner in the early 1980s were

> quite simple: we're right, they're wrong. They're using violence to maintain the state, and I can use violence to try and break it… I didn't even know what the IRSP stood for! I didn't even know it existed. That's how uninterested I was. So I had no great left-wing ideology.[515]

Ireland's fragmented revolutionary left held diverse positions on republicanism. Marc Mulholland has analysed the 'uneasy' dialogical relationship between republicanism and radicalism, calling attention to how socialism affected republican politics.[516] These controversies connect to revolutionaries' broader theoretical disputes concerning the relationship between Marxism, nationalism, and guerrilla warfare.[517]

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[513] Richard O'Rawe interview with Graham Spencer. Spencer, *From Armed Struggle*, 61.
[514] Nuala Perry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 12 December 2017.
[515] Gerry Foster interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 August 2015.
[516] Mulholland, 'Northern Ireland and the Far Left', 3, 17.
[517] Leon Trotsky considered armed actions, or 'terrorism', 'very striking in its outward forms… but absolutely harmless as far as the social system goes', whereas Mao Tse-Sung and Che Guevara theorised about guerrilla war as a vital revolutionary tactic. Leon Trotsky, 'Why Marxists oppose individual terrorism', originally published in *Der Kampf* (November 1911). Available at: https://www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1911/11/tia09.htm (Accessed 17 October 2017); Mao Tse-tung, *On Guerrilla Warfare* (1937) (https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1937/guerrilla-warfare/); Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare: A Method* (1963) (https://www.marxists.org/archive/guevara/1963/09/guerrilla-warfare.htm).

The chapter comprises two sections. The first section analyses republican interpretations of the Soviet Union and so-called 'Third World'[518] between 1968 and the early 1980s, when Gerry Adams and his supporters won the Provisional leadership. It also discusses Éire Nua, Provisional Sinn Féin's (PSF) socioeconomic programme between 1971 and 1982. Éire Nua is noteworthy both as a site of contestation within the Provisional movement, and for encapsulating the nuanced redistributive economics of the founding PSF leadership. The second section examines leftist republicanism between the hunger strike of 1981 and the PIRA ceasefire of 1994. This period witnessed the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and its armed wing, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) struggling to define its radicalism and achieve internal consensus. Simultaneously, left-wing critics organised within the Provisional movement. This section also analyses republican responses to the Soviet Union's disintegration and the 'new world order' into the 1990s.

4.1 The Cold War, Éire Nua, and the Third World, c.1968-c.1980

Provisional leaders in the early 1970s disavowed 'imperialist' Cold War blocs and admired non-aligned nations' neutrality. Provisional aspirations to national neutrality in a Cold War context were an extension of hostility to British rule. Unlike Algeria's *Front de libération nationale* (FLN), Provisional republicans did not engage with the contemporary Non-Aligned Movement and its 'insurgent neutralism'.[519]

For Provisional Sinn Féin (PSF) President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, 'Eastern Soviet state capitalism… with its denial of freedom and human rights' was incompatible with the Easter Proclamation.[520] Speaking in 1972, Belfast PIRA leader Joe Cahill represented 'communism' as inherently undemocratic: 'This is a democratic country', Cahill explained, '[a]nd we are not communists'. Cahill insisted the Provisionals would not accept aid from communist states.[521] Following Mikhail Bakhtin, this formulation of 'communism' is pejoratively loaded and 'tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life' with 'contextual overtones' connoting foreign dictatorship.[522]

[518] The category 'Third World' is now largely defunct, but is used here to reflect contemporary usage.
[519] Jeffrey James Byrne, 'Beyond Continents, Colours, and the Cold War: Yugoslavia, Algeria, and the Struggle for Non-Alignment', *International History Review*, 37 (2015), pp. 913, 920.
[520] Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, 'Restore the means of production to the people', *Irish Press*, 3 December 1970.
[521] Christopher Macy, 'Sinn Fein and the IRA's: 1', *Humanist*, Volume 87 Number 1 Ulster Special Issue (January 1972).
[522] Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', 293.

Early Provisional republicanism emphasised economic nationalism and national neutrality, borrowing from the Easter Proclamation of 1916 and conceptions of public ownership of national wealth and natural resources. For Eoin Ó Broin, these were the politics of 'Christian' socialism, but the categories of 'Irish' or 'nativist' could equally apply.[523] By contrast, Official republican leaders such as Tomás Mac Giolla, Seán Garland, and Des O'Hagan expressed no such reservations about the Soviet Union, attending the World Congress of Peace Forces in Moscow in October 1973. The following month, Official Sinn Féin's (OSF) *Ard Fheis* approved ties with the USSR.[524]

The early Provisionals invoked Officials' Soviet sympathies to portray the Official movement under the aegis of an oppressive 'foreign' power. Provisionals disdained Officials' theoretical, internationally-oriented perspectives, but more immediately they considered Officials' tactics in 1969 a betrayal of northern nationalists. Remembering the emergency in west Belfast in August 1969, Belfast Provisional Kevin Hannaway argued 'the Goulding leadership was a communist leadership no matter how you look at it'. Yet Hannaway's criticism of the 'reds' was rooted not in global politics, but rather in his perception of Gouldingites deliberately demilitarising the republican movement and diverting it from its historic course at the critical moment late in 1969:

> They demilitarised the IRA on the pretence they were going to upgrade weapons, which didn't happen… [and] aggravated, and interfered with, civil rights programmes.[525]

The language of 'reds' and 'communists' connoted foreign manipulation, but in this particular context it specifically signified Officials' failure in August 1969, an essential theme for Provisionals' foundational legend.[526]

For republicans who immediately identified with the Provisionals from late 1969, oral testimonies chart the split as a zero-sum contest between 'politics' and 'republicanism', the former implying demilitarisation. Francie McGuigan remembered Cathal Goulding's leadership

> downgrading the military side of the IRA… trying to turn it into a purely political organisation… The result is, the older generation sort of moved away, the likes of [Billy]

[523] Working in the Zimbabwean context, Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni defines nativism as 'preoccupied with identity and authenticity'. Ó Broin, *Sinn Féin*, 233; Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 'Making Sense of Mugabeism in Local and Global Politics: "So Blair, keep your England and let me keep my Zimbabwe"', *Third World Quarterly*, 30 (2009), p. 1147.
[524] *1975: In Memoriam, 2015: The Struggle Continues* (Belfast: National Commemoration Committee of the Workers' Party, 2015), p. 7. Copy in author's possession.
[525] Kevin Hannaway interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.
[526] On August 1969 and the Provisionals' foundational myths, see Hopkins, *Politics of Memoir*, 28; Hanley, 'I Ran Away'.

> McKee and a lot of people like that… anybody who disagreed with this Marxism attitude within the republican movement were being ostracised or pushed to the side.[527]

McGuigan recalled proto-Provisional Jimmy Steele's oration in July 1969 as an epochal moment exposing this dichotomy. For McGuigan, Steele 'lacerated' Goulding's talk of political theory and 'isms' with a telling retort: '"As far as I'm concerned, there's only one ism, and that's republicanism"'.[528] Having left the Provisional movement in the 1990s, McGuigan's retrospective reflects a tendency to justify past divisions while simultaneously asserting the 'oneness' of republicanism, with deviations essentially non-republican.

Portraying Official republicans under 'undemocratic' Soviet control undermined their republican rivals, but obscured Provisional leaders' social politics. Belfast PIRA leader Joe Cahill admitted 'great admir[ation]' for 'Russia' as 'the only workable system… which really benefits the working man', but implied the Officials would impose settlements on an unwilling population, whereas his own movement would unify the island and 'leave the path to socialism to the people'.[529] PIRA leader Seán Mac Stíofáin argued that capitalism could not deliver 'a fair, square deal and rights for everybody'.[530] Similarly, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh justified PIRA attacks on Official republicans during the feud of 1975 by equating the Officials' desired 'Marxist socialist republic' with 'totalitarianism'.[531] Provisional publicity eschewed the label of 'anti-Marxist', but accused Officials of embracing 'undemocratic' methods to 'alter' the republican movement's 'historic course'.[532] Today, Provisional veteran Raymond McCartney candidly suggests the language surrounding the split fortified a false dichotomy between armed struggle and politicisation:

> The split away from the Officials, who were the reformists, was the right thing to do, but was perhaps done in the wrong way… It became, "are you opposed to politics, or are you opposed to the armed struggle?"[533]

Through the 1970s, Provisionals spokespersons stressed that socialism was a secondary concern for the movement. Militarism, economic nationalism, and short-termism rendered socialism peripheral. An editorial in *Republican News* in October 1972 stressed that

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[527] Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Christopher Macy, 'Sinn Fein and the IRA's: 1', *Humanist*, Volume 87 Number 1 Ulster Special Issue (January 1972).
[530] Seán Mac Stíofáin interview with Robert W. White, 1990. White, *Out of the Ashes*, 45-46.
[531] *1975: In Memoriam, 2015: The Struggle Continues* (Belfast: National Commemoration Committee of the Workers' Party, 2015), p. 16. Copy in author's possession.
[532] *An Phoblacht* (21 February 1975) quoted in Ian Geldard & Keith Craig, *IRA, INLA: Foreign Support and International Connections* (London: Institute for the Study of Terrorism, 1988), p. 84.
[533] Raymond McCartney interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 18 September 2015.

while socialism was important, 'the prime consideration must be the war of National Liberation'.[534]

To the minimal extent that PSF's early leadership located Ireland internationally, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh situated Ireland among the world's 'small nations', such as Bretons and Catalans, 'struggling peoples with a legacy of colonial oppression'. The new Ireland would trade with non-aligned Third World nations, curtailing foreign investment as Israel, Denmark, and Yugoslavia did, rejecting east and west alike.[535] For Ó Brádaigh, resistance to imperialism, and superpowers in Washington and Moscow, unified the world's 'small nations'. After independence, Ireland would be freed from these international political currents.[536]

The distinction between founding Provisionals and their Official rivals, then, was no straightforward disagreement over socialism. Rather, two questions were paramount: how one understood the events of Derry and Belfast in July and August 1969; and how one internationalised Ireland's experience. Officials located Ireland firmly in global processes of 'world revolution', whereas Provisionals tended to think in more isolationist terms.

Leading PD activists Michael Farrell and Dara Vallely straddled this divide. They did not share Officials' support for the USSR, but railed against Provisional polemic collapsing Marxism's theoretical possibilities. Interviewed in March 1971, Farrell optimistically prophesised that socialism's prospects in Northern Ireland were 'much better than they have been at any time in the last ten years'.[537] Vallely suggested republicans had more to fear from 'allied British and American imperialism' than from 'the vague spectre of distant Siberia… If Russia has its Hungary and Czechoslovakia, then American has its far worse list of interventions in Latin America and South East Asia'.[538]

For Officials, triumphant liberation movements worldwide constituted revolutionary models, inspiring hopes for a new post-imperial world order. Where Provisionals attacked the USA, USSR, and UK as imperial powers oppressing national communities, Officials attacked

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[534] *Republican News* (13 October 1972) quoted in Frank Burton, *The Politics of Legitimacy: Struggles in a Belfast Community* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), p. 74.
[535] Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, 'Restore the means of production to the people', *Irish Press*, 3 December 1970; LHL NIPC P2872: PSF, *Presidential Address of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh to 76th Ard-Fheis* (Dublin: PSF, 1980).
[536] Ó Brádaigh was strikingly consistent in this worldview. In 1990, RSF's *Ard Comhairle* echoed their President's position of 20 years previous, calling for Ireland to support and emulate 'neutral and unaligned' national communities of Eastern Europe. LHL NIPC P6125: RSF, *Ard Fheis 1990: Clár agus Rúin* (Dublin: RSF, 1990). See Motion 90.
[537] 'Socialist's view on the North', *Irish Press*, 16 March 1971.
[538] Dara Vallely, 'New assailant in the Sinn Fein controversy', *Donegal Democrat*, 21 January 1972.

capitalist imperialism.[539] At OSF's *Ard Fheis* in December 1972, the *Ard Comhairle* thanked the Vietnamese whose 'heroic fight against American imperialism' had 'shown the world how to fight'.[540] Writing in 1973, an anonymous Official from Derry celebrated Colombia's Camilo Torres, a

> Third World hero… teacher, leader, and inspiration for the down trodden [sic]… who hoped for a new Colombia and a new world.[541]

A former Official republican internee evoked how Officials perceived themselves in the vanguard of a global socialist network when the republican movement split:

> You see, people like me and younger people then, we thought then – this was the end of the sixties – we believed we were on the verge of world revolution, and that in ten or fifteen years' time the world would be socialist, and that the rebellion, if you like, that we were part of would be at the forefront.[542]

Officials' admiration for national liberation movements worldwide inspired maverick thinking:

> I remember some of our members got released and they came out and said it was up to us to move up to the Gaeltacht areas in Donegal to liberate them.[543]

Third Worldism pervaded the Official movement from the start of the 1970s, whereas Provisional republicanism exhibited such tendencies only later in the decade.[544] Where Provisional republicans, somewhat distantly, advocated diverse anti-imperialist movements

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[539] Campaigning against the EEC through the 1970s, OSF President Tomás Mac Giolla insisted Ireland was a Third World country 'in every meaning of the term'. In July 1976, at the International Conference on the Rights of Peoples, Mac Giolla evoked Ireland as 'the potential Cuba of western Europe'. Speaking in 1978, Sinn Féin The Workers' Party councillor Donnchada MacRaghnaill defined his party's position as hostility to 'multi-nationals and their roles from Chile to Angola'. 'Third World and Ireland', *United Irishman: Monthly Newspaper of Sinn Féin* (August 1976); Donnchada MacRaghnaill, 'Innocent people have died in these tragedies', *Drogheda Independent*, 15 December 1978.

[540] 'Stop sectarianism, urges Mac Giolla', *Irish Examiner*, 18 December 1972.

[541] 'The revolutionary priest', *The Starry Plough: Derry's Own Republican Newspaper* [OSF], Vol. 2 No. 5 (n.d. [c.1973]).

[542] Former Official republican internee interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 31 March 2016.

[543] Ibid.

[544] In Britain, 'Third Worldism' peaked in the 1960s among leftists who left the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) and sympathised with the Communist Party of China. Established in 1963, the Committee to Defeat Revisionism, for Communist Unity denounced Khrushchev's policy of 'peaceful coexistence' as 'an outright betrayal of colonial and semi-colonial peoples… in Asia, Africa, and Latin America'. Western radicals' support for China after the Sino-Soviet split cross-pollinated with support for national liberation movements in the so-called Third World. Maoism in Britain achieved further institutional expression when Reg Birch and trade union colleagues established the Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist) (CPBML) in 1968. Official republicans did not repudiate Moscow in the manner of British Maoists, but studied and supported an array of leftist anti-imperialists worldwide. Evan Smith & Matthew Worley (eds.), *Against the Grain: The British Far Left From 1956* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 193.

during the 1970s, Official republicans, from President Tomás Mac Giolla to younger OIRA internees in Long Kesh, identified specifically with *leftist* revolutionaries. Between 1973 and 1976, Officials studied and supported FRELIMO in Mozambique, Chile's embattled Socialist Party, and the Viet Cong.[545]

Provisional leaders became interested in the Third World only in the late 1970s, several years after their Official rivals. By this juncture, Third Worldism had declined among Europe's revolutionary left.[546] Additionally, whereas hostility to capitalist imperialism underpinned senior Officials' international interests, Provisional leaders, chiefly Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, celebrated the 'freedom' of small nations maintaining relative autonomy despite the power of the USA and USSR.[547]

Independent Third World nations represented ideal types for a Provisional leadership which aspired to independent, culturally 'authentic' Celtic nations. These visions were entirely disconnected from the vicissitudes of the Sino-Soviet split, Mao's changing foreign policies, and emergent Eurocommunism, reflecting senior Provisionals' aloofness from the far left and implicit belief in the uniqueness of their own struggle and 'Gaelic' culture. To this end, Provisional leaders Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Seán Mac Stíofain espoused eclectic international sympathies in 1979 and 1980, sending solidarity greetings to Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Poland alike, where the global standing of the USA, UK, and USSR respectively had declined. Mac Stíofáin described a timeless affinity with 'the oppressed

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[545] 'The Chilean conflict… The atrocities continue', *United Irishman* (June 1972); 'Mac Giolla welcomes delegates', *United Irishman: Monthly Newspaper of Sinn Féin* (August 1976).

[546] By the late 1970s, French New Leftists and the British *New Left Review* were predominantly concerned with the Historic Compromise of 1976 and Eurocommunism more generally. After China backed Pakistan's military government against the Bangladeshi independence movement and the Sri Lankan regime against the People's Liberation Front in 1971, and the US withdrew from Indochina in 1975, Third Worldism waned among the European New Left. Writing in 1979, Chris Harman of the Socialist Workers Party located 'third worldism' in a 'general crisis' among the European revolutionary left over the previous two years. Harman lamented how fatigued '68ers, demoralised by splits on the left in Italy, France, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal, were adopting 'soft-Maoist' and 'soft-Guevarist' tendencies and lapsing into nostalgia. For Harman, 'third worldism', celebrating Vietnamese and Angolan offensives against the Americans and the Portuguese, belonged to the 1960s. By 1978, French New Leftists such as Jacques Julliard and Bernard Kouchner polemicised against Third Worldism. Smith & Worley (eds.), *Against the Grain*, 202-203; Chris Harman, 'Crisis of the European Revolutionary Left', *International Socialism*, 2 (Spring 1979); Ross, *May '68*, 159.

[547] Marie-Violaine Louvet has noted Ó Brádaigh's commitment to Celtic and Basque peoples, supporting stateless nations in Europe such as Wales, Brittany, and the Basque territory. Such sympathies were consistent with Arif Dirlik's conception of national liberation movements offering 'sensitivity to people- and place-based development' perceived to be lacking in east and west alike amid the rigid binaries of the Cold War. Marie-Violaine Louvet, *Civil Society, Post-Colonialism and Transnational Solidarity: The Irish and the Middle East Conflict* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 125-126; Dirlik, 'The Third World', 314.

against the oppressor'. In 1980, he celebrated Robert Mugabe as 'one of the greatest political leaders to come out of the struggle in Southern Africa', fondly recalling independence movements in Algeria, Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Aden.[548] In his presidential address to the PSF *Ard Fheis* of November 1980, Ó Brádaigh excoriated the foreign policies of Washington and Moscow alike, and celebrated the Patriotic Front's breakthrough in Zimbabwe as 'another dent… in the armour of the Iron Lady!'[549]

Domestically, Éire Nua expressed the vision of Provisional leaders Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Dáithí Ó Conaill for a united Ireland's political configuration. Ó Brádaigh and Ó Conaill drafted Éire Nua in 1971. As PSF's socioeconomic programme until 1982, Éire Nua underwent considerable revision and contestation over leftist ideas in the Provisional movement.[550] The Provisional Army Council accepted the proposals in 1972, and republican prisoners debated them in the cages of Long Kesh in the early 1970s.[551] Éire Nua combined economic nationalism with decentralised governance.[552] As Kevin Bean and Mark Hayes have posited, Éire Nua fused 'cooperative socialist notions' with efforts to 'assuage' unionist fears of a united Ireland.[553]

International socialism did not interest Ó Brádaigh or Ó Conaill, but conceptions of national uniqueness and historical legitimacy did: Éire Nua's communalism, localism, and economic nationalism connoted 1916. Ó Brádaigh told a PSF meeting in Monaghan in August 1975 that the proposals sought 'maximum benefit for Ireland's people from Ireland's natural resources'. Natural resources, such as mines, would be brought under state control.

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[548] Interview with Seán Mac Stíofáin', *Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!*, 3 (March-April 1980).
[549] LHL NIPC P2872: PSF, *Presidential Address of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh to 76th Ard-Fheis* (Dublin: PSF, 1980).
[550] An ally of Ó Brádaigh and Ó Conaill, Christene Ní Elias, revised and re-publicised Eire Nua in a series of articles in *Republican News* in 1977. 'Know your Eire Nua: Power in the New Ireland', *Republican News*, 4 June 1977; 'Know your Eire Nua: "Regionalisation"', *Republican News*, 18 June 1977; 'Know your Eire Nua: Principles of "Regionalisation"', *Republican News*, 9 July 1977; 'Know your Eire Nua: An Chomhairle Cheantair (The District Council)', *Republican News*, 13 August 1977.
[551] PIRA Long Kesh Public Relations Officer Seamus Loughran told readers of a local newsletter that Éire Nua was 'worth reading and it is worth discussing, perhaps even as much as we [prisoners] have'. EHI: Seamus Loughran, Camp P.R.O., 'Letter from Long Kesh', *An Guth: Bulletin of the Terry McDermott Sinn Féin Cumann (Gransha),* No. 11 [n.d.].
[552] Marc Mulholland argues that Desmond Fennell was 'an important non-republican resource' for the Provisional leadership's federalist thought. Fennell, who wrote for *An Phoblacht/Republican News* under a pseudonym, highlighted embryonic separatist tendencies in Ulster loyalism, a theme to which Ó Conaill returned during overtures to the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) in the 1970s. Mulholland, 'Northern Ireland and the Far Left', 13-14.
[553] Kevin Bean & Mark Hayes, 'Sinn Féin and the New Republicanism in Ireland: Electoral Progress, Political Stasis, and Ideological Failure', *Radical History Review*, 104 (2009), p. 133.

Economic nationalism would 'break the grip of the multi-national combines and exploiters on the wealth of the country' so the 'ordinary people of Ireland could benefit'. Ó Brádaigh highlighted precedents for neighbourhood cooperatives in the Brehon Laws and Comhar na gComharsan.[554] In his memoir published in 1975, PIRA Chief of Staff Seán Mac Stíofáin argued that the Provisionals' socialism 'should be the democratic socialism that was preached and practised by the men of 1916'.[555]

Éire Nua imagined a quintessentially Irish 'socialist-federal republic', and its authors framed it as such. These ideas were sensitive to conceptions of historical legitimacy and national uniqueness. There would be four tiers of government, attuned to the 'socio-economic patterns and the varying traditions of a given area'. [556] The proposals took no other society as a model, and stressed localised democracy to counteract the monolithic state and dictatorship Ó Brádaigh and Ó Conaill abhorred in the Soviet Union.

Contestation over Éire Nua intensified within the Provisional movement from 1978.[557] Adrian Guelke has argued that Adams and his supporters campaigned to remove Éire Nua from PSF's manifesto in the early 1980s because they perceived it as 'an obstacle to socialist planning'.[558] However, Guelke's assessment elides modifications made to Éire Nua through the late 1970s, and draws a false left-right dichotomy between the future Provisional leadership under Adams, and earlier leaders Ó Brádaigh and Ó Conaill.

Rather, Éire Nua's revisions and decline in the late 1970s and early 1980s reflected differences of geography and networks within republicanism. Adamsites mobilised as a distinct bloc to defeat Éire Nua, drawing support chiefly from northern republicans. As Brian Feeney has argued, Adamsites attacked Éire Nua as the perceived cornerstone in the southern Provisional leadership's increasing efforts to accommodate loyalists in the north.[559] The Ó

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[554] 'O'Bradaigh on "Immorality of Internment"', *Anglo-Celt*, 15 August 1975.
[555] Seán Mac Stíofáin quoted in Richard Davis, 'The Convergence of Orange and Green Socialism: The Marxist Quagmire', in O'Day (ed.), *Terrorism's Laboratory*, 178.
[556] The detailed manifesto envisaged widespread nationalisation, full employment, localised democracy in a federalised Ireland of four historic provinces, and economic nationalism minimising foreign capital and promoting Irish resources for the Irish people. PSF posters publicised a 'socialist-federal republic… of self-governing communities, with Socialist policies'. As Martyn Frampton has argued, before 1983, 'rather than viewing themselves as inextricably aligned with a global anti-imperialist continuum, the early Provisionals instead looked to a context that was both historical and specifically Irish'. LHL NIPC PPO0306: PSF Belfast Executive, *Éire Nua* (1979); Frampton, 'Squaring the circle', 48.
[557] In November 1979, Gerry Adams revealed that internal debates had been underway for 18 months, and revisions were afoot. Ó Broin, *Sinn Féin*, 235.
[558] Guelke, 'Loyalist and Republican Perceptions', 108.
[559] Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, 321.

Brádaigh leadership had advocated talks with loyalists in 1974, when the PIRA instructed volunteers to cease operations against off-duty UDR members.[560]

For those northern republicans who had experienced the northern state and supported Adams, Éire Nua would give loyalism an inordinate stake in governing nine-county Ulster. In October 1978, Dáithí Ó Conaill moved the PSF *Ard Fheis* to welcome discussions with loyalists. The motion passed, but elicited northern opposition to the long-standing federalist programme and a Provisional leadership they considered ill-informed on Northern Ireland. Adams's ally Tom Hartley, a Belfast PSF representative, was among several northern opponents. Loyalism, he argued, 'divides our people, stands for emigration, bad housing, no education, and the gerrymander'.[561]

Debates about Éire Nua in 1981 also highlighted differences in how Ó Brádaigh and Adamsites formulated political ideas, linked to different generations and geographies. This was no straightforward debate about leftism in the movement. Ó Brádaigh situated Éire Nua as 'decentralised socialism' in a future independent Ireland,[562] whereas Adamsites were concerned chiefly with the ongoing power struggle within Northern Ireland – and within the Provisional movement.[563] Adams and his supporters did not oppose Éire Nua from the left. On the contrary, left-leaning Provisionals had amended the proposals in 1979 and 1980 to advocate an extensive 'economic resistance' programme. Amendments passed at the PSF *Ard Fheis* of 1980 stipulated that firms in 'the new Ireland' could only remain private if they demonstrated 'reasonable efforts' to develop the national economy. A new edition of the document, *Éire Nua: The Social Dimension*, proposed nationalised finance, insurance, and key industries, and limits on individual landholdings.[564] Éire Nua in 1980 retained the economic nationalism and communalist, redistributive character of its original iteration in 1971, invoking Pearse to assert that 'all rights to private property must be subordinate to the

[560] Henry Patterson, '1974 – Year of Liberty'? The Provisional IRA and Sunningdale', in David McCann & Cillian McGrattan (eds.), *Sunningdale, the Ulster Workers' Council Strike and the Struggle for Democracy in Northern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), p. 147.
[561] 'Sinn Fein ready to talk with Loyalists on North aims', *Irish Independent*, 23 October 1978.
[562] Dominick Bruno & Matthew Costello (eds.), *Éire Nua: A New Beginning* (Belfast: Cumann Na Saoirse Náisiúnta, 2012), p. 17.
[563] At the *Ard Fheis* of November 1981, Ó Brádaigh defended Éire Nua as an alternative to 'evil' centralisation in state capitalism, reminiscent of his interpretations of the 'dictatorial' USSR in the early 1970s. By contrast, Fermanagh republican and Adams supporter Owen Carron dismissed any 'compromise suggestion' with loyalism. 'Large Fermanagh Sinn Fein delegation at *Ard Fheis*', *Fermanagh Herald*, 6 November 1982.
[564] LHL NIPC Oversize P8801: PSF, *Sinn Féin Explained* (Belfast: PSF, 1979); 'Adams: "Guns no solution"', *Cork Examiner*, 21 January 1980.

public right and welfare' and announcing an 'economic resistance' strategy to 'defend' the national economy against the foreign capital which had depopulated and impoverished the island.[565]

Recent oral testimonies illustrate the complexity of perspectives on the programme, mapping equally entangled views of the Adams leadership more broadly. Present-day dissenting republicans view Éire Nua's defeat in 1982 as a turning point, from which Adams and his supporters secured the Provisional leadership. Subjective positions mutate considerably over time. Northern Provisionals' past dissent towards Éire Nua as impracticable compromise with loyalism retains a degree of currency. For example, former Belfast PSF councillor Bobby Lavery spoke dismissively of Éire Nua in 2000:

> No-one understood what Éire Nua was for. No-one I knew had ever read what it was about. It didn't mean anything to us.[566]

Localised political nuances still suffuse memories of Éire Nua. Former PIRA prisoner Eamonn MacDermott, from Derry City, where 'unionism was just a sideshow', echoed Adams's evocation of federalism: 'dumped because it was a sop to unionism'.[567]

Yet oral history's capacity to bring the past to the present is evident. Amid contrasting opinions of the peace process with which Adams's leadership is identified, some dissenting republicans who have broken with PSF since 1982 now rehabilitate Éire Nua. Members of Republican Sinn Féin (RSF), who broke with Adams's movement in 1986, maintain Éire Nua in their programme today. Belfast republican Francie McGuigan, who left the Provisionals in the 1990s, recalls being a 'great believer' in Éire Nua. McGuigan remembered federalism's demise as a lost opportunity, recounting how the plans had received moderate approval from Desmond Boal, a barrister close to Ian Paisley.[568] Former Belfast PIRA volunteer Tommy Gorman connected Éire Nua's abandonment with broader phenomena including socialism's decline in the Provisional movement and 'right-wing… dog soldiers [who] follow the leader no matter what the leader says'.[569] Socialist republican Tommy McKearney, who left the Provisionals in the late 1980s, reflects on contestation over Éire Nua as essentially a battle between conflicting alliances within the movement:

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[565] 'Plan for economic resistance launched', *Irish Press*, 21 January 1980; 'Eire Nua: The social dimension', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 26 January 1980.
[566] Bobby Lavery interview with Jonathan Tonge, 28 June 2000. Jonathan Tonge, 'Sinn Féin and "New Republicanism" in Belfast', *Space & Polity*, 10 (2006), p. 139.
[567] Eamonn MacDermott interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 17 September 2015.
[568] Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.
[569] Tommy Gorman interview with Jonathan Stevenson. Jonathan Stevenson, *"We wrecked the place": Contemplating an End to the Northern Irish Troubles* (New York: Free Press, 1996), p. 118.

> Those who set out to rubbish the Éire Nua programme were striving to take the organisation over, and did so, and by rubbishing the Éire Nua programme they effectively side-lined the older, southern-based leadership of Dáithí Ó Conaill, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, whatever other people were there. So… it was politically expedient [to discredit Éire Nua] in order to side-line opponents as part of a power struggle.[570]

Gerry MacLochlainn remains a committed republican activist today, and is sympathetic to the republican movement throughout. He assesses Éire Nua in balanced terms as a thoughtful, if 'unrealistic', proposal:

> Éire Nua was an, I think, good attempt to reach out to Protestants, to say "you're nervous about a united Ireland, do you think we're going to do to you what you done to us? We're not. Here's the structures we would have, it would be a nine-county Ulster, they couldn't have been ignored". We also believed in power being devolved down. None of those are bad ideas. I think the problem with Éire Nua was that it wasn't realistic. It didn't attract Protestants at all, they didn't see anything in it at all, far better just to stay with Britain, there was nothing there to move them on. It was one of those idealistic things where people sit down in a backroom, but it was a genuine attempt to reach out to the Protestant community. We only really started to understand how we were going to reach out to the Protestant community well into the peace process.[571]

MacLochlainn's praise for the proposals' creativity simultaneously vindicates the Adams leadership's later innovation in the peace process of the 1990s, in which MacLochlainn participated.[572]

Debates around Éire Nua attest the enduring importance of milieus and alliances informing subjective positions during intra-republican discussion. Éire Nua's downfall in the early 1980s heralded a new, northern Provisional leadership around Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness, and their supporters. Former PIRA Chief of Staff Seán Mac Stíofáin resigned from PSF's *Ard Comhairle* just two days after the federalism debate at the *Ard Fheis* in November 1981, protesting how the debate had been handled.[573] When all references to Éire Nua were removed from the party constitution in 1982, several long-serving allies of Ó Brádaigh, including Richard Behal, Joe O'Neill, and Tom Sullivan, left the *Ard Comhairle*.[574]

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[570] Tommy McKearney interview with Jack Hepworth. Moy, 8 December 2017.
[571] Gerry MacLochlainn interview.
[572] As PSF's representative in London, MacLochlainn was among a party delegation which met Labour's junior Northern Ireland spokesperson, Paul Murphy, in December 1994. 'British Labour Party confirms having had talks with Sinn Fein', *Irish Times*, 30 December 1994.
[573] 'Resigned', *Drogheda Independent*, 4 December 1981.
[574] White, *Out of the Ashes*, 201.

4.2 Republican socialism and the 'new world order', c.1981-c.1994

Like the Official movement from which it had broken, members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) in the early 1980s identified with leftists worldwide that the Provisionals did not. Writing in April 1981, INLA hunger striker Patsy O'Hara professed 'the greatest respect and admiration' for West Germany's RAF's 'struggle against imperialism and national capital', and four years later IRSP general secretary Jim Lane said his party and the RAF shared a 'common enemy' and a 'common aim'. The Provisionals, meanwhile, distanced themselves from the West German militants.[575] Whereas many of the Provisionals' American backers held conservative positions on racial politics in the USA, in 1982 the IRSP hosted Omali Yeshitela, chair of the African People's Socialist Party, and announced they would accept no financial donations from Irish-American organisations which did not espouse 'Black Liberation and National Liberation and Socialism in Ireland, and Africa'.[576]

In the early 1980s, the IRSP *Ard Comhairle* attempted to codify its socialism and assert its primacy over the INLA. With the *Ard Comhairle*'s support, IRSP chair Jim Lane censured the party membership on its tenth anniversary: 'There is little to be satisfied with… We have failed to define our socialism'. Lane also criticised perceived inactivity in party branches.[577] Throughout the 1980s, IRSP activists clashed over the extent to which political theory should determine tactics.[578] The *Ard Fheis* of 1984 formally adopted the writings of Marx, Engels, and Connolly, but the disputes continued, as the feuds of 1987 painfully demonstrated.[579] Jim Lane and INLA prisoner Ta Power, who wrote extensively during his incarceration, argued that ideology within the party remained embryonic and required elaboration and clarification. Others within the IRSP-INLA interpreted these suggestions as attempts to relegate the INLA's armed struggle. In a letter written in May 1985, Gerard

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[575] Geldard & Craig, *IRA, INLA*, 24-26.

[576] 'Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) statement on African-Irish unity', *Burning Spear: Official Organ of the African People's Socialist Party* (27 October 2015). Available at http://www.theburningspear.com/2015/10/Irish-Republican-Socialist-Party-IRSP-statement-on-African-Irish-unity (Accessed 18 October 2017).

[577] ILA: 'Address by IRSP National Chairperson Jim Lane to Ard-Fheis' (8 September 1984).

[578] Although divisions over political codification underlay violent feuds within the IRSP-INLA in 1987, the extent to which they disrupted the grassroots should not be overstated. Writing in 1983, an IRSP member from Derry City was perplexed with the categories Marxism-Leninism, Maoism, and Stalinism, concluding with hopeful eclecticism: 'I always thought that the IRSP was not locked into the argument between stalinism [and anti-Stalinist socialism]… We can learn from the total history of marxist thought and working class struggles'. Pat Doherty, 'Marxist-Leninist', *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta* (September 1983).

[579] The 'supergrass' trials of the mid-1980s also doubtless contributed to the feud of 1987, in which 11 republican socialists were killed, but these deeper divisions were pivotal.

Steenson – who would lead the 'Army Council' faction by 1987 – argued that the INLA had become 'associated with trendy leftism' and was 'irredeemable'.[580]

Differences of generation and class politics underpinned disagreements in the IRSP-INLA. Varied experiences and education informed ideas of revolutionary theory. The INLA spanned older volunteers from Official republican backgrounds, many of whom had become acquainted with political theory during internment in the 1970s, as well as younger charges whose mobilisation was distinctly local and whose education developed later in the 1980s, usually in prison. INLA volunteer Gerry Foster was uninitiated in revolutionary theory when he was imprisoned in Long Kesh in 1983. Ex-Officials who had

> either been interned or in the cages of Long Kesh had been released and so from their experience they knew… instead of giving you Karl Marx to read… I mean, we'd Catholic upbringing and schooling, where communist Russia was to be detested and hated, so they knew there was no sense getting you Mao's little red book or something, or *Das Kapital* or stuff like that. They knew you were too far removed from that. So they brought you in through Irish nationalism, to British left-wing thinking, to internationalising the conflict and conflicts around the world.[581]

Mirroring the IRSP *Ard Comhairle*'s efforts from 1984, the INLA's prison education programme introduced its young recruits to a distinctly Irish republican socialist canon, before internationalising discussions of the revolutionary left:

> It was in prison that the politics came to me… It's frightening how naïve you can be at that age. There was no sense talking to me about Marxism and communism; they knew that you were more militaristic than political. So the way they would set about getting you into the left-wing politics would have been to give you books on left-wing Irish rebels. They were trying to broaden it, take it away from Ireland, take it away from just purely Irish militaristic nationalism, bring it into social issues concerning Ireland. They were trying to show that the British working class can actually be your allies and not your enemy. It was a hard hurdle to get over because whether I like it or not, it was purely Irish nationalist militaristic attitudes I had… [We] were encouraged to read books by left-wing political thinkers as well, not just in relation to Ireland but in general. They were obviously trying to point out that Britain could be an ally as well.[582]

[580] McDonald & Holland, *INLA*, 271.
[581] Gerry Foster interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 August 2015.
[582] Ibid.

Prison's potential as an educational threshold for young INLA volunteers recalls Celia Hughes's portrayal of universities as a crucial space for political education, formulating the radical self, in 1968.[583]

In the early 1990s, Peadar Lagan from rural south Derry joined the INLA. Lagan attributed his political awareness and allegiance with the republican socialist movement to friends and networks in his schooldays:

> I knew a few Provisionals in our area and some of them would have been left-leaning, but not as much as the INLA, but you ran with whoever you were friendly with. That's basically what it was down to, a lot of it. I was fairly clued up, but it was because I was friendly with this guy, swung me to the INLA at that particular time.[584]

Lagan's interest in Connolly

> came from school, there was a teacher at school when I was fourteen… He would have explained Burntollet, Bloody Sunday, the whole modern history, then we went back to Connolly, Larkin, the lock-out, then back to the penal law times. That particularly struck me: fighting for the ordinary man in the street. Taking away that both Protestants and Catholics joined together in the Belfast shipyards, there was a unified approach they all took during the great lock-out in 1913, and I actually found that intriguing.[585]

Lane's efforts to codify republican socialism functioned as a proselytising mission within republicanism more widely. As disconcerted observers of the Provisional movement's electoral experimentation – 'clientelism and all its attendant evils' – in the early 1980s, Lane and the IRSP's general secretary contacted the PSF *Ard Comhairle*, but received no reply. Although Lane argued that PSF's socialism was 'social democracy' in contrast to the IRSP's 'Marxist-Leninist' position, he believed the Provisional movement contained 'a good number of revolutionary socialists' who were prevented from finding a home in the IRSP only for 'historic reasons'.[586]

Adopting the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin did not curtail the plurality of views within the IRSP-INLA through the following years. Sections of the INLA remained at best, indifferent, or at worst, hostile, to politicisation: as late as 1989, IRSP spokespersons had to reassure their comrades that they were not attempting to 'build a party of clones'.[587] In

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[583] Celia Hughes, *Young Lives on the Left: Sixties Activism and the Liberation of the Self* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 107-130.
[584] Peadar Lagan interview with Jack Hepworth. Bellaghy, 11 December 2017.
[585] Ibid.
[586] 'Interview with Jim Lane', *Starry Plough* (September 1983); ILA: 'Address by IRSP National Chairperson Jim Lane to Ard-Fheis' (8 September 1984).
[587] Francis Glenn, 'IRSP Reply to Criticism', *The Starry Plough* (n.d. [1989]).

December 1984, a representative of the INLA's GHQ acknowledged that 'many within our ranks who have a more traditional republican viewpoint' were uneasy about the IRSP's move three months earlier.[588] Writing from Long Kesh after the internecine feud of 1987, INLA prisoner Eamonn McCallion denounced 'political bankrupts' undermining 'comrades who were undertaking a genuine attempt to assert the supremacy of politics'.[589] An INLA volunteer imprisoned in 1993, Peadar Lagan remembered some comrades embracing the movement's education programme while others were disinterested:

> Education was the key factor, you were encouraged to read up on your history, remember who you are and who you represented… Some of them had got immersed in topics inside, got degrees, and some of them just went with the flow and were more interested in planning escapes.[590]

During and after the crisis within the IRSP-INLA in the late 1980s and early 1990s, politicising elements in the movement successfully connected with elements in the British far left. In June 1987, hosting delegates from the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), the IRSP blamed its failure to become a disciplined 'communist' party for the ongoing splits. The CPGB shared the IRSP's assessment of PSF in the 'heroic' but essentially '*petty bourgeois* tradition' of Tone, Emmett, Lalor, and Pearse, lacking an 'all-Ireland revolutionary strategy'.[591] The INLA also drew support from Red Action, a small grouping mainly comprising former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) expelled for 'squaddism'. Red Action supported INLA prisoners, and Liam Heffernan from Manchester participated in Red Action's militant anti-fascist activities in the late 1980s, receiving a 23-year prison sentence for INLA bombings in 1993.[592]

Present-day IRSP perspectives lament past feuds as assaults on the foremost theorists in the republican socialist movement. Former INLA prisoner Seamus McHenry recalled before 1987

> a very enlightened movement… If you think about the assassination of some of our members, your Ronnie Buntings, your Ta Powers, your Gino Gallaghers – all enlightened leaders – that was where I seen we were a progressive movement, we had people like that willing to engage themselves.[593]

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[588] *"Quietly confident": INLA speaks* (1984).
[589] Eamonn McCallion, 'Ireland's Agenda', *The Leninist*, 58 (21 January 1988).
[590] Peadar Lagan interview with Jack Hepworth. Bellaghy, 11 December 2017.
[591] Alan Merrik, 'The Irish Crisis', *The Leninist*, 52 (17 July 1987).
[592] Matt Seaton, 'Charge of the new Red Brigade', *Independent on Sunday*, 29 January 1995.
[593] Seamus McHenry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 7 December 2017.

For veteran Belfast IRSP activist Fra Halligan, Ta Power's assassination in 1987 signalled dissenters' attempts 'to close this organisation down… they had to kill the strategist'.[594] For the IRSP and INLA, attempts to enunciate theoretical orientations towards the revolutionary left proved profoundly divisive, and cast a long shadow.

Similarly for the Provisionals' highest ranks in the 1980s, left-wing politics, while broadly compatible with their overarching aspiration to Irish unity, endangered the movement's internal cohesion and required careful management. As so often before, PSF strategists emphasised specifically Irish, and even local, contexts. In 1981, PSF's Education Department feared that talk of the movement shifting 'to the left' might alienate sections of the membership and support base. To avoid 'confusion and uncertainty within the Movement', the Education Department connected redistributive economics with Irish revolutionary precedent, stressing the Easter Proclamation's socialist credentials and citing Pearse's *The Sovereign People* on public ownership of land and finance.[595] Speaking in 1983, Paddy Bolger, PSF's National Organiser, warned colleagues against rhetoric and leftist jargon. Although leftism was prevalent within the movement, 'sloganizing about socialism' as a 'magic formula' would be unhelpful. Rather, the Provisionals must root their programme in local struggles and develop their 'agitational politics'.[596]

When the Provisional Education Department developed its programme in the early 1980s, Irish nationalist historiography since 1916 was central and socialism peripheral. To the extent that the reading list covered foreign conflicts, these were a diverse assortment, including Algeria, the Spanish Civil War, and Israel-Palestine. Accounts of Marxian revolutions were limited to John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook The World* and Che Guevara's *Guerrilla Warfare*. Radical and pre-1968 anti-colonial texts such as Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961) and Robert Taber's *The War of the Flea* (1965) were deemed 'suitable literature', but were secondary in a reading list devoted chiefly to Irish republicans of the early twentieth century. James Connolly, Pádraig Pearse, and IRA veterans such as Dan Breen and Ernie O'Malley alone accounted for 16 of the 50 recommended texts.[597]

In Long Kesh, Provisional leftist Tommy McKearney organised education in the early 1980s. Although the leadership outside removed McKearney from this role, he maintained a

[594] Fra Halligan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 15 September 2015.
[595] LHL NIPC P938: PSF Education Department, *Nationalism and Socialism* (Dublin: PSF, 1981).
[596] 'New departures for Sinn Féin?', *Gralton* (August-September 1983).
[597] LHL NIPC Tom Hartley Collection PH1571: PSF Education Department, *New Members Course: Notes for Sinn Féin Education Officers* (Belfast: PSF, 1981).

network which would organise as the League of Communist Republicans (LCR) later in the decade:

> There was, among the rank-and-file, a possibility of intellectual laziness, where "we're an army, we just do what we're told, follow the line, don't need to think too much". This wouldn't have facilitated the move into electoral politics if people thought in that black-and-white fashion, so word was coming in from the outside to get some political education. I was put in charge of political education, but of course right away I opted for a different line… Of course, whether it was politically wise of me or not, what I said we should take was a very simple, hard-line Marxist-Leninist position, which did not receive approval. My rationale was, to me, the idea of the professional revolutionary, the transformation of society, where the working class are in charge of the means of production, distribution, you know the jargon, that's what we're talking about if we're going to make an appeal south of the border… I said that Marxism-Leninism was a clear position they could understand, and it was a position, well, I was there anyway! But as I say, my run, or my period, as the education officer for the prison came to an end, when word was "no, that's a bridge too far". So that happened probably reasonably early '82, '83, I can't remember, but I still had a circle, because there was discussions within the prison.[598]

When Ó Brádaigh, PSF's President until 1983, denounced the USSR and the USA with equal force, Provisionals were generally unified. However, through the 1980s, the Provisional grassroots' international interests widened,[599] and the question of where socialism interacted with Provisional politics and their tactical innovation became problematic. Especially in the late 1980s, the extent to which leftism should define the movement's agenda divided Provisionals. Addressing a Troops Out Movement meeting in Brighton in 1986, Derry PSF representative Daisy Mules admitted that the movement lacked 'a clear social and economic strategy', but insisted vaguely that there was a 'commitment to socialism'. Mules inadvertently highlighted confusion on the movement's aspirations when she presented Éire Nua as party policy, even though it had been dropped four years earlier.[600] In 1990, Tony Doherty, PSF's Education Officer on the Derry *Comhairle Ceantair*, recorded his experiences of the movement over the previous five years. He had

[598] Tommy McKearney interview with Jack Hepworth. Moy, 8 December 2017.
[599] A motion proposing PSF align with Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and Laos was withdrawn only on the eve of the *Ard Fheis* of 1986. Alan Merrik, 'Ireland's Fight! Our Fight!', *The Leninist*, 44 (4 December 1986).
[600] LHL NIPC P2028: Brighton Troops Out Movement, *Sinn Fein Speaks in Brighton: Text of a Speech by Daisy Mules, S.F. Trade Union Department* (Brighton: Brighton Troops Out Movement, 1986).

> discovered that far from being an ideologically united party (movement) we encompassed many strains some who don't even think about politics.[601]

Doherty accentuated class in his analysis of contemporary Ireland, but suggested that other republicans ranged from Soviet sympathisers, through Trotskyism, labourism, or 'even more vague social democratic mish mash'.[602]

The isolation some Provisional leftists experienced in Long Kesh prompted approximately 25 PIRA prisoners to establish the League of Communist Republicans (LCR) in 1986. Through their education programmes and reading habits, left-leaning PIRA prisoners had been recognised as distinct and, to some extent, separate from the majority, for several years. PIRA prisoner Micky McMullan declared himself a Connollyite socialist and remembered that 'incredibly' his comrades in Long Kesh ostracised him as 'communistic'.[603] LCR founder Tommy McKearney, who envisaged a Leninist 'vanguard' to direct the Irish working class, reflects that 'the bulk of the leftism [in the Provisional movement] was contained and confined' in Long Kesh.[604] Suspicion that Provisional leaders were uncommitted to socialism,[605] coupled with consternation about tactical developments,[606] drove this alienation.

Through their education programmes and reading habits, left-leaning PIRA prisoners had been recognised as distinct and, to some extent, separate from the majority, for several years. Veteran PIRA volunteer Albert Allen recognised the commitment of his leftist

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[601] Tony Doherty, 'The end and the means', *Iris Bheag*, 27 (September 1990).
[602] Ibid.
[603] Micky McMullan interview with Rogelio Alonso. Alonso, *IRA and Armed Struggle*, 88.
[604] Tommy McKearney interview with Richard English, 20 September 2000. English, *Armed Struggle*, 233.
[605] In October 1987, PSF's Director of Publicity, Danny Morrison, rebuked PIRA prisoners using 'Marxist Esperanto' in their contributions to discussion journal *Iris Bheag*. Responding, the prisoners of C Wing in H5 of Long Kesh revealed left-wing Provisionals' exasperation with the 'conservative lot, slow to embrace change, too slow some would say'. The row exposed differences among senior Provisionals, too. In a private letter to a CPGB friend, former PIRA commander Brian Keenan excoriated 'the "Marxist Esperanto" prat' Morrison's 'nasty letter'. Keenan admitted that his own response to Morrison might have been 'rash', suggesting wider tensions between Provisional leftists and the leadership. 'Bad language', *Iris Bheag*, 5 (December 1987); Brian Keenan to Jack Conrad, 29 January 1988; Brian Keenan to Jack Conrad, 28 February 1988, quoted in 'Prisoner B26380's dilemma', *WeeklyWorker*, 732 (20 July 2008).
[606] For Tommy McKearney of the LCR, dropping abstentionism in Leinster House in November 1986 condemned the Provisionals to reformism and irrelevance, since their electoral manifesto would lack 'radicalism'. PSF could 'neither claim to be revolutionary in either the Fenian or the socialist mould'. Meanwhile, the INLA feud of 1987 fuelled McKearney's concerns that the IRSP-INLA was not entirely committed to the primacy of politics. Tommy McKearney, 'Irish Message', *The Leninist*, 58 (21 January 1988); 'Letter from Long Kesh', *Republican Bulletin: Iris Na Poblachta*, 4 (March 1987).

comrades in jail, but thought their politics had 'started going haywire' in the early 1980s. Of one prominent Provisional leftist who later left the movement, Allen said:

> Don't get me wrong, he was a good man… one hundred percent republican, smashing fella like, but it wasn't republicanism. They lost the plot.[607]

Allen's exclusive framing of 'republicanism' recalls Bakhtin's conception of 'unitary language' which 'partakes of social and historical heteroglossia'.[608] Allen's definition of republicanism elides the range of subjective understandings of the term and its political context.

LCR members looked internationally to adumbrate and sharpen their positions. Interpretations of the challenges facing Irish republican socialists were rooted firmly in the experience of other societies. Revolutionaries' experiences in other societies vindicated coupling theoretical principles with a degree of tactical flexibility. Writing in 1988, two LCR theorists found in the revolutions in Nicaragua and South Africa confirmation of the necessity of a revolutionary vanguard and a guerrilla campaign allied with mass movement. Revolutionary successes in both countries signified the errors of the Irish republican movement. The Sandinistas' 'concrete analysis' of their society had underpinned their struggle and contrasted with the 'Irish anti-imperialist movement… in a shambles'.[609] The South African Communist Party, meanwhile, taught Irish activists the importance of mobilising a 'brave, politicised trade union leadership'.[610]

Conversely, reverses for revolutionaries in Palestine and Burma in the late 1980s corroborated LCR thinkers' nuanced theories and portended tactical errors in PSF-PIRA and the IRSP-INLA. Although Burma's 'army takeovers, rice fields and Asia seem far removed from the concerns of shoppers in Dublin and Belfast', an LCR writer insisted that the Ne Win regime demonstrated the dangers of 'economic isolation'. In an implicit allusion to PSF courting a pan-nationalist alliance, the Burmese experience confirmed for the LCR that 'the ill-defined nationalism of a pro-independance [sic] grouping contained within it the seeds of such isolationism'.[611] Palestine in 1987 also showed the slipperiness of flawed alliances and the illusoriness of compromise and reformism. The Palestine Liberation Organisation's

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[607] Albert Allen interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 December 2017.
[608] Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', 272.
[609] 'Nicaragua must survive', *Congress '86*, No. 5 (Winter 1988).
[610] 'South Africa in struggle: Lessons for Ireland', *Congress '86: Quarterly Journal of Communist Republican Prisoners and their Associates*, No. 4 (n.d. [1988]).
[611] 'Reaction in Rangoon', *Congress '86: Journal of Communist Republican Prisoners*, No. 6 (Spring 1989).

dependence on the USSR and 'various Arab states' had 'broken down' and the Camp David Agreement had provoked internal unrest:

> Revolutionaries must never let a thirst for political power or the mirage of sympathetic constitutional support side-track them from the back-breaking work of sowing revolution.[612]

For LCR activists, the contrasting fortunes of revolutionary movements worldwide emboldened their own programme for a 'workers' and small farmers' republic' and substantiated their criticisms of an Irish anti-imperialist movement they perceived in turmoil. LCR founder Tommy McKearney recalls highlighting the ANC's mass mobilisation as a critique of Provisional military elitism:

> I think at the time we talked about South Africa. We said, "look, the ANC did not focus its entire weight on the armed campaign, the ANC has a political, electoral dimension, also on the streets, but we have no position on the streets, we have ignored the streets, we have ignored the trade union, we haven't impacted on unionised labour". From my point of view, these weren't just opportunist avenues. I said, "if we're talking about socialist, or a workers' republic, we don't have a significant presence in organised labour, nor do we have a programme that will prevent us falling down over the cliff of reformism, and eventually your reliance on the armed wing to save us is going to be ended".[613]

Revolutions in Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1991 highlighted among republicans two broad tendencies in terms of how far they engaged with international class politics. For many Provisional republicans and their erstwhile comrades who now constituted Republican Sinn Féin (RSF), *glasnost*, *perestroika*, and German reunification signalled revolutionary possibilities for national communities. By contrast, republican leftists, spanning the IRSP, PD, and Provisional left, were more cautious. In 1989 and 1990, they initially celebrated the demise of 'Stalinism' in Europe as an overdue fillip for global socialism.[614]

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[612] 'Palestinians struggle against Zionism and Imperialism', *Congress '86: Quarterly Journal of Communist Republican Prisoners and their Associates*, Volume 1 Number 3.
[613] Tommy McKearney interview with Jack Hepworth. Moy, 8 December 2017.
[614] LCR journal *Congress* ceased publication late in 1990, hiding from history some left-wing republican perspectives on the political developments of the early 1990s. However, its earlier numbers are rich in transnational analysis. Early in 1990, LCR writers lauded the 'regeneration of Marxism' and forecast 'intensif[ied]' class struggle, with socialism a 'genuinely attractive alternative' as international capital competed for the profits of the new world order. *Glasnost* and *perestroika* would facilitate a 'flourishing socialist democracy' and the LCR would 'look forward' to the USSR becoming 'an example worthy of emulation'. These positions echoed '68er Tariq Ali's arguments in 1988 that Gorbachev 'represents a progressive, reformist current within the Soviet elite, whose programme, if successful, would represent an enormous gain for socialists and democrats on a world scale' and could 'preserve the Soviet Union'. 'Socialism is alive and well', *Congress*, 8 (Spring 1990); 'Restructuring in the U.S.S.R.: Contents, targets & main tendencies', *Congress*, 8 (Spring 1990); Tariq Ali quoted in Marcel van der Linden, *Western Marxism and the Soviet Union: A Survey of Critical Theories and Debates Since 1917* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 281 n118.

Yet leftists' reservations about the long-term implications of *glasnost* and *perestroika* crystallised in the early 1990s. Would reform and compromise displace revolutionary politics worldwide and invite capitalist development?

Divergent republican responses to the events of 1989 through 1991 reflected heterogeneous understandings of Ireland's place in the world and its responsiveness to international political currents. Those who thought the USSR's disintegration augured well for Irish republicans selectively mined foreign politics as a source of general encouragement. Conversely, leftist republicans engaged with international events in more sophisticated and nuanced ways, surmising that left-wing anti-imperialist movements might recede.

Adrian Guelke has argued convincingly that the end of the Cold War had less impact for Northern Ireland's Troubles than for conflict transformations in Israel-Palestine and South Africa.[615] However, contrasting republican responses to events between 1989 and 1991 suggest salient differences in how republicans understood the international dimension of their struggle. When the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989, Provisional leaders and publicists – as well as former Provisionals in RSF – heralded a perceived blow to British military prowess in Europe. Propagandists perhaps overstated when they imagined troop withdrawals from the Rhine a 'major climb-down for British imperialism'.[616] For Gerry Adams, addressing the *Ard Fheis* of 1990, events in Eastern Europe boded well for 'lasting democracy and self-determination' throughout Europe.[617] Such hopefulness was not restricted to the PSF leadership: writing from Long Kesh in 1990, PIRA prisoner Martin Livingstone celebrated the Ceausescu regime's demise in Romania as 'progress' for 'democratic socialism'.[618] Adams's former comrade, RSF President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, alongside his party's *Ard Comhairle*, similarly relished the 'flame of liberty rekindled' and suggested that Eastern Europe's emergent nationalisms would prompt positive reassessment across Europe of Irish claims to unification.[619]

However, left-wing republicans were more cautious about *glasnost*, *perestroika*, and Eastern Europe's revolutions. Writing from prison in November 1987, Brian Keenan outlined

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[615] Adrian Guelke, 'The Peace Process in South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland: A Farewell to Arms?', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 5 (1994), p. 106.
[616] 'Berlin's border destroyed', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 16 November 1989.
[617] LHL NIPC P4181: PSF, *Ard Fheis 1990* (Dublin: PSF, 1990).
[618] Martin Livingstone, 'Eastern Europe: Socialism or Barbarism?', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 2 Number 2 (Summer 1990).
[619] Motion 79 at the RSF *Ard Fheis* of October 1990 'welcome[d] the emergence of democracy and national communities within Europe as a positive way forward towards peace'. LHL NIPC P6126: *Presidential Address of Ruairí Ó Brádaigh to the 86th Ard-Fheis of Sinn Féin in the Spa Hotel, Lucan, County Dublin, 27-28 October 1990* (Dublin: RSF, 1990).

his interests in the interaction between Marxist theory and the national question. Keenan feared the Soviet Union could disintegrate and provoke 'compromise with imperialism' worldwide.[620] If PSF was 'a socialist party', an anonymous Provisional complained, the *Ard Fheis* of 1989 should have discussed the implications of the Berlin Wall's demise. Tellingly, the Provisional correspondent imagined party colleagues insisting 'that the *Ard Fheis* is not the forum for a debate such as this'.[621] In an open letter to the Socialist Workers Movement in 1990, PD leaders deplored the burgeoning 'capitalist offensive' in Eastern Europe.[622]

Although initially only as lone voices, republican leftists from 1989 urged their comrades to renounce post-Cold War diplomacy and connect with the international left instead. Perceptions of socialism under siege internationally combined with domestic concerns regarding the 'pan-nationalist alliance'. Writing in April 1989, an IRSP member in Strabane, County Tyrone feared PSF's 'Broad Front type talks' with the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) would 'offer nothing to the working class'.[623] Although PD's journal editorialised cheerfully that the 'Prague Spring has begun again' in December 1989, it lamented republicans' tendency to consider their own situation 'in isolation', detached from the seismic events in Eastern Europe:

> We must ensure that the Irish question becomes part of that debate… not simply by propaganda and diplomacy, but by direct contact with the new national liberation movements.[624]

Observing capitalist development and ethnic conflict advancing in Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia respectively, leftist Provisional Matt Treacy sounded initial concerns about the post-Cold War world order in the early 1990s. Writing from Portlaoise in 1992, Dublin PIRA volunteer Treacy noted resurgent monetarism and far-right politics in former Soviet Eastern European republics. Although Treacy did not mention Provisional leaders by name, he lambasted those who had been 'naïve enough' to imagine that the USSR's disintegration portended world peace and the rise of nationalisms worldwide.[625] As a leftist who remained

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[620] Brian Keenan to Jack Conrad, 19 November 1987; Brian Keenan to Jack Conrad, 16 January 1988, quoted in 'Prisoner B26380's dilemma', *WeeklyWorker*, 732 (20 July 2008).
[621] Eric, '*Ard Fheis* Bordom [sic]', *Iris Bheag*, 25 (April 1990).
[622] 'East equals west?', *An Reabhloid: Journal of Peoples Democracy*, Volume 5 Number 1 (n.d. [1990]).
[623] P. McColgan, Irish Republican Socialist Party, Strabane, 'I.R.S.P. Aims', *Strabane Chronicle*, 8 April 1989.
[624] 'Editorial', *An Reabhloid: Journal of Peoples Democracy*, Volume 4 Number 2 (December 1989-February 1990).
[625] Maitiú O Treasaigh, 'What price European unification now?', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 4 Number 2 (Summer 1992). By 1994, Treacy criticised Joe Slovo and the South African Communist Party which had 'abandoned the goal of leading a socialist revolution'. Treacy lamented

within the movement, Gerry MacLochlainn highlights diachronic shifts in international perspectives over the past three decades. MacLochlainn recalls republicans celebrating German reunification and championing reform in the USSR, yet hindsight frames the Autumn of Nations as a period of decline for the global left:

> The Berlin Wall's an interesting one, because I don't know any republicans who didn't welcome the reunification of Germany, because we believe in countries being independent and united, so we liked that. An awful lot of us would have understood the significance of the Soviet Union, and irrespective of the problems with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union stood as a bulwark against America – maybe "against" is taking it too far, but they stood as an alternative, and you know it's not been good, the Americans being the sole dominant power in this world has not been good… A lot of us understood the significance of the Soviet bloc, it's a better world when there's two powers up there. That said, the Soviet Union needed a lot of cleaning up and sorting out.[626]

Representing the past in the present, retrospectives, including oral histories, attempt to cohere narratives connecting these entangled historical subjectivities with present-day positions. Raymond McCartney, PIRA OC in Long Kesh between 1989 and 1991 and now a PSF MLA, remembered the Autumn of Nations dispelling utopian international ideas and illustrating the necessity of popular participation in politics:

> My experience of imprisonment was you looked at socialism in other places around the world with rose-tinted glasses. The fall of the Soviet Union and East Germany undermined absolutism: you have to make politics relevant to people, and they're not going to get caught up in the mantras of an ideology; you have to make it real.[627]

The implication of McCartney's testimony is that pragmatism and compromise were crucial after 1989, in line with the PSF leadership's tactical innovation in subsequent years. By contrast, in 2005, former Dublin PSF activist Philip Ferguson castigated the Provisional leadership for assuming that the revolutions of 1989 would profit Irish republicanism.[628] Yet Ferguson had remained a member of PSF until 1994. The leadership's optimism in 1989 was

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the '"new world order"… in which socialism no longer seems to provide a ready-made alternative economic system'. Instead, he commended to the South African leadership Lenin's New Economy Policy and the contemporary Zimbabwean economy as models for sustaining revolution even if the society 'was not ready for full-scale socialisation'. For Treacy, Lenin had successfully allowed 'forms of private ownership to continue so long as the state maintained overall control of distribution and planning which meant that resources created in the private sector could be directed to areas of need, for purposes of either investment or social provision'. Maitiú O Treasaigh, 'Whither South Africa?', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 6 Number 2 (Winter 1994).

[626] Gerry MacLochlainn interview.

[627] Raymond McCartney interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 18 September 2015.

[628] Philip Ferguson, 'Behind the betrayal', *The Plough*, Volume 2 Number 36 (22 May 2005).

not, then, the critical point of rupture for Ferguson, but memory and milieu impute additional significance to these positions in retrospect.

4.3 Conclusions

Analysing changes in Provisional republican strategy through the 1980s and 1990s, Mark Ryan argued that 'Irish republicanism has always been deeply influenced by the changes taking place in world politics'.[629] Yet Ryan's verdict is only partial: some Provisionals framed republican aspirations amid international political currents; others isolated Ireland. These contrasting positions map broad divisions within Provisional republicanism especially.

During the 1970s, Provisional leaders stressed the particularly Irish precedents for their Éire Nua programme and asserted Ireland's affiliation with the world's small and non-aligned nations. Irish neutrality in a Cold War context was sacrosanct. When leading Provisionals declared an 'economic resistance' campaign, rather than aspiring to the USSR, China, or Cuba, they directed republicans to agitate on grassroots community issues such as housing, unemployment, and working conditions.

By contrast, Official republicans identified explicitly with left-wing national liberation movements, often under Moscow's aegis – beyond the pale for Provisional interpretations of an oppressive, imperialist USSR. Consensus consistently evaded republican attempts to classify Ireland in the global arena.[630] Disagreements over socialism were not the only factors informing subjectivities in the Provisional-Official rivalry of the early 1970s, however; conflicting narratives of republican responses to loyalist attacks in Belfast and Derry in 1969 were paramount, too.

Senior Provisionals broadly celebrated any movement detrimental to the USSR, USA, or UK, but eschewed deeper engagement with revolutionary strategies in Poland, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, or Honduras, preferring exchanges of solidarity greetings. Left-wing Provisionals, often at lower ranks, and those who left in the late 1980s to establish the League of Communist Republicans, studied revolutionary movements to refine their theoretical socialism and criticise the republican movement's shifting tactics. When the Soviet Union

[629] Ryan, 'From the Centre', 73.
[630] Writing in 1992, PIRA prisoner Basil Hardy noted the seeming contradiction between 'the 26th richest nation in the industrialised world' and the island's ossifying economic infrastructure and reliance on foreign investment, which 'parallels Ireland with Third World countries'. Basil Hardy, 'Is Ireland a Third World Country?', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 4 Number 2 (Summer 1992).

disintegrated, many Provisionals, including its leaders, hailed fresh opportunities for nationalism, whereas grassroots leftists analysed more critically developments in Eastern Europe in respect of their implications for contentious politics worldwide.

For the Provisional movement and the IRSP-INLA alike, negotiating the relationship between socialism and nationalism, and between the party and the army, occasioned intra-organisational power struggles. The Provisional executive in the early 1980s recognised 'sloganising about socialism' as a threat to unity within the movement. In turn, radical Provisionals accused the leadership, by turns, of dogmatic militarism and inordinate tactical malleability. The republican socialist movement experienced similar problems when the IRSP *Ard Comhairle* asserted control of the INLA and a politicisation programme within the movement. Militarists challenged these moves and the movement split.

Codifying socialist ideas was controversial among republicans in the 1980s, reflecting fundamental differences in how individuals and their support networks interpreted 'legitimacy' and political priorities. For Ó Brádaigh, Adams, and their supporters, socialism was influential, but never a defining priority, and was best framed in the pliable historical context of 1916. Writing in *Hibernia* in October 1979, Adams defined republicanism by

> the 1916 declaration which in itself is a radical document. It talks about the wealth of Ireland belonging to the people of Ireland. Also as radical was the democratic programme of the first Dáil. If we are to be true Republicans we have to adhere to what it says in those documents.[631]

In a discussion at the West Belfast Festival in August 1989, Belfast Provisional and noted Adams supporter Jim Gibney evoked republican resistance rooted in everyday struggles as

> a liberating philosophy… a creative marxism, not one that is dogmatic… over whether Lenin said this, or Trotsky said that, or Stalin said the other.[632]

Interpreting republicanism's prospects positively, Gerry MacLochlainn credited Adams with politicising the republican base by emphasising Irish history over international political theory and 'ideology':

> Adams's work, from Long Kesh when he was interned, writing the Brownie columns, there was the struggle to politicise, or as he put it, "republicanise" our base. The phase we're in now, Adams's groundwork in politicising our base means we can handle it more, the setbacks, without that ideological grounding, the communist movements would talk about studying Marxism, Leninism, historical materialism. But the equivalent in the republican

[631] Paul Bew & Henry Patterson, *The British State and the Ulster Crisis: From Wilson to Thatcher* (London: Verso, 1985), pp. 118-119.
[632] 'A liberating philosophy…', *An Reabhloid: Journal of Peoples Democracy*, Volume 4 Number 2 (December 1989-February 1990).

> struggle wasn't reading those books; it was basically internalising republicanism, internalising your independence.[633]

By contrast, IRSP-INLA theorists such as Jim Lane and Ta Power looked to socialism and repudiated timeless republican nostalgia. In 1984, the IRSP leadership distanced itself from the Provisionals' 'veneer of left-wing rhetoric' and denounced 'parliamentary means', 'left-republicanism' and 'Hibernianised socialism' which basically 'equate with bourgeois democracy'. The IRSP did not uncritically laud the republican past since 1798, instead noting critically that 'Irish republicanism has its roots set in bourgeois democracy'.[634]

Kevin Bean has argued that the 'eclecticism' of the Provisionals' solidarity with guerrilla groups worldwide from the late 1970s onwards signified the 'porous nature of the Republican theoretical tradition and its susceptibility to the ideological pull of external forces'.[635] Although Bean's assessment applies to the Provisional left, sections of the movement, the leadership included, were consistently closed-minded towards contemporary history during the tumult of the Cold War. Writing in 1985, Danny Morrison, PSF's Director of Publicity, acknowledged the Provisional leadership's failure to consider meaningfully its stance towards the Soviet Union: 'Sinn Féin has never really voted on a policy toward Eastern Europe'.[636] It might be surmised that Provisional leftists authored criticisms of the movement's Foreign Affairs Bureau for 'working at a snail's pace' in 1990. Even amid these seismic political developments, the Bureau's resources were at an all-time low, according to its leader, Ted Howell, suggesting the Provisional leadership's detachment from international developments, South Africa excepted.[637]

Caution is required when analysing the implications of leftist thought for republican complexity. For successive Provisional leaderships, socialism was secondary to the historical telos of a 'new Ireland'. In some respects, this is hardly surprising. Outside prisons, the practical demands of fighting a guerrilla campaign, especially when that campaign was infused with an almost millenarian belief in imminent victory in the 1970s, could marginalise detailed theoretical considerations. A former PIRA volunteer in Derry City, Eamonn MacDermott recalled that

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[633] Gerry MacLochlainn interview.
[634] ILA: 'A historic step forward' (IRSP press release, 20 September 1984).
[635] Bean, *New Politics*, 74.
[636] *Ireland After Britain* (1985) quoted in Geldard & Craig, *IRA, INLA*, 84.
[637] Howell scorned a 'recent internal review of organisation… of dubious authorship'. LHL NIPC P4181: PSF, *Ard Fheis 1990* (Dublin: PSF, 1990).

> socialism was always there in theory, but there'd have been no real thought given to what it meant. We were very much short-term in thinking, as we actually believed we were going to get the Brits out… The socialist aspect was certainly secondary.[638]

Throughout this period, leftism emboldened some republicans – including, for example, radical PIRA prisoners from Tyrone and Fermanagh who imagined a 'workers' and small farmers' republic'[639] – and irritated others, such as PSF Director of Publicity Danny Morrison, who regarded socialism as a distraction from Irish republicanism's historic course.

Radical Provisionals studying the Autumn of Nations in the late 1980s and early 1990s contrasted with more parochial voices in the same movement asserting the uniqueness and isolation of the Irish republican struggle. When the Berlin Wall fell in November 1989, County Leitrim PSF councillor Mel Farrell was exasperated by media fascination with the 170,000 people fleeing East Germany. What about the 40,000 people leaving Ireland each year for work? When would Ireland's 'wall' fall?[640]

Farrell's exasperation contrasted markedly with Dublin PIRA prisoner Matt Treacy, for whom republican opposition to the Maastrict Treaty in 1992 was 'not based on an insular Nationalism' but was an anti-imperialist stance shared with leftists across national boundaries:

> In rejecting Maastrict we must not be seen to cut ourselves off from the other peoples of Europe. Indeed, it is in our interests to forge closer ties with those in the other European countries who share a similar outlook.[641]

Negotiating the interaction between nationalism and socialism divided the republican socialist movement, too. Official republicans in the early 1970s and, in subsequent years, leftist Provisionals situated republicanism among Marxian national liberation movements and studied revolutionary theory to inform their tactical thinking in Ireland. Other Provisionals, including movement leaders, were less interested in the global left per se, restricting their transnational purview to anti-imperialist struggles from which republicans could, they argued, draw inspiration, if not objective lessons in societal change. As the world order evolved through the late twentieth century, republicans envisaged the new Ireland's place in that world in vastly different ways.

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[638] Eamonn MacDermott interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 17 September 2015.
[639] The League of Communist Republicans espoused a 'workers' and small farmers' republic'.
[640] 'Berlin Wall down – "Leitrim's Wall" next?', *Leitrim Observer*, 18 November 1989.
[641] Maitiú O Treasaigh, 'What price European unification now?', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 4 Number 2 (Summer 1992).

Chapter 5 similarly examines transnational critique and complication in republican politics, specifically critical feminist analysis within and outwith republicanism. It explores how republicans negotiated these divergent visions for 'the new Ireland'.

Chapter 5: Feminism and women's activism in Irish republicanism, c.1968-c.1994

> *I think [Cumann na mBan][642] still had this Irish colleen view of young Irish women. Do your chapel, do this, do that. I think they lost sight of that young women were getting caught up in all this for the first time, and all sorts of boundaries were getting broken. Women didn't want to hear that anymore. Some did, others didn't. So when I was just turned eighteen [in 1975], I left Cumann na mBan and was sworn into the ranks of the IRA.*
>
> Ex-PIRA prisoner Nuala Perry interviewed by Jack Hepworth (Belfast, 30 March 2016).[643]

The quote above highlights tensions between constructed gender norms and lived experiences of women's activism in the Northern Ireland conflict. As one strand among 'new social movements' emerging from the global '68,[644] feminism collided with Irish

[642] Dieter Reinisch has charted *Cumann na mBan*'s curious history. Women could join the PIRA from 1970, but *Cumann na mBan* continued as a semi-separate organisation. Until 1986, *Cumann na mBan* members were active in the PIRA campaign, although in 1986 *Cumann na mBan* swore allegiance to the Continuity Army Council and Republican Sinn Féin. Dieter Reinisch, '*Cumann na mBan* & Women in Irish Republican Paramilitary Organisations, 1969-1986', *Estudios Irlandeses*, 11 (2016), pp. 149-162.

[643] Nuala Perry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 30 March 2016.

[644] Writing in 1981, Jürgen Habermas argued that 'new social movements' had emerged in western societies during the previous two decades. Supported by a 'new middle class, the younger generation, and those groups with higher levels of formal education', these 'new' movements were less concerned with how wealth and state resources were distributed, instead accentuating 'quality of life, equality,

republicanism. Republicans responded to feminist politics differently, across time and space, according to how they subjectively framed, historicised, and internationalised their struggle. The Northern Ireland conflict acutely divided already fragmented feminist groupings, which, like their counterparts in the USA, had demonstrated fissiparous tendencies during the 1970s.[645]

Scholars and leftist commentators alike have criticised the Provisional republican movement's treatment of feminism. According to these critiques, the Provisional high command marginalised feminist thought, perpetuated internal patriarchy, acquiesced in social conservatism, and stymied progressive positions on reproductive rights.[646] Provisional Sinn Féin (PSF) representative Eoin Ó Broin and Niall Gilmartin have partially disrupted this consensus.[647] In turn, the women's movement across the island of Ireland was acutely divided over the national question.[648] Recent revelations regarding historical abuse within the

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individual self-realisation, participation, and human rights'. Jürgen Habermas, 'New Social Movements', in Ruggiero & Montagna (eds.), *Social Movements*, 201.

[645] Feminists in the USA spanned socialists working in broad left groups, lesbian feminists advocating gay rights, anti-imperialist feminists, and radicals who repudiated male involvement. Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), p. 225.

[646] Scholars such as Monica McWilliams, Carol Coulter, and Begoña Aretxaga perceived a generally 'patriarchal and reactionary' and 'tremendously conservative' republican movement. Writing in 1984, British leftist Geoffrey Bell argued that Provisional Sinn Féin's (PSF) reluctance to embrace women's liberation undermined their socialist credentials. For Bell, PSF downplayed women's rights, especially reproductive rights, 'for fear of alienating their more conservative supporters in the South'. Mark Ryan referred to the Provisionals' 'opportunism on the question of women's rights' and their 'frequent… concession[s] to religious reaction'. Socialist republican critic Liam O'Ruairc posited that the Provisionals' 'opportunism' on feminism suggested 'co-option by the state'. Monica McWilliams, 'Women in Northern Ireland', in Eamonn Hughes (ed.), *Culture and Politics in Northern Ireland, 1960-1990* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991), pp. 91, 99; Carol Coulter, 'Feminism and Nationalism in Ireland', in David Miller (ed.), *Rethinking Northern Ireland* (London: Longman, 1998), pp. 162, 164; Begoña Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 151; Geoffrey Bell, *The British in Ireland: A Suitable Case for Withdrawal* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), p. 48; Ryan, *War and Peace*, 75; Liam O'Ruairc, 'Going respectable', *The Plough*, Volume 2 Number 36 (22 May 2005).

[647] For example, Ó Broin notes 'radically socialist-feminist' currents at PSF's *Ard Fheis* of 1984, which addressed 'economic discrimination, physical and sexual violence against women, the right to contraception, divorce and childcare'. Drawing upon 25 oral history interviews, Gilmartin argued that grassroots Provisional women's experiences of mobilisation and radical activism heightened feminist consciousness, outflanking the movement's official position on women's rights. Ó Broin, *Sinn Féin*, 251; Niall Gilmartin, 'Negotiating New Roles: Irish Republican Women and the Politics of Conflict Transformation', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 17 (2015), pp. 61, 68.

[648] As Clara Connolly has noted, republicans comprised just one strand among many in Irish feminism. Non-republican Irish feminists' variegated positions on republicanism and the constitutional question lie beyond the purview of this chapter. For detailed accounts, see Christina Loughran, 'Writing Our Own History: Organising Against the Odds – 10 Years of Feminism in Northern Ireland', *Trouble & Strife*, 11 (Summer 1987); Carmel Roulston, 'Women on the Margin:

Provisional movement have also contributed to arguments about the interaction between republicanism and women's rights.[649]

This chapter will analyse divergent republican engagements with feminist politics towards developing understandings of the republican spectrum. Paradigm shifts in feminist thought globally pervaded republicanism differently. Republicans emphasised feminist ideas to differing degrees and invoked women's experiences by turns locally, nationally, and internationally. These questions connect to wider theoretical discourses regarding how feminisms and nationalisms interact in contentious politics.[650]

The chapter comprises three chronological sections. The first section examines diverse republican interactions with contemporary second-wave feminism in the 1970s,[651] and considers how republicans framed women's roles in the republican movement. The second section analyses the activism of members of PSF's Women's Department, founded in 1979, amid the Provisionals' efforts to expand repertoires of contention and broaden international connections through the first half of the 1980s. The final section assesses radical feminist critiques emerging within the Provisional movement from the late 1980s, especially among PIRA prisoners in Long Kesh and Maghaberry. These political currents illuminate how authority was distributed and negotiated inside the movement, connecting to broader intra-republican debates around tactics and revolutionary theory.

The Women's Movement in Northern Ireland, 1972-1988', *Science & Society*, 53 (1989), pp. 219-236; Connolly, 'Communalism', 218.

[649] In October 2013, former Provisional Liam Adams was convicted of raping and sexually assaulting his daughter in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In October 2014, Maria Cahill told the media that a Provisional had raped her when she was 16 years old. Cahill described the PIRA 'interrogating' her over her allegations in the late 1990s. Cahill's great-uncle, Joe Cahill, who died in 2004, had been among the PIRA's founders in 1969. 'Liam Adams – brother of Sinn Féin's Gerry Adams – found guilty of raping his daughter', *Belfast Telegraph*, 1 October 2013; Henry McDonald, 'IRA accused of trying to cover up rape claim', *Guardian*, 14 October 2014.

[650] For Anne McClintock and Joane Nagel, nationalist organisations are profoundly patriarchal and reinforce traditional gender roles. For Nagel, nationalisms 'embrace tradition as a legitimating basis for nation-building and cultural renewal. These traditions, real or invented, are often patriarchal'. By contrast, Kumari Jayawardena argues that women's involvement in revolutionary groups can offer new opportunities for women's agency stimulating radical feminist discourses. Anne McClintock, 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, 44 (1993), pp. 61-80; Joane Nagel, 'Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21 (1998), p. 254; Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986).

[651] 'Second-wave feminism' follows American writer Martha Weinman Lear, who coined the term in 1968. Lear reported on the National Organization for Women's (NOW) activities including campaigning for women's employment opportunities, reproductive rights, divorce legislation, and against domestic violence. Martha Weinman Lear, 'The Second Feminist Wave', *New York Times*, 10 March 1968; Angie Maxwell & Todd Shields, 'Introduction: Toward a New Understanding of Second-Wave Feminism', in Angie Maxwell & Todd Shields (eds.), *The Legacy of Second-Wave Feminism in American Politics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 1-18.

5.1 Republicanism and 'women's liberation', c.1970-c.1979

Male republicans' oral testimonies seldom allude to women or feminism. Across 22 life history interviews with republican men, interviewees did not mention feminism, or even the more neutral question of women's participation in republicanism, except where directly prompted. By contrast, all three women interviewed spontaneously discussed aspects distinct to women's participation in republicanism, or tensions between feminism and republicanism.

Especially, although not exclusively, among women who have left the Provisional movement, feminism constitutes an important strand in critique of Provisional republicanism – more so now than historically, when grievances were muted and marginalised for different reasons. Retrospective criticism of the Provisional movement charges its leaders with failing to take feminist politics seriously, similar to leftists' perceptions of Provisionals' superficial engagement with socialism. Amid debates about PSF's policy on abortion in 2007, Daisy Mules, formerly leader of PSF's Women's Department, recalled

> publicly supporting SF's "opposition to abortion" during the 80s! Many of us have tried, through having motions passed at *Ard Fheis*eanna, to have the abortion issue comprehensively discussed throughout the party, throughout Ireland, as we did in Derry in the late 1980s. So far, this hasn't happened. When are we going to stop being influenced by particular political "climates" (while women continue to have "secret" abortions) and stand up for the rights of women? Until we accept that women have the right to determine/make choices about their own fertility, we do not support equality for Irish women.[652]

Provisional leaders' radicalism in the early 1970s did not extend to women's rights, especially regarding marriage and reproduction.[653] Seán Mac Stíofáin opposed abortion and advocated state controls on divorce,[654] while Ruairí Ó Brádaigh argued that doctors should have 'tight control' of contraception.[655] The early Provisionals ignored contraception, unlike

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[652] Daisy Mules, 'Assembly motion on abortion', *An Phoblacht*, 1 November 2007.
[653] For detailed analysis of early Provisionals' interactions with revolutionary leftism, see Chapter 3 above. Neither founding Provisionals in 1970, nor young radicals in Northern Ireland's People's Democracy, shared the interest in women's liberation apparent among New Leftists in West Germany's Socialist German Student Union or the USA's 120 consciousness-raising groups in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. Former PD member Margaret Ward remembered PD neglecting the politics of women's liberation emergent in Europe and the USA in the late 1960s. Barbara L. Tischler, 'The Refiner's Fire: Anti-War Activism and Emerging Feminism in the Late 1960s', in DeGroot (ed.), *Student Protest*, 190, 193; Anderson, *Movement and the Sixties*, 336-337; Margaret Ward, 'From Civil Rights to Women's Rights', in Farrell (ed.), *Twenty Years On*, 127, 129, 132.
[654] Seán Mac Stíofáin quoted in White, *Out of the Ashes*, 45-46.
[655] John Rooks, 'Sinn Féin president talks to unionists', *Belfast Telegraph*, 28 July 1972.

their contemporaries in the nascent Irish Women's Liberation Movement.[656] In September 1972, a leader article in *Republican News* situated Irish women subordinate to their husbands, celebrating Matilda Witherington, Theobald Wolfe Tone's wife, from which Irish women could learn how to 'match the bravest man' employing 'the qualities that are distinctive of the woman… gentleness, sensibility, sympathy and tenderness'.[657]

Such social conservatism was not the preserve of the Provisional leadership, either. In 1974, a Dublin PSF member framed the republican struggle as one a moral crusade against British social mores flooding Ireland with 'excesses of drugs, drink and sexuality'. Liberalising contraceptive laws would undermine the 'happiness of married life'. Although the newspaper presented the opinion piece as the individual's 'personal views', the editorial commendation of the piece as worthy of 'serious thought' anticipated considerable sympathy within the movement.[658] In 1980, a correspondent to *An Phoblacht/Republican News* defended divorce laws and described female divorcees as 'pathetic'.[659]

Even after revolutionary mobilisation, Provisional publicists, and many among the grassroots, located women in distinctly domestic settings, recalling the experience of the thousands of female activists in Algeria's FLN in the 1960s.[660] In France and West Germany, radical women criticised chauvinism in male New Left activists who were disinterested in feminism. Provisional republicanism, downstream of '68's cycle of contestation, demonstrated similar tendencies.[661]

Especially in the early 1970s, Provisional publicity underscored women as particularly vulnerable under British rule. Ill-treatment of women was the most obscene indictment of the regime and, by implication, the most compelling motivation for republican men. In 1973, a PSF bulletin in Andersonstown claimed that 'the internment of young girls' was the security forces' greatest barbarism in three years. Republican women were merely 'pawns in the cruel game of repression being played from Headquarters in Warminster'. The 'struggle for self determination' would not cease 'while girls are being interned by British

[656] In 1971, Irish Women's Liberation Movement activists invaded Leinster House when the Seanad did not consider Senator Mary Robinson's Contraceptive Bill. Áine Mannion, 'Women leading the way', *LookLeft*, Volume 2 Issue 21 [2015].
[657] 'Irish Womanhood', *Republican News*, 16 September 1972.
[658] 'Contraceptive Bill', *Republican News*, 9 February 1974.
[659] Aisling Ni Bhiorthagra, 'Women's rights', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 31 May 1980.
[660] Estimates suggest as many as 11,000 women were active in the FLN, but the majority returned to domestic settings after national independence. Nagel, 'Masculinity and Nationalism', 254.
[661] Kristina Schulz, 'The Women's Movement', in Klimke & Scharloth (eds.), *1968 in Europe*, 288.

gangsters'.[662] Imprisoning women constituted an unholy incursion upon traditional family life, and an unnecessary imposition for women who were held to be somehow politically unthreatening. PIRA men shared these ideas: in September 1973, republican men from Armagh incarcerated in Long Kesh regarded the imprisonment of women as 'an attack on the sanctity of family life'.[663] The following year, the publicity officer of a west Belfast PSF branch framed the internment of 'women and girls' as a cause célèbre, inviting support for 'these brave girls'.[664]

Such portrayals contrasted sharply with PD's newspaper celebrating republican women's activism as evidence of revolutionary consciousness. *Unfree Citizen* editorialised against portrayals of republican women as 'weaklings or fods whose spirits will easily be broken'. On the contrary, republican women were

> liberated in the true sense of the word… even though they are behind prison bars – they are the people who are truly emancipated and free.[665]

Through the 1970s, republican women in Belfast and Derry often embraced ideas of maternity while they rallied against internment, security forces, and criminalisation. In Belfast's Turf Lodge estate, local residents established a Mothers Action Committee after two teenage boys were killed by the British Army in 1975 and 1976. The group organised bin-lid protests whenever security forces approached the district.[666] In 1977, a 'Blanket Mother' from Divis Flats wrote to the nationalist newspaper *Andersonstown News* publicising republican prisoners' strife.[667] The Provisional movement's leaders and propagandists reinforced these images of women as guerrillas' relatives, forced to survive house raids and raise families alone, with husbands imprisoned or killed. In 1978, a representative of Sinn Féin's Foreign Affairs Bureau reported that 'Ireland's H Block mothers… never forget the suffering of their sons'.[668]

Class dynamics figured heavily in the republican-feminist nexus. Community defence in the early 1970s, and campaigning for political status later in the decade, drew many working-class women in urban republican communities into contentious politics. Republican

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[662] 'The girls', *The Volunteer* (n.d. [1973]). Published by PSF's Cathal Brugha *cumann*, Andersonstown.
[663] K. Trainor, P.R.O., Armagh Republican Prisoners, S.F. Cumann, Long Kesh, Letter, *Unfree Citizen: Newspaper of the People's Democracy*, No. 2 Vol. 51 (17 September 1973).
[664] 'Liz McKee', *Republican News*, 9 February 1974.
[665] 'The women inside', *Unfree Citizen: Newspaper of the People's Democracy*, No. 2 Vol. 51 (17 September 1973).
[666] Joan Lally, 'Three Irish women talk about their sons' deaths', *Spare Rib*, 62 (September 1977).
[667] 'Picture Ireland 1978: Prisoner's Mother's View', *Andersonstown News*, 6 May 1978.
[668] Eldrida, 'The women of May Place', *Republican News*, 2 September 1978.

activism defined everyday existence, whereas 'feminism' and 'women's lib' connoted a distinctly middle-class politics far removed from the Irish war. Working-class republicans such as Anne Marie Loughran associated 'Womens Groups' with 'purely women's issues – contraception, abortion, nurseries – in middle class areas and mostly from middle class backgrounds'. In contrast, Loughran, a member of the Relatives Action Committees and prominent activists in small republican-feminist alliance Women Against Imperialism in the late 1970s, spoke of her comrades as 'ordinary working class women' whose republicanism stemmed from everyday realities of a war situation.[669]

In the early 1970s, women's liberation movements in Britain and the USA convened local consciousness-raising groups to explore psychology, personal relationships, and social attachment.[670] Early Provisionals regarded such concerns with family and sexuality as suspiciously 'middle class' and irrelevant amid an escalating war situation. A female republican ex-prisoner highlights republican perceptions of feminism as 'middle-class' and irrelevant in the 1970s:

> I don't think there was discussions [of women's politics within republicanism], I think it was made very clear because I remember going to a woman's conference one time in Dublin, not long after I got out of prison, and it was very clear that, you know, the feminists didn't want the republicans making a contribution, but more importantly the republicans didn't want republicans making a feminist contribution! So, you know, it was an awful place to be, it was a difficult place to be stuck in because there was lots of stuff happening to women and, you know, women's issues were starting to get raised in the general media anyway… Feminism at the time, it was seen as something that middle-class women did. Working-class women didn't do feminism because it was all about poverty and the ghettos and, you know, feminism was something, it was like something you could aspire to be, but you'd to sort out all this other stuff first.[671]

Provisional republicans in the 1970s were broadly aloof from the politics of women's liberation. After PSF instituted its Women's Department in 1980, heralding a new wave of feminist critique within the movement, the leadership discussed women's rights as one component among many in the social injustice republicans strove to overcome. Gerry Adams and his supporters repeatedly stressed women's contribution to the republican struggle, past and present, but their analysis was acutely national, rather than international. In this schema,

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[669] 'Ireland: women at war', *Women's Voice*, 33 (1979).
[670] Hughes, *Young Lives on the Left*, 184-185; Nicholas Owen, 'Men and the 1970s British Women's Liberation Movement', *Historical Journal*, 56 (2013), pp. 805, 807.
[671] Former Armagh republican prisoner interview with Jack Hepworth. County Armagh, 2017.

British rule in the north, and Catholic theocracy in the south,[672] oppressed Irish women. Capitalist development and international feminism did not feature in this discussion. In 1985, even when conceding that PSF had 'failed to become involved' in the Republic of Ireland's abortion referendum two years earlier, Gerry Adams warned against the 'benign imperialism' of British feminists from 'different cultures'. Adams's hostility reflected his belief that Ireland's specific circumstances informed women's oppression, with international feminism cast as a potential distraction from the republican struggle.[673]

For republicans on the left, including Officials and members of the IRSP and PD, women's rights were integral to the international revolution they envisaged. Although they criticised especially Irish conservatism, their feminism drew upon universal ideas about freedom and social participation, and identified global capitalism as the ultimate oppressor: in 1975, delegates from OSF's National Women's Committee addressed the World Congress on Women.[674] Although not aligned with the Women's Liberation Movement,[675] the Official movement published 13 demands for women's rights as an essential component of their 'Republican Socialism'.[676]

Feminist ideology pervaded the Official movement beyond its hierarchy early in the conflict: OIRA prisoners elaborating their politics in Long Kesh in 1973 located women's oppression in male-dominated 'capitalist society', and scorned so-called republicans who derided women's liberation. OIRA prisoners' critique extended to patriarchal marriage – which left 'no room for human emotions and the healthy sexual appetite of any young woman' – and education – which 'conditioned' women

> to believe that they are inferior to men and that from the cradle to the grave their main purpose in life is to serve, love, honour and obey the male.[677]

OSF's National Women's Committee predated the Provisionals' Women's Department, and criticised the Dublin government's moralistic social policies and the economic structures underpinning it. In 1976, when a Dublin court awarded £14,000 to a man who claimed that

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[672] Especially through the 1980s, republican feminists critically examined the political agency of the Catholic Church. Chapter 6 addresses these issues, in the context of republican engagement with organised religion.
[673] 'Brilliant, biting and mediocre', *Sunday Independent*, 7 July 1985.
[674] 'World congress on women', *Irish Examiner*, 25 October 1975.
[675] In 1973, Dublin's Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) rejected OSF election literature which held that 'Women's Liberation and [Official] Sinn Fein's struggle for a socialist Ireland… go hand in hand'. The WLM asserted that it had no aspirations to a 'socialist united Ireland'. 'The election', *Irish Press*, 28 February 1973.
[676] IEL: OSF, *Ard-Fheis 1972-1973 Report*.
[677] 'Women's Lib A Fight for Justice', *An Eochair: A Bulletin of the Irish Republican Movement, Long Kesh*, No. 2 (July-August 1973).

his wife had 'been enticed' from him, Máirín de Burca of OSF's National Women's Committee attacked the ruling for treating women as 'chattels'. De Burca called for the state to recognise that women were 'human persons, not inanimate lumps of protoplasm, to be the subject of monetary haggling between superior males'.[678]

Emerging from a split in the Official republican movement in the mid-1970s, the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) similarly targeted capitalism and its nuclear family as the root causes of women's oppression. Accordingly, the founding IRSP *Ard Comhairle* criticised the women's liberation movement for 'ignor[ing] the need for mass social change… and the building of a new socialist consciousness'.[679] The IRSP immediately campaigned during 1975, International Women's Year, for equal pay and a 'wider choice of jobs' for women.[680] In 1984, the Derry IRSP's secretary, Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh, argued that

> under capitalism women have become social-engineers. They have thus become "privatized" within the home and nuclear family.[681]

5.2 Negotiating women's agency in the Provisional movement, c.1980-c.1986

By 1984, after the previous year's referendum on abortion in the Republic of Ireland, the Women's Department was the largest in PSF.[682] Prompted by the Department's growing activism, the Provisional leadership under Gerry Adams from 1983 interwove issues affecting Irish women with a wider range of grievances with state provision and legislation. Adams did not internationalise women's liberation, emphasising instead the experiences of republican women,[683] and occasionally of Irish women more broadly.[684] Chiefly, he portrayed women's

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[678] 'Act that "makes women chattels"', *Irish Press*, 10 February 1976.
[679] 'The repression of women', *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta*, Volume 1 Number 7 (October 1975).
[680] 'International women's year', *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta*, Volume 1 Number 1 (April 1975).
[681] LHL NIPC P16410: Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh, *A woman's place? Pairtí Poblachtacht Soisalach na hÉireann, Doire colmcille discussion document* (Derry: IRSP, 1984).
[682] Jane Plunkett, 'Focus on women's oppression', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 8 November 1984.
[683] Through 1984, Women's Department activists campaigned vociferously against strip-searching, which affected republican women in Armagh Jail. On 11 March 1984, International Women's Day, PSF coordinated pickets at Armagh, highlighting 'the obscene treatment of the republican women prisoners'. In a statement, the Armagh prisoners denounced strip-searching, in more radical terms, as an 'attack on our sexuality'. Jane Plunkett, 'Women in action', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 15 March 1984.
[684] In 1984, Provisional publicity highlighted a report by economists Janet Trewsdale and Mary Trainor criticising the Equal Opportunities Commission's 'ineffectual reformist standpoint' and calling for 'radical social change' in view of the 'worsening position of women workers in the six counties'. The same year, Donegal PSF's *Comhairle Ceantair* women's committee lambasted the

activism as a subsidiary component of a widening republican struggle, and an adjunct to an array of injustices specifically imposed by British rule and the Republic's 'neo-colonial' establishment.

In the early 1980s, successive PSF Presidents, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Gerry Adams, addressed sexism, violence against women, and the gender pay gap. Although Adams more stridently criticised 'invidious social distinctions' stigmatising divorcees and single parents, he emphasised republican women's experiences, highlighting Armagh Jail conditions and repeatedly narrating women's 'forgotten' activism.

Neither Ó Brádaigh nor Adams addressed sexuality and reproductive rights, or socialist feminist critiques of paternalism as a capitalist structure. Interviewed in April 1981, Ó Brádaigh framed policy document *Women in the New Ireland*

> against sexism and stereo-typing and dealing with equal pay for equal work, violence against women, family law, attitudes to contraception, abortion, illegitimacy, marriage law and child care.[685]

As per the document lamenting the

> indictment of society that so many women should feel the need to avail of abortion… We are opposed to the attitudes and forces in society which impel women to have abortions.

Ó Brádaigh sought to mitigate societal disapproval of abortion, but this did not represent a pro-choice position.[686] In his presidential address in 1984, Adams spoke of the movement neglecting its female participants: 'Even in a movement like ours the women are usually eclipsed by the men'.[687]

With the tacit assent of Rita O'Hare, the founding Women's Department leader, Ó Brádaigh and Adams attempted to contain feminism within the movement, and sometimes evaded the issue altogether. They concentrated on women's experiences and opportunities *within* the movement, amid suspicion that the fledgling Women's Department might drift from republican priorities. In 1984, O'Hare reflected on the previous five years:

> When the department was first set up, it was viewed with a certain amount of suspicion by some Sinn Fein women. There was the fear that an autonomous group of women within Sinn

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Republic judiciary's 'total discrimination [against] women involved in recent rape cases'. The committee also held demonstrations in Letterkenny, publicising strip-searching. Jane Plunkett, 'Decline of women's earnings', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 19 January 1984; 'Sinn Fein to highlight women's role', *Donegal News*, 10 March 1984; 'Sinn Fein sponsored walk', *Donegal News*, 13 October 1984.

[685] 'Ag labhairt leis an Uachtaran: Ruairi O Bradaigh', *Iris*, Volume 1 Number 1 (April 1981).

[686] 'Women in the New Ireland', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 8 November 1980.

[687] '"We have the right to be free"', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 8 November 1984.

> Fein would become separate from the main body of the organisation, and that their activities would not reflect or promote a republican viewpoint.[688]

In 1984, PSF's Education Department exhorted republicans to 'advance the cause of women's liberation', but only in feminist organisations which fully endorsed the Provisionals' objectives.[689] Abortion debates dominated the PSF *Ard Fheis* of 1985, yet Gerry Adams made no reference to women's rights in his presidential address.[690] Even in 1989, with male and female PIRA prisoners debating the issue, abortion was excluded from the 'women's rights' section of PSF's EEC election manifesto.[691]

At the grassroots, the Women's Department's growth sparked more centrifugal forces within the Provisional movement. In 1983 and 1984, new Women's Department branches were established in the Republic border towns of Monaghan and Dundalk, and rural west Clare. At the *Ard Fheis* of 1984, an array of PSF *cumainn* from the Republic successfully lobbied the organisation to campaign for a 'yes' vote in any future referendum on divorce.[692]

Although numerically minor, Provisional feminists in the Republic spanned varied protest trajectories in the 1980s,[693] and lacerated the southern theocratic constitution especially radically. Provisional writer Siobhan O'Malley highlighted the 'most discriminated against of all… women in the home, supposedly revered, protected and supported by the Free State Constitution'. She called for 'radical social change' to overcome the Republic's 'endemic' sexism.[694]

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[688] 'Women and the republican struggle', *Iris: The Republican Magazine*, 8 (August 1984).
[689] LHL NIPC P3887: PSF Education Department, *Economic Resistance* (Dublin: PSF, 1984).
[690] 'Presidential address', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 7 November 1985.
[691] 'Vote Sinn Féin', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 1 June 1989.
[692] 'Women and the republican struggle', *Iris: The Republican Magazine*, 8 (August 1984); 'Women's Department – Clare', *Iris Bheag*, 13 (September 1988); Jane Plunkett, 'Focus on women's oppression', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 8 November 1984.
[693] Anne Rynne from County Clare joined PSF in 1985, having previously campaigned in the anti-nuclear movement. Mary McGing from County Mayo was a civil engineering graduate who undertook development work in the 'Third World'. PSF's Mayo/Galway representative on the *Ard Comhairle* in 1983, McGing reflected that 'voluntary work – however well-intentioned – is in fact paving the way for increased exploitations by multinationals', and she committed to 'a revolutionary struggle of people… to correct their evils and shortcomings in their society'. Pamela Kane knew no republicans in her youth in the north Dublin suburbs. In 1990, she received a 10-year sentence for a PIRA bank robbery. Writing from Limerick Gaol in 1993, Kane listed the Catholic Church, state, and judiciary as 'the biggest bastions of patriarchy in the country'. 'Women for socialism', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 2 March 1989; 'Women's Department – Clare', *Iris Bheag*, 13 (September 1988); Mary McGing, '"No justice without removing the causes"', *Iris: The Republican Magazine*, 8 (August 1984); Sorcha Berry, 'Pamela Kane: The fighting spirit of Tyrone and Dublin', *An Phoblacht*, 1 October 2010.
[694] Siobhan O'Malley & Jane Plunkett, 'International Women's Day: Radical change not empty reforms', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 8 March 1984.

From the early 1980s, PSF's Women's Department forged international connections, especially with women's groups in Cuba, Central America, and South Africa. These global ties informed internal critiques of the Provisional movement. Rita O'Hare highlighted Cuban feminists' achievements advancing women's healthcare and education. Reflecting on conversations with the Federation of Cuban Women in 1984, O'Hare implored Provisional women to advance a feminist programme within their own 'anti-imperialist' struggle.[695] In 1989, reading women's resistance poetry from Central America and Cuba, PIRA prisoner Mary McArdle celebrated its 'forceful confrontations of machismo' and suggested republican women should similarly challenge male comrades' contradictory 'macho attitudes' and 'revolutionary ideologies'.[696] Máiréad Keane led PSF's Women's Department when it hosted Nonkluleko Woko of the ANC's Women's Section in 1991. Keane concluded that republicans with 'blinkers on' must reassess women's rights.[697]

As PSF's Director of Foreign Affairs in the 1980s, Síle Darragh was among the most senior women in the Provisional movement. Under Darragh's leadership, the Foreign Affairs Bureau developed relationships with national liberation movements and national minorities, encouraging Provisionals to consider commonalities with struggles elsewhere and internationalise their politics. In 1984 and 1985, Foreign Affairs Bureau delegations attended meetings with humanitarian groups in Paris and conferences in Italy for 'Minorities in Europe' and the International League for the Rights of Peoples.[698] At home, the Bureau hosted American-Indians and Nicaraguan Sandinista Rosario Antúnez.[699]

Feminists in the Provisional movement led many of PSF's overtures to the British left from the mid-1980s. Framing as a vulnerable community under Thatcherism enabled Provisional women to share platforms with diverse British radicals, including Labour activists, with women's experiences of the judicial and carceral systems foremost among the grievances. The Women's Department received solidarity greetings from various British radicals for International Women's Day in 1984. Supporters included Labour leftists and diaspora organisations, ecological campaigners, and ethnic-minority and feminist

[695] Rita O'Hare, 'One part of the whole struggle', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 8 March 1984.
[696] Mary McArdle's review of Amanda Hopkinson's edited volume *Lovers and Comrades*, in 'Book Reviews', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 1 Number 2 (Winter 1989).
[697] Máiréad Keane, 'Republican Women's Conference', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 1 (n.d. [1991]).
[698] 'Neutrality stance confirmed', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 7 November 1985.
[699] 'Jane Plunkett, 'Defending the revolution: Interview with a Sandinista representative', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 25 October 1984.

organisations.[700] In February 1989, Women's Department leader Máiréad Keane shared a platform with radical Labour councillor Martha Osamor and representatives from Women Against Pit Closures. Keane called for British leftists' support, presenting British policy in the conflict as an exercise in state repression which could be replicated against the left more generally:

> Real socialists in Britain should be active campaigners against British imperialism in Ireland. They should be active not just because it is the correct anti-imperialist position but also because techniques of repression which are used in the laboratory which is the North of Ireland will be used against working class people in Britain. Riot police and criminalisation have been used already against the miners and Black people… It is in the interest of working class people to campaign actively to force the British government to adopt a policy of withdrawal.[701]

Provisional women considerably influenced the Labour Party to adjust and prioritise Irish policies. In 1984, Chrissie McAuley of PSF's Belfast Women's Department addressed the National Conference of British Labour Women on supergrass trials and strip-searching. McAuley pressed the Labour Party to 'reappraise its policy on Ireland' and withdraw support from the loyalist veto on the constitutional status of Northern Ireland.[702] Later that year, Jo Richardson, Labour's spokesperson on women's affairs, visited Northern Ireland with two other members of the National Labour Women's Committee to further investigate strip-searching.[703] Labour policy on Ireland shifted incrementally in the mid-1980s, with its left wing especially sympathetic to Irish republicans' grievances and aspirations, if not their methods.[704]

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[700] These groups included the Labour Committee on Ireland Women's Group, Brixton Black Women's Group, the Asian Women's Resource Centre in Brent, *Spare Rib*, London Irish Women's Centre, and Greenham Common protesters. Jane Plunkett, 'Women in action', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 15 March 1984.

[701] 'Women for socialism', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 2 March 1989.

[702] 'Northern focus at women's conference', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 17 May 1984.

[703] The Labour delegation spent three hours with prisoners in Armagh and subsequently attended a Stop the Strip Searches Committee press conference in Conway Mill in west Belfast. Richardson highlighted the 'growing concern in the Labour movement, indeed among the general [British] public, about Armagh', vowing to lobby parliamentary colleagues to end 'sexist, humiliating and degrading' strip-searching. Labour delegates were among the 160 women from 'feminist, anti-imperialist and labour movement' groups attending PSF's Women's Department's events in 1984. After plenary sessions on repression, prison conditions, housing, social welfare benefits, and 'cultural resistance', several Labour representatives resolved that Armagh would be on the agenda at Labour's Women's Conference in May 1985. Labour MP Joan Maynard vowed to petition the Thatcher government for an end to strip-searching. 'Labour visit to Armagh', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 15 November 1984.

[704] At Labour's party conference in 1984, 75 percent of delegates supported six resolutions from women's sections and councils in the party condemning Diplock courts and supergrass trials, and

The Women's Department continually connected with British and Irish diaspora feminists, the Troops Out Movement and the Labour left in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Provisional women forged international alliances in protest against state repression and human rights infringements, chiefly around prison conditions. In March 1989, for the third consecutive annual International Women's Day, diaspora groups, human rights organisations, and British feminists joined republicans campaigning against conditions in Durham Jail and strip-searching in Britain and Ireland.[705] London Women in Ireland and the Troops Out Movement sent delegates to PSF's Women's Conference in 1991, and International Women's Day events in 1992 and 1993, where meetings addressed sex and sexuality, women's groups' funding shortfalls, and prisoners' experiences in Maghaberry.[706] In 1992, 42 women from England visited Maghaberry, where they heard a statement from the women prisoners condemning the 'ongoing censorship' of 'democratically elected' PSF representatives.[707]

Collective memory of post-revolutionary regression and patriarchy's endurance in Ireland permeated PIRA women's agenda from the early 1980s. Provisional feminists remembered how Irish leftists had insisted women's emancipation must 'wait' pending socialist revolution in the early twentieth century. In a statement on International Women's Day in 1982, the PIRA public relations officer in Armagh Jail warned the movement's leadership against relegating women's liberation in the manner of previous republican campaigns:

> We cannot allow the same situation to evolve as in the past where women played a comparatively strong role in the Rising and Civil War but afterwards disappeared into oblivion, gaining little or nothing for the rights of women.[708]

Similarly, in 1989, Maghaberry prisoners asserted that feminist struggle would not end with British withdrawal:

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exhorting the party to 'repudiate its past collusion with those practices' – a reference to Roy Mason's criminalisation policy. The next Labour government would 'repeal all such inequitable and repressive measures'. The conference also passed a motion condemning strip-searching. 'Northern focus at women's conference', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 17 May 1984.

[705] These groups included the United Campaign Against Strip-Searching, Irish in Britain Representation Group, Troops Out Movement and local women's groups in north-east England. 'Women's Day protest at Durham "hell-hole"', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 16 March 1989.

[706] Irene Sherry, 'Report on SF Women's Conference', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 3 Number 3 (Winter 1991).

[707] Clare Connor, 'International Women's Day Delegation to Belfast, 4-7 March 1993', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 4 (n.d. [1993]).

[708] LHL NIPC P881B: *Notes for Revolutionaries* (Belfast: Republican Publications, 1983).

> Some injustices will not just disappear when the British have been forced out. The education process must be extended to communities in every way possible.[709]

Experiences of incarceration embedded these radical positions among PIRA women in Maghaberry in the late 1980s. They increasingly internationalised their politics and situated their struggle in a global campaign for personal autonomy, self-determination, and socialism. In 1984, PIRA women in Armagh Jail sent solidarity to

> our sisters in Palestine, Nicaragua, Honduras, Chile, to the women of SWAPO, and indeed to all women striving, either military or politically, to bring social change and the freedom of the world's oppressed peoples.[710]

Writing in 1991, left-wing PIRA prisoner Ailish Carroll thought it imperative 'to reinforce our links with other groups and countries' and 'examine conflicts on an international scale' to appreciate Marx's and Connolly's 'proletarian internationalism'. Carroll cited Grenadan socialist revolutionary Maurice Bishop on removing 'artificial barriers of colonialism', and implored her comrades to recognise 'struggling races across the world' before 'establishing a socialist Ireland'.[711]

Feminism was no longer simply an adjunct of republicanism, nor was the British presence in Ireland the sole oppressor of women. Writing in 1989, PIRA women in Maghaberry narrated this process:

> Previously, we viewed the armed struggle as the one and only struggle… time and experience have taught us that more than British imperialism needs to be changed. Few [took] any part in the women's movement or seriously devoted much time to the struggle for women's rights [before imprisonment, but in prison] discussion and debate… develop[ed] and raise[ed] our own consciousness. Through discussion and debate, we have each contributed to each other's education and helped to broaden our political horizons… on a range of issues.[712]

These conversations concluded that

> women's oppression is universal and that the source is the unequal balance of power between men and women… In a socialist Ireland, this imbalance of power must be rectified.[713]

Female prisoners' politicisation and radicalisation in Ireland recall the work of Kumari Jayawardena and Fidelma Ashe, who argued that women's involvement in revolutionary

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[709] Women POWs, 'Women and the National Struggle', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 1 Number 1 (Autumn 1989).
[710] Jane Plunkett, 'Women in action', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 15 March 1984.
[711] Ailish Carroll, 'One people, one struggle, one destiny', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 3 Number 1 (Spring 1991).
[712] Women POWs, 'Women and the National Struggle', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 1 Number 1 (Autumn 1989).
[713] Ibid.

movements prompt new opportunities for women's agency, sparking feminist discourses within a radical group.[714]

5.3 Radical Provisional feminist critiques, c.1986-c.1994

The complex activist trajectory of socialist republican Bernadette Devlin highlights dynamic tensions across republicanism and feminism during the 1980s and 1990s.[715] Devlin never joined the Provisional movement, yet she considered it a powerful, if imperfect, vehicle for contentious politics in Ireland. Her tactics for advancing socialism and feminism shifted, too. Interviewed in 1983, she argued that Ireland's 'best feminists' had graduated from republicanism, where they gained awareness of 'fighting against repression'. For Devlin, feminism flourished beneath the surface of the Provisional movement, even though the republican movement itself found it 'very difficult', to prioritise women's politics 'given its historical development and the level of consciousness'.[716] However, by the early 1990s, Devlin's confidence in the Provisionals' capacity to mobilise radical feminists had waned. PSF represented 'the leadership of progressive forces in this country', but she doubted its fidelity to the stated goal of a pluralistic, socialist society.[717] She proposed a republican feminist movement outside the Provisional movement, and Gerry Adams supported the suggestion.[718]

Through the 1980s, sections of the Provisionals' Education Department and Women's Department propounded more radical and socialist feminist positions on abortion, sexuality, capitalist patriarchy, and male republicans' attitudes. In 1981, in a programme for new members, PSF's Education Department promoted a socialist feminist position stipulating that 'capitalist society… discriminated against' women.[719] The same year, the Women's Department criticised party policy of 'total opposition' to abortion: 'Abortion *is an issue in*

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[714] Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*; Fidelma Ashe, 'The Virgin Mary Connection: Reflecting on Feminism and Northern Irish Politics', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 9 (2006), pp. 573-588. Sara Evans posits that women's experiences in civil rights and New Left groups in the USA from the late 1960s bequeathed egalitarian and emancipatory politics among female activists. The particular experiences of Irish republican women, especially in prison, informed similar developments in the late 1980s, as PIRA prisoners in Maghaberry lobbied within their movement. Evans, *Personal Politics*, 213-214.

[715] Devlin was affiliated, by turns, with People's Democracy, the IRSP, the Independent Socialist Party, and the National H-Block/Armagh Committee (NHBAC).

[716] LHL NIPC P17590: *Women Speak Out: British counterinsurgency, armed struggle and the mass movement – Interview with Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and Martha McClelland* (1983).

[717] 'Bernadette McAliskey interviewed', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 1 (n.d. [1991]).

[718] 'Irish republican women call for change', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 12 November 1992.

[719] LHL NIPC Tom Hartley Collection PH1571: PSF Education Department, *New Members Course: Notes for Sinn Féin Education Officers* (Belfast: PSF, 1981).

Ireland and will not end with a solitary sentence in a policy document'.[720] Internal education programmes in 1984 held that many republicans still did not engage with women's oppression, and were 'sometimes smug' simply acknowledging women's contribution to the struggle but 'ignor[ing] the reality of male attitudes towards women'. PSF's agenda did not recognise women's oppression as a consequence of 'capitalist, imperialist-dominated society'.[721]

PD activists similarly located women's oppression in imperialist capitalism and theocracy, and implored the Provisional leadership to elaborate its feminism. In 1981, PD activist Rose O'Mahony argued that republican-feminists must move beyond the Armagh issue, promote abortion and divorce rights, and criticise the 'Church's veto on state policy'.[722] Before the referendum on abortion in the Republic of Ireland in 1983, PD writer Pat Donnelly exhorted PSF to advocate a 'yes' vote.[723] Writing in 1984, PD activist James Gallagher called for the Provisionals to provide 'greater programmatic clarity on the women's liberation movement'.[724] In 1987, PD's policy document *Women in Struggle* described the PSF *Ard Fheis*'s ambiguous debates on contraception and abortion clinics as 'disappointing' for all aiming for 'an active feminist presence in the anti-imperialist movement'.[725]

PD publicity celebrated female anti-imperialists elsewhere not simply as evidence of greater inclusivity in revolutionary movements, but as part of a necessarily international assault on imperialism, capitalism, and patriarchy. A PD pamphlet in 1984 celebrated women's roles among Nicaragua's Sandinistas to this effect.[726] This trajectory reflected PD's alignment with the Fourth International, whose world congress of 1979 attacked the nuclear family as a patriarchal 'alien class institution' and envisaged intermeshed socialist, feminist, and anti-imperialist struggle.[727]

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[720] NIPC Tom Hartley Collection Tom Hartley Collection PH1640: Sinn Féin Department of Women's Affairs, *Abortion Ireland* (Dublin: PSF Department of Women's Affairs, 1981). Italics in original.
[721] PSF Education Department, *Women in Ireland* (Republican Lecture Series No. 8, 1984).
[722] Rose O'Mahony, 'Women's Movement: Which Way Forward', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Vol. 4 No. 2 [1981].
[723] Pat Donnelly, 'A chance to reorganise', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy* (Vol. 6 No. 2 [1983]).
[724] ILA: James Gallagher, *Our Orientation to the Republican Movement* (10 November 1984).
[725] LHL NIPC P6570: PD, *Women in Struggle* (Dublin: PD, 1987).
[726] LHL NIPC P367: PD, *A Woman's place is on the barricades* (Belfast: PD, 1984).
[727] In its 1979 resolution 'Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Women's Liberation', the Fourth International aspired to lead the struggle for women's liberation, but noted that since working-class and feminist struggles were not identical, women must lead their struggle before and after socialist revolution. Callaghan, *Far Left in British Politics*, 144.

Through the 1980s, the 'personal politics' of women's rights unsettled some senior Provisional men, who feared such discussions were divisive, and even irrelevant to their campaign. In 1981, PSF's Director of Publicity, Danny Morrison, acknowledged that abortion was 'a difficult question' which the Provisionals had 'not come to terms with politically'.[728] In 1983, Paddy Bolger, a Dublin PSF organiser and member of the party's *Ard Comhairle*, argued that republicans should avoid debates about feminism and abortion: 'Can anyone seriously argue that [women's rights] have any real revolutionary potential?'[729] A regular contributor to the Provisional discussion journal *Iris Bheag* posited in 1988 that discussions of abortion should end since the issue divided the movement: 'Sinn Fein policy should not evolve through bitter public conflict… Policy must evolve through consensus'.[730]

Abortion debates in 1985 and 1986 caused widespread unease within the movement, even among an older generation of republican women. In a meeting between the party's leadership and Women's Department in June 1988, Adams suggested that many republican women already considered themselves 'liberated' by virtue of their activism. Older women in particular, Adams argued, were inclined to think 'all this talk about women's liberation to be just that – talk'.[731] Abortion had been a contentious issue within the Provisional movement through the 1980s.[732] Feminists outside of republicanism noted the Provisional leadership's lukewarm attitude towards feminism.[733]

By the late 1980s, feminist Provisionals firmly associated the movement's shortcomings on women's rights with Adams's leadership. Radicals in PSF's Women's Department, especially its Derry and Belfast branches, and PIRA women in Maghaberry

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[728] Bob Rowthorn, 'Ireland's intractable crisis: interviews with the UDA and the Provisional IRA', *Marxism Today* (December 1981).
[729] Paddy Bolger, 'Which way forward in the Free State?', *Iris*, 7 (November 1983).
[730] Tonto, 'Policy Making – Abortion: "Let's Be Principled"', *Iris Bheag*, 13 (September 1988).
[731] 'The Role of Women in Sinn Fein', *Iris Bheag*, 11 (June 1988).
[732] The Provisionals' stated position on abortion shifted through the 1980s amid considerable controversy within the movement. *Women in the New Ireland* (1980) expressed 'total opposition' to abortion', amended incrementally in 1984 to 'we are opposed to abortion as a means of birth control', and changed again the following year, by a narrow vote margin of 77-73, to outright support for 'a woman's right to choose'. However, the pro-choice position caused ructions, and was amended once more at the *Ard Fheis* of 1986 to a more nuanced position: 'We are opposed to the attitudes and forces in society which compel women to have an abortion. We are opposed to abortion as a means of birth control but we accept the need for abortion where the woman's life is at risk or in grave danger, for example ectopic pregnancy and all forms of cancer'. LHL NIPC P2275: *The Politics of Revolution: The main speeches and debates from the 1986 Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis, including the presidential address of Gerry Adams* (Belfast & Dublin: Republican Publications, 1986).
[733] In 1983, after PSF carefully avoided partisan involvement in the Republic's referendum on the Eighth Amendment concerning abortion, feminist academic Margaret Ward argued that 'male socialists and republicans find it difficult to accept women as political equals'. Margaret Ward, 'We are all part of the same struggle', *Iris*, 7 (November 1983).

alike, criticised Adams and the movement's publicity and internal education. In discussions with Gerry Adams in 1988, Derry Women's Department complained that 'the man at the top' held inordinate influence 'making the decisions, managing, defining, articulating the policies'. They demanded the leadership show 'commitment to the long-term objective [of] dismantling and destroying patriarchy', and criticised the Education Department for omitting 'patriarchy' and 'patriarchal structures' from the party's education programme. Meanwhile, they wanted a 'separate' feminist group outside the Provisional movement. Adams acquiesced four years later.[734] When PSF representatives granted *Playboy* an interview in 1989, a PIRA prisoner in Maghaberry expressed outrage in republican discussion journal *Iris Bheag*. It was 'wrong' to deal with 'those pornographers… We must never align ourselves by prostituting the Republican Movement in their pages'. 'An Deirfiur' ('The Sister') concluded that the party must 'seriously question our attitudes to women' lest 'women will seriously question their place in the Republican Movement', suggesting more widespread disconcert among republican feminists.[735]

Through the late 1980s, left-leaning male PIRA prisoners in Long Kesh studied feminist politics, and discussed issues including abortion in prison journals, especially *Iris Bheag*. More than 100 PIRA men undertook Women's Studies courses in jail in the late 1980s.[736] Many of these republican men were on the left of the Provisional movement, rooting women's oppression in capitalist exploitation, class structures, and Catholic theocracy, and exhorting their male comrades to awaken to these issues. Writing in 1987, Portlaoise PIRA prisoner Sean Hick considered 'gender divisions' alongside 'capitalism' among the many 'repressive manifestations of colonialism'. Hick warned that British withdrawal would not necessarily end 'class and gender divisions'. Conversely, national independence could exacerbate women's experiences, Hick argued, pointing to the Republic of Ireland. He lamented that 'republicanism is associated with many things in the public eye and unfortunately feminism is not one of them'.[737] For PIRA prisoner Tommy Brogan, from Strabane, County Tyrone, there could be 'no equality under the yoke [of] Capitalism'; only socialism, with its 'foundation stones equality and justice… can bring about equality'. Brogan argued that the Provisionals must promote feminist politics through 'educational

[734] 'The Role of Women in Sinn Fein', *Iris Bheag*, 11 (June 1988).
[735] An Deirfiur, 'Playboy Interview', *Iris Bheag*, 18 (February 1989).
[736] McKeown, *Out of Time*, 145.
[737] Sean Hick, 'Women's Affairs', *Iris Bheag*, 4 (November 1987).

politicisation' and 'consciousness raising'. Some republican men 'added to the oppression of their female comrades'.[738]

PIRA prisoners' feminism addressed individual 'personal politics', as well as questions of women's economic and bodily autonomy. This reflexivity correlated with criticisms of the Provisional movement. In a reflective article in 1990, Derry PIRA prisoner Peter Whelan, who identified as a pro-choice feminist, challenged himself and the wider movement to 'challenge our own sexism and the ideas and structures which give us privilege'.[739] Brian Campbell and Leonard Ferrin, editors of the republican prison journal *The Captive Voice*, argued in 1990 that 'in men's everyday behaviour there is a patronising, sexist (if non-violent) attitude which is degrading and demoralising'.[740] A prisoner in H3 summarised discussions among PIRA men in Long Kesh in 1989:

> Much of women's oppression takes place in private, in personal relationships… Each man in the movement has a responsibility to eliminate his own sexist attitudes… Our Movement cannot be said to be revolutionary if it reproduces the relationships of power dominant in capitalism.[741]

Similarly, members of the League of Communist Republicans (LCR), who had left the Provisional movement from 1986 citing theoretical and tactical differences, situated women's oppression in capitalist imperialism, and regarded PSF's position on these matters as typically noncommittal. Writing in 1988, an anonymous LCR member argued that women's oppression stemmed from 'the origins of class society': under primitive communism 'both sexes played an essentially equal role' and enjoyed 'equal standing within the community'. 'Capitalism and imperialism' had trapped working-class women as 'domestic slave and dirt cheap labour'.[742] In January 1988, Tommy McKearney warned against perceiving the Provisionals as overwhelming progressive, pointing to PSF's '60% (leadership included) who vote against [abortion]'.[743]

Some prisoners in Long Kesh remained reluctant to address women's oppression in 1989: summaries of prisoners' discussions alluded to residual 'fear of liberation for

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[738] Tommy Brogan, 'Women's Struggle', *Iris Bheag*, 20 (May 1989).
[739] Peter Whelan, 'Men & male power', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 2 Number 2 (Summer 1990).
[740] Editorial, *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 2 Number 2 (Summer 1990).
[741] H3, 'Men debate feminism', *Iris Bheag*, 19 (March 1989).
[742] 'Women: The Slaves of Slaves', *Congress '86: Quarterly Journal of Communist Republican Prisoners and their Associates*, Volume 1 Number 3 (n.d. [1988]).
[743] Tommy McKearney quoted in LHL NIPC P3080A: *Armed Struggle: The Communist Party's open letter to the Provisional IRA and the complete and unedited contributions to the debate that appeared in the party's press* Irish Socialist *and* Unity (Dublin: Communist Party of Ireland, 1988).

women'.[744] However, despite these residual misgivings, male prisoners' engagement with 'women's politics' from the late 1980s highlights limitations in Mary Condren's depiction of a republican movement timelessly relegating feminism.[745] Late in the decade, several male PIRA prisoners publicly advocated a woman's right to choose. PIRA prisoner Tommy Brogan criticised the 'hypocrisy' of the 'conservative right wing elements within our society', and advocated 'legalis[ing] abortion on demand'.[746] In *Iris Bheag*'s written discussions, two Dublin prisoners supported Brogan's position, interpreting abortion laws as a matter of 'control'. Legalisation 'encompasses the very essence of… our revolution – freedom'.[747]

Into the early 1990s, senior Provisionals' allusions to women in the movement were limited to lamenting widespread underappreciation of women's efforts in the struggle. The antidote was to highlight women's advancement in PSF. At the *Ard Fheis* of November 1985, Women's Department representatives Rita O'Hare and Jacinta Duignan successfully advocated positive discrimination for women in PSF in the mid-1980s.[748] O'Hare later served as PSF's General Secretary and succeeded Danny Morrison as Director of Publicity in 1990.[749] Women's rights were thus internalised in the party, avoiding broader societal issues such as abortion or women's economic experiences.

Meanwhile, as the leadership framed and fixed women's rights nationally, PIRA prisoners explored classic feminist texts as well as more obscure critiques. Among a series of articles on 'women and culture' in April 1988, the anonymous editorial voice in *Iris Bheag* demonstrated familiarity with Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* (1969) on women in the workplace and the economy and Simone de Beauvoir's work on consciousness-raising and new 'ways of seeing', alongside Stephanie Unduny's writings on women in Mozambique, and Ann Carily's analysis of consumerism rooting women in domestic settings.[750]

Female PIRA prisoners in Maghaberry in the early 1990s retained the Provisional movement's master frame – the 'main source of our oppression is the British occupation and

[744] H3, 'Men debate feminism', *Iris Bheag*, 19 (March 1989).
[745] Mary Condren, 'Sacrifice and Political Legitimation: The Production of a Gendered Social Order', *Journal of Women's History*, 6 (1995), pp. 160-189.
[746] Tommy Brogan, 'The Abortion Issue', *Iris Bheag*, 19 (March 1989).
[747] Chucky, 'Womens' [sic] Right to Choose', *Iris Bheag*, 21 (July 1989); Jim Dunne, 'Abortion Again', *Iris Bheag*, 21 (July 1989).
[748] 'Women's issues hotly debated', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 7 November 1985.
[749] Seth Linder, 'Sinn Fein's sisterhood', *Independent on Sunday*, 19 February 1995.
[750] 'Women and Culture: Part 2', *Iris Bheag*, 9 (April 1988).

domination of our country'[751] – but their feminism spanned critiques of capitalism, heteronormativity, pornography, and media, including feminist, representations of women.[752] In 1991, Maghaberry prisoners attacked commercial marketing 'portray[ing] women as sexual objects'.[753] The same year, PIRA prisoners Mary McArdle and Carol Cullen argued that only prominent feminist magazines such as *Spare Rib* and *Women's News* positioned women outside of 'domestic life'. Mainstream women's magazines neglected the experience of working-class women, idealising 'white, middle-class, heterosexual housewives and mothers'.[754]

Maghaberry prisoners were also more outspoken on abortion than were other sections of the Provisional movement. Mary McArdle urged the republican movement to adopt a more progressive position on abortion: 'Women must be allowed control of their own bodies and reproductive rights'.[755] In 1993, PIRA prisoner Bronwyn McGahan identified as a 'pro-choice feminist'.[756] Like male feminists in Long Kesh, PIRA women lobbied and criticised their own movement. In 1988, Maghaberry prisoners accused the Provisional high command of hypocrisy, in the belief that the *Ard Fheis* had not 'condemned' a court ruling in the Republic preventing health centres providing information about abortion clinics. The prisoners disputed PSF's claims to be a

> non-sexist progressive party… Members of a movement who are constantly challenging and tackling oppression… should be upholding those rights – not helping to deny them.[757]

An anonymous prisoner implored the Provisionals to campaign for a broadened legal definition of rape, and to see rape as symptomatic of 'the continuity of male dominance' in society.[758]

In the early 1990s, where the Provisional leadership framed women's oppression in purely national terms of the British presence in Ireland, members of the Women's Department drew upon eclectic international leftist influences and female voices from

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[751] Quoted in a statement from the 17 PIRA prisoners in Maghaberry. Women POWs, Maghaberry, 'Women and struggle', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 2 Number 2 (Summer 1990).
[752] P.O.W. Maghaberry, 'Women and Pornography', *Iris Bheag*, 17 (January 1989); Women POWs, Maghaberry, 'Pornography', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 4 (n.d. [1993]).
[753] B-wing Republican POWs, 'Adverts exploit women', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 3 Number 1 (Spring 1991).
[754] Mary McArdle & Carol Cullen, 'Women's magazines', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 3 Number 1 (Spring 1991).
[755] 'Book Reviews', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 3 Number 3 (Winter 1991).
[756] Betsy Swart, 'Like the phoenix, we rise: A conversation with Irish POW Bronwyn McGahan', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 4 (n.d. [1993]).
[757] Women Republican POWs Maghaberry Gaol, 'Defend the Clinics Campaign', *Iris Bheag*, 7 (February 1988).
[758] P.O.W. Maghaberry Gaol, 'Rape', *Iris Bheag*, 17 (January 1989).

contemporary radical movements. In 1992, PSF Women's Department journal *Women in Struggle* quoted James Connolly on the 'suffering sisters of the wage earning class', as well as women in Fatah and the Palestine Liberation Organisation who had experienced sexism within their movements. Other quotations reflected admiration among anonymous members of the Department for explicitly left-wing revolutionaries, including Bolshevik feminist Alexandra Kollantai's critique of marriage and wives' 'chattel' status, and Mozambican FRELIMO leader Samora Machel's argument that only a 'working-class led revolution' could emancipate women.[759] In a poem published in 1992, Maghaberry prisoners counted among their 'teachers' not only Irish revolutionaries Tone, Pearse, and Connolly, but also Karl Marx.[760]

PIRA women in Maghaberry denounced sexism and paternalism within the Provisional movement. In 1993, PIRA prisoners Mary McArdle and Ailish Carroll argued that the movement 'continually judged' republican women whose husbands were imprisoned. These women's social lives were 'restrict[ed] even by those within the Republican Movement'. The movement 'should take the lead and discourage the more judgemental elements… [and] strive to offer more practical and emotional support' to prisoners' partners.[761] Imprisoned in Durham, Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer attacked the 'machismo' in republican communities. Although they acknowledged the initiatives of 'male feminist POWs… in Long Kesh', they argued that 'beyond the prison gates' many republicans would not 'recognise and acknowledge' women's roles in the struggle.[762] Dodie McGuinness, a PSF councillor in Derry City since 1985, also reported sexism in the movement: 'Some fellow republicans… dismiss me as "just a woman". Not in words so much as by deeds'. McGuinness recalled being excluded from discussions, and advocated internal education 'to combat sexism'. Men who espoused 'good anti-sexist politics in theory' were 'failing in day-to-day, unconscious actions and practices'.[763]

Charging the leadership with inaction on such issues, these critiques connected to wider misgivings about tactical change. In the early 1990s, Adams and senior colleagues lauded the ANC as a model for revolutionaries in conflict transformation, but did not follow

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[759] 'Women', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 2 (n.d. [1992]).
[760] See poem 'Volunteers' in 'Poetry', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 1 (n.d. [1991]).
[761] Mary McArdle & Ailish Carroll, 'How free are prisoners' partners?', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 5 Number 2 (Summer 1993).
[762] Martina Anderson & Ella O'Dwyer, 'Let's talk', *The Captive Voice/An Glór Gafa*, Volume 5, Number 1 (Spring 1993).
[763] Martha McClelland, 'Dodie McGuinness: Republican and public representative', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 3 (n.d. [1992]).

the ANC National Executive's comprehensive statement on women's emancipation in May 1990.[764]

Members of the Women's Department echoed Maghaberry prisoners' indignation at perceived tokenism in PSF policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Contributing to an internal Provisional discussion in 1988, Belfast Women's Department highlighted

> sexist attitudes which divide the organisation, isolate women and cause frustration, anger and a sense of futility [through] constant low level harassment, which some men continually inflict on women's members.[765]

PSF was 'exploiting the election of some few women to influential posts to keep other women in boring and stereotyped roles'. The Education Department did not address 'women's oppression' or 'challenge the sexist views of some members of the organnisation [sic]'. The Belfast branch demanded permanent Women's Department representation on the *Ard Comhairle* and Education Department, and a liberalised position on abortion:

> We believe that this organisation must resist any attempts to select policies on the basis of their popularity or respectability alone, and that we must campaign to bring some issues which are currently frowned upon into the mainstream of Irish Politics. We believe that whatever one's personal views, the issue of abortion will not go away, if it is ignored. Such issues and the conflicts around them within the organisation can only be resolved through open discussion and debate, and not by attempting to shelve them, sweep them under the carpet, or minimise the support for them.[766]

5.4 Conclusions

Writing in 1983, Suzanne Buckley and Pamela Lonergan argued that women had been excluded from influential positions in republican organisations during the 1970s.[767] This chapter supports Buckley's and Lonergan's conclusions for this first decade of the conflict. Provisional men framed women as particularly vulnerable in the escalating war. Provisional women did not identify with contemporary radical feminism's ideas of women's autonomous

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[764] The ANC's statement prioritised and internationalised women's emancipation and declared unconstitutional any practices which infringed women's rights, irrespective of such practices' 'traditional' credentials: 'The experience of other societies has shown that the emancipation of women is not a by-product of a struggle for democracy, national liberation or socialism. It has to be addressed within our own organization, the mass democratic movement and in the society as a whole'. McClintock, 'Family Feuds', 76.

[765] 'Role of Women in Sinn Fein', *Iris Bheag*, 13 (September 1988).

[766] Ibid.

[767] Suzanne Buckley & Pamela Lonergan, 'Women and the Troubles, 1969-1980', in Yonah Alexander & Alan O'Day (eds.), *Terrorism in Ireland* (London: Croom Helm, 1983), pp. 75-87.

organisation,[768] nor did they follow pro-choice activists in France and Italy, where abortion was legalised in 1975 and 1978 respectively.[769] The PIRA campaign in the 1970s did not share the social politics of Basque nationalists in *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (ETA), who targeted prominent anti-abortion lobbyists in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[770] Instead, until the early 1990s, Provisional feminists worked alongside men in a broad anti-imperialist organisation, in which feminist politics were often marginalised, reduced, and diluted.[771]

As Dieter Reinisch has noted, many republicans were raised in socially conservative environments, yet their milieux were imbued with the necessary radicalism of an anti-imperialist guerrilla movement engaging leftist influences in post-1968 contexts.[772] These seeming contradictions played out at individual and group level through the 1980s.

How Ó Brádaigh, Adams, and their supporters historicised and spatialised Irish republicanism underpinned their interactions with feminist politics. These Provisional leaders looked to a distinctly Irish past to legitimise political positions in the present. The historical record furnished examples of republican women active in 1798 and 1916, so both Ó Brádaigh and Adams readily endorsed ongoing women's activity in the Provisional movement. To the extent that they addressed women's oppression, they situated it chiefly as a product of British rule. However, their agenda on women's politics extended little further. Second-wave feminism belonged to more recent international currents, especially in the USA, Britain, and Europe, and appeared irrelevant and divisive.

Revolutionary left republicans, including members of the Official movement, IRSP, and PD in the 1970s, also emphasised ideas of Irish republican historical legitimacy, but less exclusively. Inspired by the global left, they located women's liberation as a central aspect of international socialist revolution overthrowing imperialism, capitalism, and patriarchy.

However, through the 1980s, feminist politics gradually permeated the Provisional movement, albeit in nuanced ways initially.[773] After the Republic's referendum on abortion in

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[768] For example, sections of the British Women's Liberation Movement espoused women's independence and self-reliance in the 1970s. Owen, 'Men and the 1970s British Women's Liberation Movement', 801.
[769] Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (London: Vintage, 2005), pp. 488-489.
[770] Carrie Hamilton, *Women and ETA: The Gender Politics of Radical Basque Nationalism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 155.
[771] In October 1992, Women's Department leader Máiréad Keane invited 'women of all political persuasions' to a conference in Derry to discuss women's oppression and the national question. Gerry Adams supported this agitation for a separate women's movement. Máiréad Keane, 'Women's Conference', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 29 October 1992.
[772] Reinisch, '*Cumann na mBan* & Women in Irish Republican Paramilitary Organisations', 160.
[773] Christina Loughran's depiction of feminists in the Provisional movement 'giv[ing] up their autonomy' for only incremental advances in organisational policy predated Provisional feminists'

1983, diverse Provisional activists campaigned around the Women's Department's branches, especially across Northern Ireland and the Republic's border areas. Like Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, his predecessor as PSF President, Gerry Adams addressed women's politics within narrow confines. He repeatedly asserted republican women's 'neglected' activism, but avoided overtly advocating bodily autonomy; he exclusively highlighted Provisional women's experiences, eschewing international leftist critique of women's oppression more broadly.

From the mid-1980s, the Women's Department forged international connections with feminist anti-imperialists and the British left. In the late 1980s, radical feminist currents within the PIRA echoed the second-wave feminisms which had pervaded Britain, Europe, and the USA in the early 1970s. Left-wing PIRA prisoners in Long Kesh and Maghaberry alike adopted similar critiques, informed both by emerging criticisms of the Provisional leadership's tactics, and also by the radical potential of pedagogy and debate in jail. They internationalised women's struggles and attacked the theocratic aspects of Northern Ireland and the 'neo-colonial' Republic. Their analysis resembled British socialist feminists who situated women's oppression in overarching anti-capitalist struggle.

There were local inflections to the feminist-republican nexus. For example, Provisionals in Derry City consistently espoused pro-choice positions during abortion debates from the mid-1980s onwards, often defying the *Ard Comhairle* and anti-abortion delegate motions at PSF *Ard Fheiseanna*. Derry Provisional Daisy Mules defied the party executive in the abortion debates at the *Ard Fheis* of 1985, moving the party to 'recognise that women have the right to choose' since 'every person should be free to follow their own personal beliefs and values'. Mules's fellow Derry delegate Paddy Logue similarly considered abortion 'a matter of civil liberties and rights – men cannot take that right away from women'. The *Ard Comhairle* opposed the right to choose, instead 'striving against the conditions which force women to have abortions'.[774] In 1986, when five northern PSF *cumainn* proposed the *Ard Fheis* revert to the 1980 policy of 'total opposition' towards abortion, only Derry City's branch and the Derry *Comhairle Ceantair* dissented, calling for a 'secular state' and the woman's right to choose, assisted by 'non-directive pregnancy counselling embodying all choices'.[775]

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activism from the late 1980s. Christina Loughran, 'Writing Our Own History: Organising Against the Odds – 10 Years of Feminism in Northern Ireland', *Trouble & Strife*, 11 (Summer 1987).
[774] 'Women's issues hotly debated', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 7 November 1985.
[775] LHL NIPC P2303: PSF, *Ard-Fheis '86: Clár agus Rúin* (Dublin: PSF, 1986).

In the early 1990s, Provisional feminists in Derry internationalised women's struggles and collaborated with women's groups outside the Provisional movement. On International Women's Day in 1991, Derry PSF collaborated with Derry Women's Aid to unveil a mural connecting republican women with local feminists and Nicaraguan workers. Derry PSF representative Martha McClelland said the mural celebrated 'sisterhood and anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world'.[776] The following year, Provisionals joined feminists to form a new women's drama group in the city, Guth na mBan (Women's Voice). Activists performed short plays in Derry's public spaces, linking republican and non-republican women's experiences, such as domestic violence, and strip-searching in Maghaberry Prison and Castlereagh interrogation centre.[777] These complex interactions illustrate the heterogeneity of republicans who framed, historicised, and spatialised their struggle.

Chapter 6 shifts the focus of republicanism's social situation to its relationships with the Catholic Church and religion at individual and institutional levels. It explores how republicans' militant campaign and radical objectives collided with the Church in its host communities.

[776] Martha McClelland, 'Against The Wall', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 1 (n.d. [1991]).
[777] Martha McClelland, 'A Voice for the Voiceless', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 3 (n.d. [1992]).

Chapter 6: Religiosity and Irish republicanism, c.1968-c.1994

Since 1968, the contentious politics of Irish republicanism have challenged and reshaped the Catholic Church's social roles. For two principal reasons, the Church was unable to impose a dominant ideology on the politicised Catholic communities of the north of Ireland.[778] First, as this chapter will demonstrate, the Church lacked internal consensus on republicanism. Some clergy were wholeheartedly opposed to the republican movement, while others explored republican grievances – and, in some cases, exhibited significant sympathy. Second, republicans were not passive in the face of senior clergy's criticisms.

Subjective experiences of religion profoundly inform evolving collective identities and political allegiances. Emile Durkheim highlighted the importance of religion in collective life, framing experience, community, and shared ideas of morality.[779] As George Moyser has noted, religion provides both an interpretive lens and a blueprint for action at individual and corporate levels alike. The Catholic Church is an especially differentiated institution, spanning various political outlooks among its ranks.[780] Interactions between religiosity and politics are particularly contested and potent in the north of Ireland.[781] Even amid general secularisation and declining church attendance, religious affiliations can endure as markers of contentious ethnonational identity.[782] Steve Bruce's phrase cautions against common

[778] 'Catholic communities' refers broadly to 'ethnic' Catholics in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland's border counties, irrespective of individual beliefs and practices. The vast majority of Irish republicans since 1968 have been born to Catholic families and experienced aspects of a Catholic upbringing. Some republicans, but by no means all, have identified as practising Catholics during their pathways to and through political mobilisation.
[779] Bryan S. Turner, *Religion and Social Theory* (London: Sage, 1991), pp. xi-xii, 76, 80.
[780] George Moyser, 'Politics and Religion in the Modern World: An Overview', in George Moyser (ed.), *Politics and Religion in the Modern World* (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 11.
[781] For example, for Marianne Elliott, northern Catholicism since partition in 1921 has revolved around 'a largely passive sense of grievance' based on shared notions of suffering and 'well-established traditions of the downtrodden and dispossessed Gael'. Marianne Elliott, *When God Took Sides: Religion and Identity in Ireland – Unfinished History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 155, 242.
[782] Church hegemony in health care, welfare, and social politics has been partially dismantled and discredited, but three decades of ethnonational conflict in the north of Ireland has accentuated the

misunderstandings: the Irish conflict was not '*about* religion' but was 'heavily informed by religion… [as] ethnic identity'.[783]

Recently, Graham Spencer and Margaret Scull have illuminated the complexity of republican attitudes towards the Church.[784] The relationship between republicanism and organised religion was neither entirely acrimonious nor entirely harmonious. Both individually and collectively, republican engagements with, and experiences of, religion varied markedly, demonstrating the dialogical processes Mikhail Bakhtin theorised.[785] Paul Siegel's instructive analysis highlights the capaciousness and malleability of religion in conversation with political ideas and struggle. For Siegel, in the tradition of Marx and Engels, state authorities could appropriate religion as a repressive force, yet progressive and even revolutionary voices could find in religion justification for revolutionary politics. The Marxian formulation of the 'opium' of religion had the potential to 'stimulate as well as stupefy'.[786]

Academic discussions of religious identities and republican politics have focused overwhelmingly on whether sectarianism suffused the Provisional republican movement.[787]

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importance of, and problematised, Catholic identity. Callum G. Brown, 'A Revisionist Approach to Religious Change', in Steve Bruce (ed.), *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), pp. 39, 50-52.

[783] Steve Bruce, *Religion in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 23, 128-129.

[784] Graham Spencer and Margaret Scull have distinguished between Provisional republicans' repudiations of a Catholic hierarchy perceived as aloof and ill-informed, and more sympathetic dispositions towards some community-oriented local clergy. Spencer, *From Armed Struggle*, 65-66; Margaret M. Scull, 'The Catholic Church and the Hunger Strikes of Terence MacSwiney and Bobby Sands', *Irish Political Studies*, 31 (2016), p. 283.

[785] Bakhtin's heteroglossia perceived centripetal and centrifugal forces colliding in language, between authorities' official monologues and variegated subaltern thought. Bakhtin, 'Discourse in the Novel', 272, 293; Matt Perry, *Black Sea Mutiny*.

[786] Paul N. Siegel, *The Meek and the Militant: Religion and Power Across the World* (Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2005), p. 44.

[787] The protagonists in the academic debate are Robert W. White, Steve Bruce, and Henry Patterson. White argued against perceptions of the Provisional movement as sectarian, while Bruce and Patterson disagreed. The debate continued recently. Writing in 2016, with a focus on the intended targets of the PIRA campaign, Rachel Kowalski has argued that the Provisionals were, 'for the most part, blind to religious diversity'. In 2017, Matthew Lewis and Shaun McDaid added the important distinction of 'functional sectarianism' in their analysis that there was no systematic republican attempt towards ethnic cleansing or genocide of the Protestant population, but the campaign had 'sectarian implications' and was sometimes perceived as such by Protestant civilians, following Richard English's point that certain PIRA operations had a 'sectarianising impact'. White, 'The Irish Republican Army: An Assessment of Sectarianism'; Steve Bruce, 'Victim Selection in Ethnic Conflict: Motives and Attitudes in Irish Republicanism', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 9 (1997), pp. 56-71; Patterson, 'Sectarianism Revisited'; Rachel Caroline Kowalski, 'The Role of Sectarianism in the Provisional IRA Campaign, 1969-1997', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 28 (2016), pp. 1-26; Matthew Lewis & Shaun McDaid, 'Bosnia on the Border? Republican Violence in Northern Ireland

These debates also continue in political discourse.[788] However, more nuanced understandings of the complex ecology of modern Irish republicanism across time and space require broader analysis of republican religious subjectivities. Such research presents methodological difficulties. Innumerable grassroots relationships between parish clergy and individual republicans, especially outside of the larger towns and cities, and the dynamics of many Catholic communities, are inaccessible. Clergy faced specific pressures, and many were understandably reluctant to proclaim political views.[789] Similarly, republicans synthesised radical critiques of the Church, mindful of its social agency, and complex varied personal engagements with clergy.

Republicans' interactions with religion highlight subjective differences in how individuals spatialised and historicised their struggle, and how environments and social milieus informed political ideas. The chapter begins by discussing the relationship between republicans and the Church in 'the '68 years', either side of the republican movement's split in 1969 and 1970. The next section considers how prison protests from 1976, and hunger strikes in 1980 and 1981, recast republican engagements with the Church. The final section shifts focus to the radical republican minority among clergy, examining their connections to republican politics. This section also scrutinises how clergy and prisoners alike engaged liberation theology from the 1980s.[790]

6.1 Republicans and the Church in 'the '68 years', c.1968-c.1973

In 1969 and 1970, senior Catholic clergy, such as Cardinal Conway, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All-Ireland, established fragile alliances with defence committees, but feared that violent eruptions would undermine the peaceful civil rights movement with which they had broadly sympathised. In August 1969, Cardinal Conway warned Catholics against being 'swept away by emotion – however natural and understandable such emotion

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During the 1920s and 1970s', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 29 (2017), pp. 635-655; English, *Does Terrorism Work?*, 130.

[788] Speaking in 2014, First Minister of Northern Ireland, Peter Robinson, argued that the PIRA's campaign in border areas of County Fermanagh constituted 'ethnic cleansing', 'genocide' and 'sectarianism'. In January 2018, Barry McElduff, Sinn Féin MP for West Tyrone, resigned after he was accused of mocking the victims of the Kingsmill massacre, in which 10 Protestants were killed in south Armagh in January 1976. McElduff denied any intent to refer to the 'terrible atrocity at Kingsmill'. 'Peter Robinson: IRA carried out 'genocide' in Fermanagh', *Impartial Reporter*, 6 February 2014; Henry McDonald, 'Sinn Féin MP Barry McElduff resigns after Kingsmill row', *Guardian*, 15 January 2018.

[789] Scull, 'The Catholic Church and the Hunger Strikes', 286.

[790] These themes connect with Chapter 5's discussion of anticlericalism in republican prisoners' feminism from the late 1980s.

may be'. Catholic violence towards the RUC and loyalists would undermine the civil rights movement, Conway warned.[791] On 23 August, when six bishops insisted that the embattled Catholic population of north and west Belfast were the victims, not the instigators, of 'armed insurrection', they implicitly argued that a nationalist uprising would be morally unjustifiable and politically damaging. In their joint statement, Conway and the bishops of Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, and Kilmore, implored the Catholic community to honour their 'Christian duty' and remain calm.[792] In 1970, with a colleague, Conway again marshalled the Catholic community towards non-violent protest, advocating the Movement for Peace in Ireland.[793]

The closest Belfast clergy came to overtly supporting republicans in 'the '68 years' was their temporary alliance with the city's CCDC. The CCDC comprised local people, including republicans, guarding their areas against loyalist and RUC incursions. Clergy, CCDC members, and the fledgling Provisional republican movement jointly celebrated republicans' defence of Short Strand, including St Matthew's Church, during a loyalist attack in July 1970. CCDC chairman Tom Conaty and two Belfast clergymen met Provisionals days after the incident. Father Patrick Toner, secretary to Bishop Philbin of Down and Connor, praised the nascent PIRA's actions.[794]

Harmony between Catholic vigilantes, clergy, and Provisional republicans was short-lived, however. By late 1970, when the PIRA escalated its offensive, the CCDC and its Catholic supporters implored republicans to stop. Republican spokespersons repudiated these calls, arguing that escalating violence against the Catholic community demanded a militant response. When the CCDC called for a PIRA ceasefire in November 1970, a Provisional publicity statement claimed that the CCDC had lost credibility with the Belfast public after the British imposed a curfew on the Falls Road and killed a Catholic civilian, Daniel O'Hagan. In a televised interview on 9 November 1970, CCDC representative Father Murphy admitted that popular confidence in his organisation had declined during the previous year.[795]

Through subsequent months, Belfast's leading churchmen continued to work with the CCDC, hoping that publicising Catholic grievances would undercut the burgeoning

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[791] 'Keep cool, Cardinal advises Catholics', *Belfast Telegraph*, 14 August 1969; 'Bishops talk of horror', *Sunday Independent*, 24 August 1969.
[792] LHL NIPC P577: *Violence and civil disturbances in Northern Ireland in 1969: report of tribunal of inquiry* (Belfast: HMSO, 1972).
[793] 'Two committees to foster peace', *Irish Times*, 1 December 1970.
[794] LHL NIPC P13526: *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA* (Dublin: Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 1973).
[795] Ibid.

republican campaign. CCDC chair Tom Conaty and Father Murphy worked with the Minority Rights Association and met representatives of the Republic of Ireland government in September 1971 to advise that any 'settlement package' in Northern Ireland needed to abolish internment and reform the RUC.[796]

Politically engaged clergy in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s and early 1970s had more enduring ties with the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association (CESA) than with republicans. Some Catholic clergy joined the CESA, which staffed barricades during civil rights marches, but disowned republicanism: in January 1969, Derry CESA members proposed carrying a union flag on a NICRA march to dispel any perception that the CESA or NICRA constituted nationalist-republican fronts. According to Belfast CESA leader Phil Curran, the organisation would cooperate with the British Army and Ulster Defence Regiment to protect Catholic areas. That the CESA sought Cardinal Conway's blessing to form a new defensive organisation in November 1972 illustrates the group's close ties with the Church.[797]

Early Provisionals' faith and interactions with the Church were more nuanced than Mark Ryan, Andrew Sanders, and Graham Spencer have suggested.[798] Although 'new' Sinn Féin's longstanding failure to commit fully to a pro-choice position on abortion aggrieves many liberal critics,[799] Provisionals' historical relationships with the Church should not be reduced to portraying religious republicans acquiescing in clerical edicts.

In the 1970s, several leading Provisionals were devout Catholics, and borrowed from Catholic morality, but criticised theocracy and qualified the Church's political authority. Interviewed in January 1972, Belfast PIRA leader Joe Cahill identified as a practising

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[796] National Archives of Ireland (hereafter, NAI) TSCH/2002/8/483: 'Memorandum of meeting with Fr. Murphy and Mr. Conaty' (24 September 1971).

[797] John O'Neill, '"Fourth Force": The Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association' (15 December 2016) https://treasonfelony.wordpress.com/2016/12/15/fourth-force-the-catholic-ex-servicemens-association/ (Accessed 7 September 2017).

[798] Ryan argued that the early leaders of the PIRA were 'staunchly anti-communist, even devoutly Catholic', deferring to 'religious reaction'. For Sanders, the early Provisionals held 'a Catholic nationalist perspective'. Spencer endorses Moloney's depiction of the early Provisionals' 'traditional conservative, republican values'. Ryan, *War and Peace*, 36, 75; Andrew Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), p. 47; Spencer, *From Armed Struggle*, 47.

[799] In May 2018, PSF's new leader Mary Lou McDonald endorsed pro-choice positions, but stipulated this was a matter of individual conscience in the party. The following month, at the party's *Ard Fheis*, delegates supported a leadership motion that women should have access to abortions within 'a limited gestational period'. Several prominent northern PSF representatives do not share McDonald's views, and more than 20 party *cumainn* demanded a free conscience vote. 'Unity in abortion laws needed across Ireland says Sinn Féin leader', *Irish News*, 25 May 2018; John Manley, 'Sinn Féin votes to liberalise party abortion policy', *Irish News*, 18 June 2018.

Catholic, but criticised clerical 'interference' in Irish politics and advocated a secular state. Cahill criticised the CCDC for having among its ranks 'too many priests for my liking'.[800] The first PIRA Chief of Staff, Seán Mac Stíofáin, positioned himself as 'radically left-wing in everything, except religion'. Only his understanding of Marxism as inherently irreligious prevented Mac Stíofáin from identifying as a Marxist. He opposed abortion and only 'reluctantly' accepted arguments for liberalising divorce legislation. Yet he held that if Christ's teachings were applied, 'you'd have no need for revolutionary movements'.[801] PSF's founding President, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, similarly combined personal faith with distaste for the Church's political doctrine. He opposed abortion but considered contraception a matter of conscience, wanted a 'pluralistic' society, and criticised Church interference in politics.[802]

Simultaneously, Provisional publicity frames implicitly accepted the Catholic Church as a rightful arbiter for moral, if not political, pronouncements. In February 1970, promoting the *Comhar na gComharsan* (neighbours' cooperation) economic programme, *An Phoblacht* accentuated the 'Christian values' which underpinned this 'social order'.[803] Provisional publicity cited occasional clerical support to confer popular legitimacy on the republican campaign. Propaganda published in 1973 referred to Father Seán McManus of Macken, County Fermanagh, who had declared 'the Six-County state' an 'illegal' institution.[804]

Eoin Ó Broin's formulation of founding Provisionals espousing 'Christian socialism' accurately reflects how senior Provisionals presented their programme as compatible with Catholicism.[805] Grassroots Provisionals reflected this implicit desire for Church approval, cognisant of its social and institutional influence. In a letter to the *Ulster Herald* in September 1971, Provisional supporter Aidan Corrigan cited Catholic theologians who held that the rebels of 1916 were saints in heaven. Corrigan invoked 'Natural Law', the Bible, and Catholic teaching to justify a Provisional campaign of defence against 'British colonialism'.[806] In 1973, a Catholic sympathiser wrote an open letter to Bishop Cahal Daly asking why bishops 'who only speak when they can help the Establishment' refused to

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[800] Christopher Macy, 'Sinn Fein and the IRA's: 1' and 'Sinn Fein and the IRA's: 2', *Humanist*, Volume 87 Number 1 Ulster Special Issue (January 1972).
[801] Seán Mac Stíofáin interview with Robert W. White, 1990. White, *Out of the Ashes*, 45-46.
[802] John Rooks, 'Sinn Féin president talks to unionists', *Belfast Telegraph*, 28 July 1971.
[803] LHL NIPC P13526: *Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA* (Dublin: Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, 1973).
[804] Ibid.
[805] Ó Broin, *Sinn Féin*, 233. Kevin Bean and Mark Hayes have argued similarly that 'an underlying social Catholicism' informed the Provisionals' cooperative socialist programme in the early 1970s (*Éire Nua*). Bean & Hayes, 'Sinn Féin and the New Republicanism in Ireland', 133.
[806] Aidan Corrigan, 'Persistent vitriolic attacks by Erne Sense', *Ulster Herald*, 18 September 1971.

condemn British Army behaviour in Northern Ireland. The writer insisted that clerics on the ground who supported 'down-trodden Catholics' would maintain 'the Faith' while bishops acquiesced in British rule.[807] In 1972, when a parish priest in Ardoyne claimed Provisionals were intimidating the local population, local republicans respectfully thanked the priest for his spiritual guidance, but warned that his political views 'do not interest us'.[808]

As republicans' armed struggle escalated through 1971 and 1972, senior churchmen and middle-ranking republicans engaged in public disputations. Provisional publicists carefully distinguished between personal faith – compatible with republicanism – and the leadership of the Catholic Church in Ireland – experientially aloof and politically unqualified. In January 1971, after Bishop Philbin of Down and Connor condemned rioters and republicans, *An Phoblacht* editor Seán Ó Brádaigh, wrote an open letter challenging Philbin to justify British rule in Ireland in terms of Catholic moral teaching.[809] Addressing a public meeting in August 1971, Niall Fagan of PSF's Dublin *Comhairle Ceantair* portrayed the Catholic hierarchy as an obstacle to national unity, and promoted a secular state, but insisted that these positions did not render PSF inconsonant with Christianity.[810]

Leading Provisionals dismissed critical clerics as a lofty elite far removed from reality. After Cardinal Conway urged Provisionals to ceasefire or concede demands to the British in 1972, Ruairí Ó Brádaigh portrayed Conway as unqualified to comment:

> Did [Conway] at any time visit the men [in Long Kesh] or in Magilligan or Crumlin Road [Jail], or on board the Maidstone? Did he ever make the few minutes[']walk from Ara Coeli to Armagh Jail to visit the young women serving up to 12 years there?[811]

In a statement in 1973, the Provisional leadership blamed Pope Paul VI's 'advisors' for papal edicts encouraging Irish Catholics to accept British positions on the Special Powers Act and internment. Provisional publicity accepted the Pope as undisputed head of the Church, but insisted that his supremacy did not 'give him the right or the authority to ask Irish Catholics to accept the morally unacceptable [British White Paper]'. Papal advisors were 'far removed from the present thinking of the Irish people'.[812]

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[807] Michael Dawson, 'Open letter to Dr. Daly, Bishop of Ardagh', *Republican News*, 16 February 1973.
[808] Burton, *Politics of Legitimacy*, 94, 97, 103.
[809] 'Sinn Fein letter to Bishop', *Times*, 25 January 1971.
[810] 'S.F. calls for guns and strikes', *Irish Press*, 11 August 1971.
[811] LHL NIPC P1355: P1355: Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, *Our people, our future: What Éire Nua means* (Dublin: PSF, 1973).
[812] 'Who is advising the Pope on Ireland?', *Republican News*, 19 May 1973.

At local levels, where parish priests were unsympathetic, grassroots republicans were occasionally more outspoken in their anticlericalism. After rebukes from a local priest in 1972, Provisionals in Ardoyne defiantly announced that 'no amount of condemnation from the Catholic Heirarchy [sic]… shall sway us from our ideals'.[813] In Ballyshannon, County Donegal, the Provisionals' north-west executive was similarly unequivocal in December 1971, accusing Father Patrick Gallagher in Ballyshannon, County Donegal, of 'ignorance' and 'bigotry' after Gallagher criticised the PIRA.[814]

Present-day perspectives complicate historical subjectivities and recast milieus. For those Provisionals, especially born in the 1950s and early 1960s, close to Adams's generation and trajectory, PSF's previous leadership under Ruairí Ó Brádaigh was unhealthily close to the socially conservative and historically dubious Catholic Church. Séanna Walsh, born in Belfast in 1956, describes a 'hangover of religion' among an older generation of Provisionals.[815] Eamonn MacDermott, born in Derry in 1957, remembered Billy McKee and his founding PIRA colleagues as 'a Catholic movement'. By contrast, MacDermott remembered his milieu as emphatically 'not a Catholic movement. We didn't see ourselves as fighting for "Catholic Ireland"'.[816] For Conor Murphy, born in south Armagh in 1963, 'the older brigade, the mature republicans… had more of a Catholic outlook'. A younger cadre 'superseded' the original leadership. The new leaders and their supporters incorporated practising Catholics, 'but Catholic thinking didn't dominate'.[817]

Today, hostility towards the Church's historical political agency is one of the few points of concord between Adamsites and dissidents. For a founding member of the PIRA in west Belfast who broke with the Provisionals in the 1980s, the Church was inherently hidebound and prepared to 'accept any government' provided doing so suited its own interests.[818] Another founding member of the PIRA from north Belfast reflected on the Church's leadership as quiescent throughout Irish history.[819]

In the early 1970s, Official republican publicists and prisoners alike framed the Church as an international bastion of reactionary capitalism. In 1972, Derry Officials promoted 'secular' republicanism, which would 'destroy' the Catholic Church's privileged

[813] EHI: 'We have the right', *Ardoyne Freedom Fighters: Freedom 1972 Bulletin*.
[814] 'Ballyshannon priest criticised I.R.A. methods', *Ulster Herald*, 1 January 1972.
[815] Séanna Walsh interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 12 August 2015.
[816] Eamonn MacDermott interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 17 September 2015.
[817] Conor Murphy interview with Jack Hepworth. Newry, 16 September 2015.
[818] Kevin Hannaway interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.
[819] Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.

position, 'one of the curses of this area'.[820] Writing in a series of pamphlets historicising and elaborating republican politics the same year, leading Official ideologue Eoin Ó Murchú considered the 'Catholic Hierarchy… the staunchest defender' of the 'English… capitalist system' in Ireland.[821]

Official critique of a global conservative Church combined with particular understandings of 'stageist' revolutionary strategy in Ireland. Especially after the OIRA ceasefire in May 1972, Official theory prioritised working-class cross-community unity before national reunification. In this schema, Provisionals and the Church connived to fuel sectarianism and division. Writing in the movement's prisoners' journal in 1975, an Official branded the Catholic Church in Ireland the most reactionary in the world, and perceived a sinister agenda to prevent ecumenical integration to maintain a 'shameful sectarian' education system.[822] These ideas suffuse Official memory today: a former Official internee reflects on the Church colluding with Provisionals in the early 1970s to 'reinforce' portrayals of Officials' 'foreign ideologies'.[823]

The class politics of PD, less complicated by the requirements of fitting mass mobilisation in Catholic communities, also overtly opposed the Church's politics, and criticised NICRA and the Provisionals for attempting to appear compatible with Catholic social teaching.[824] In contrast, PD's 'faceless committee' lambasted religious influence in education: PD's founding programme in 1969 criticised religious schools' 'indoctrination of pupils'.[825] The group's figurehead, Michael Farrell, suggested the Provisionals encouraged sectarianism by assuming their newspaper's readership was uniformly Catholic. He cited PD's engagement with the Shankill Development Association as evidence of 'developing class consciousness among Protestant workers', to which the Provisionals were oblivious.[826] However, Church morality remained politically taboo even for some members of this radical organisation: Peter Cosgrove, a PD member from Roslea, County Fermanagh, remembered practising Catholics among the Fermanagh PD in April 1969 successfully lobbying the

[820] ILA: OSF, 'Communism, the Church and the IRA', *Starry Plough* (Derry: n.d. [1972]).
[821] ILA: Eoin Ó Murchú, *Culture and Revolution in Ireland* (Dublin: Repsol Pamphlet No.2, July 1971).
[822] 'An Irish Church or a British pawn?', *An Eochair: A Bulletin of the Irish Republican Movement, Long Kesh*, No. 9 (n.d. [1975]).
[823] Former Official republican internee interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 31 March 2016.
[824] PD withdrew from NICRA late in 1971, partly due to NICRA's reluctance to criticise the Catholic Church. Hanley & Millar, *Lost Revolution*, 206.
[825] 'Where We Stand', *P.D. Voice: The Newspaper of People's Democracy*, No. 1 (June 1969).
[826] 'Socialist's view on the North', *Irish Press*, 16 March 1971.

county organisation against joining a cross-border march for liberalising contraception and divorce laws in the Republic.[827]

6.2 Republican socialism, prison protests, and the Church, c.1974-c.1981

The Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) was formed in December 1974, and its military wing, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), soon followed. Protests against the criminalisation from 1976, culminating in the hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981, led republican socialists in the IRSP-INLA and PD, as well as sections of the Provisional movement, into increasingly acute conflict with the Church. Prison protests transformed many republicans' interactions with religion.

Many of the IRSP-INLA's founding members came from Official republican backgrounds, and reflected Officials' explicit hostility to clergy generally, not just the Catholic hierarchy.[828] The IRSP's foundational manifesto in May 1975 excluded the Church, preferring 'secular' education and society. INLA Chief of Staff Seamus Costello condemned the 'sectarian' Irish education system.[829] Amid key dilemmas and crises in republicanism during the mid-1970s, republican socialists lacerated Catholic clergy as collaborators with the British regime. In December 1974, when the Provisional high command engaged with clergy in peace talks at Feakle, County Clare, IRSP publications denounced clerics' 'peace at any price lobby'.[830] When Provisional republican Frank Stagg died on hunger strike in 1976, republican socialist prisoner Tony Cosgrove decried the quiescent 'Irish Catholic hierarchy' which 'sided with the British Repression Machine'.[831]

INLA volunteers on the ground welcomed confrontation with the Church. In 1981, the Derry INLA threatened clergy after two priests disarmed two INLA volunteers during a riot: 'Under no circumstances will this type of partisan behaviour be tolerated'.[832] The INLA's threat contrasted sharply with the PIRA's response when an Andersonstown parish priest

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[827] Peter Cosgrove, 'People's Democracy Member 1969: Part 1' (Published 6 October 2014). Available at https://irishrepublicanmarxisthistoryproject.wordpress.com/2014/10/06/peoples-democracy-member-1969/ (Accessed 15 February 2017).
[828] Wilfully or not, Catholic clergy were important in propagating Provisional republicans' aspersions against Official republicans as under the aegis of 'godless' Soviet communism in the early 1970s. See Chapter 1.
[829] 'IRSP *Ard Fheis*', *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta*, Vol. 1 No. 3 (June 1975); LHL NIPC P7004: *I owe my allegiance only to the working class: selected writings and speeches of Seamus Costello* (San Francisco: Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America, 1995).
[830] 'Church split?', *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta*, Vol. 1 No. 4 (July 1975).
[831] Tony Cosgrove, 'Bishop Daly gave Brits licence to kill', *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta*, Vol. 1 No. 11 (February 1976).
[832] 'Bishop hits INLA threats to priests', *Irish Press*, 12 May 1981.

compromised a planned bomb attack on the nearby British Army barracks two years later. Although the Provisionals had their own disputes with the Catholic leadership at this time, the Belfast Brigade sought accommodation with a perceived Catholic lobby in the area:

> Contrary to our stated position of dealing severely with touts, no action was taken against this priest as we felt that, at that time, people would not have fully understood the necessity for action *against this particular person*.[833]

Present-day IRSP perspectives historicise the Catholic Church and its political agency as institutionally malign, but also reflect more sophisticated challenges to the Church's ideological hegemony. Surveying the Church's role in the conflict, veteran IRSP member Fra Halligan thought the Catholic hierarchy determined 'to subdue republicanism'.[834] Yet some INLA prisoners relished the opportunity to engage with clergy, albeit chiefly to debate history, politics, and morality. A former INLA volunteer imprisoned in the mid-1990s, Peadar Lagan remembered a small number of his rural comrades attending Mass in jail – a right enshrined in the IRSP's prison charter[835] – and Lagan himself supported religious schools on the grounds of strong academic reputation.[836] Don Browne remembered that PIRA and INLA prisoners alike enjoyed bombarding a 'novice priest' with philosophical and spiritual questions each Easter.

> We asked him what he thought the soul meant, and what does that mean intellectually, the soul is something you can, and we says, "Well how can you go to a child and ask them to take first communion and them have a full understanding of what that means? You're sitting there, a novice priest, you can't tell me". Those types of conversations were going on.[837]

For PD representatives in the early 1980s, the Church's influence in conservative social policies north and south marked Ireland's neo-colonial backwardness and vindicated anti-imperialist revolution. Railing against the Eighth Amendment to the Republic of Ireland constitution in 1983, PD member Pat Donnelly implored the Provisional movement to strive for a 'secular society' and organise against the constitutional ban on abortion.[838] Similarly, Belfast PD councillor John McAnulty abhorred the 'church-dominated neo-colony in the 26 counties'.[839] A PD pamphlet published in 1987 argued that partition consolidated the

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[833] 'Informers warned', *Iris*, 6 (July 1983). My italics.
[834] Fra Halligan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 15 September 2015.
[835] *Irish Republican Socialist Movement Prison Charter* (1995). Copy in author's possession.
[836] Peadar Lagan interview with Jack Hepworth. Bellaghy, 11 December 2017.
[837] Don Browne interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 12 December 2017.
[838] Pat Donnelly, 'A chance to reorganise', *Socialist Republic: Paper of Peoples' Democracy*, Vol. 6 No. 2 (1983).
[839] 'Irish National Congress: A way forward?', *An Reabhloid*, Volume 5 Number 1 (n.d.).

'insuperable… colonial feature' of the Church's 'archaic' political influence.[840] These all-Ireland framings echoed James Connolly, who anticipated a 'carnival of reaction both North and South' when partition was mooted in 1914.[841]

The hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981 led many grassroots Provisionals to rebuke clerical interventions in political impasse as inadequate, or even detrimental to the republican cause. Resentment of Father Denis Faul's complicated role during the hunger strike in 1981 contributed significantly to this rising critique in the Provisionals' ranks, even among traditionally religious republicans. At a public meeting in west Belfast in September 1981, relatives of two PIRA hunger strikers verbally abused Father Faul for his perceived agency in undermining the strike. When the hunger strike ended in October 1981, the public relations officer of the Andersonstown H-Block & Armagh Committee blamed priests for 'sowing seeds of despair and division with outright lies and double talk' and 'callous manipulation' of prisoners' families.[842] The National H-Block/Armagh Committee (NHBAC), in which Provisionals held substantial influence, similarly criticised senior churchmen for exhorting hunger strikers to abandon their fast.[843]

PSF Education Department narratives shifted to historicise and internationalise critiques of the Church. In 1981, PSF's educational programme adopted increasingly hostile positions against a Church which supported 'corrupt, dictatorial and anti-Christian' regimes.[844] Another Provisional Education Department lecture published the same year highlighted the Catholic Church's 'divisive' role 'favour[ing] the Union' during the United Irishmen rebellion of 1798.[845]

Anger with the Church's stance during the hunger strike of 1981 endured viscerally in former PIRA prisoners' memories. In 1986, PIRA volunteer Mairéad Farrell opined in 1986

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[840] LHL NIPC P6570: PD, *Women in Struggle* (Dublin: PD, 1987).
[841] Writing in March 1914, Connolly dismissed suggestions that partitioning the island could facilitate Home Rule: 'The recent proposals of Messrs. Asquith, Devlin, Redmond and Co. for the settlement of the Home Rule question deserve the earnest attention of the working class democracy of this country… Such a scheme as that agreed to by Redmond and Devlin, the betrayal of the national democracy of industrial Ulster would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress, would destroy the oncoming unity of the Irish Labour movement and paralyse all advanced movements whilst it endured'. James Connolly, 'Labour and the proposed partition of Ireland', *Irish Worker*, 14 March 1914, quoted in Shaun Harkin (ed.), *The James Connolly Reader* (Chicago, Illinois: Haymarket Books, 2018), p. 363.
[842] 'Andersonstown H-Block & Armagh Committee', *Andersonstown News*, 10 October 1981.
[843] Clarke, *Broadening the Battlefield*, 198; NHBAC statement (8 September 1981), cited in PRONI CENT/1/10/62: A. K. Templeton, 'Northern Ireland Office: Protests and Second Hunger Strike' (10 September 1981).
[844] LHL NIPC P938: PSF Education Department, *Nationalism and Socialism* (Dublin: PSF, 1981).
[845] LHL NIPC Tom Hartley Collection PH441: PSF Education Department, *History of Republicanism, Part 2* (Dublin: PSF, 1981).

that when Faul had called on hunger strikers to abandon their fast in September 1981, the Church had 'shown [its] true colours'.[846] Several years later, ex-prisoners Laurence McKeown, John Pickering, and Peadar Whelan condemned the Church's position. Whelan held Father Faul as culpable as Margaret Thatcher for the hunger strikers' deaths.[847]

Personal inflections often coloured these testimonies, focused especially on Father Denis Faul's contentious agency. Reflecting more than 30 years later, Kevin Lynch, a PIRA volunteer from Donagh, County Fermanagh, wrote that although he would have identified as religious at the time of his imprisonment in 1980, 'in '81… the priests would condemn [republicans]… We sort of boycotted Father Faul'.[848] Former PIRA prisoner Séanna Walsh recalled how, after Bobby Sands was elected in April 1981, Faul 'changed' and 'embarked on a one-man band operation to do whatever he could to bring down the IRA'.[849]

Republican grievances with clergy after the hunger strike demonstrated that even radicals who theoretically disdained the Church still instinctively looked to its ministers to legitimise political causes for wider publics. The sister of INLA hunger striker Mickey Devine argued retrospectively that if clergy had encouraged their congregations to march in support of the hunger strikers, the British government would have granted the republican prisoners their five demands.[850] Bernadette Devlin's rupture with the Church hierarchy originated in the late 1960s when she rebuked the Queen's University Belfast chaplain for his distance from civil rights protests, but she considered the actions of the parish priest in Coalisland, County Tyrone, on the night Bobby Sands died in May 1981 'the last vestige of betrayal'. Devlin remembered that when local people stood in the streets praying, anticipating Sands's imminent death, the priest had

> warned people in the church to be careful of whom they stood with, who they prayed with lest their prayers be construed as political support for terrorism.[851]

The momentous breach between republicans and the Church in 1981 prompted the new Provisional leaders towards strident anticlericalism. Interviewed in 1981, Danny Morrison, PSF's Director of Publicity, identified the movement as 'a secular organisation'

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[846] Jenny McGeever, 'A woman's place is in the struggle: An interview with Mairead Farrell', *Spare Rib*, 204 (August 1989).
[847] Campbell, McKeown & O'Hagan, *Nor Meekly Serve My Time*, 244, 258, 265.
[848] Fáilte Cluain Eois, *Their Prisons, Our Stories*, 71.
[849] Séanna Walsh interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 12 August 2015.
[850] Eileen Fairweather, Róisín McDonough & Melanie McFadyean, *Only the Rivers Run Free: Northern Ireland – The Women's War* (London, 1984), p. 107.
[851] LHL NIPC P5935: *Freedom only comes if you take it! A speech by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey* (New York: H-Block/Armagh Committee, 1981).

opposed to the Catholic Church's 'special place' in southern politics.[852] For Gerry Adams, Bishop Edward Daly's opposition to the hunger strike in 1981 was 'completely irrelevant' since republicans derived their mandate and motivation from the popular support for the hunger strikers.[853] In 1983, PSF's *Ard Fheis* amended the party's objectives where it had declined to do so three years earlier, and replaced 'Christian principles' with 'social principles'.[854]

PIRA volunteers and their families largely shared the leadership's heightened distaste for the Church from 1981. An anonymous volunteer who joined the PIRA in 1981 reflected the following year that her understanding of Irish society had 'changed immediately' when she perceived the 'hypocrisy of the Catholic hierarchy' during the hunger strike.[855] In May 1982, republicans in the Belfast Republican Press Centre and Derry prisoners' relatives attacked Britain's 'unwitting allies' among Catholic clergy after Father Faul implored republicans and their relatives to give information to the security forces.[856]

After 1981, even republicans who retained personal faith afforded clerical politics reduced credence. Even if Paul Badham's optimal estimation of weekly mass attendance of 90 percent among Catholic laity in Northern Ireland in 1988 is accepted,[857] Jeffrey Sluka's anthropological insights suggest that the republican grassroots filtered Church politics.[858]

Through the 1980s, even practising Catholics among the republican grassroots forged political positions increasingly independent of, and sometimes in spite of, clergy. The mother of Belfast PIRA volunteer Jimmy McMullen sympathised with the papal aspiration to exclusively non-violent political action, but her experiences of the blanket protests led her to criticise clergy with whose politics she disagreed.[859] Lily Fitzsimmons from north Belfast retained her faith but would 'ignore' the Church's political pronouncements since, as the mother of internees and PIRA blanket protesters, she thought the Church hierarchy had 'sided

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[852] Bob Rowthorn, 'Ireland's intractable crisis: interviews with the UDA and the Provisional IRA', *Marxism Today* (December 1981).
[853] Maev-Ann Wren, 'H-Block group priest opposes hunger-strike', *Irish Times*, 3 March 1981.
[854] Davis, 'Convergence of Orange and Green Socialism', 184.
[855] 'A people's army', *Iris*, 4 (November 1982).
[856] '"Withdraw from IRA and INLA", priest appeals', *Ulster Herald*, 11 December 1982.
[857] Paul Badham, 'The Contribution of Religion to the Conflict in Northern Ireland', *International Journal on World Peace*, 5 (1988), p. 47.
[858] In his study of Divis Flats in 1981 and 1982, Sluka found popular conceptions of the Church's salvific and political functions were increasingly polarised. Some 58.9 percent of Sluka's sample thought clergy should be 'listened to and their advice heeded' but it was ultimately 'not essential' to follow their directives. Some 54.5 percent thought it 'not very important' to follow priests' advice. Sluka, *Hearts and Minds*, 248.
[859] Coogan, *H-Block Story*, 89.

with the establishment'.[860] Increasingly, Catholic laity left sermons in protest at a perceived anti-republican clerical line. In February 1992, at the funeral of PIRA volunteers Kevin Barry O'Donnell and Sean O'Farrell in Coalisland, Monsignor Liam McEntaggart said senior activists should reconsider before sending young volunteers on operations. More than 200 mourners walked out in protest.[861]

Among present-day Provisionals and 'dissidents' alike, oral histories reflect on religious conscience as irrelevant to political positions. Conor Murphy, imprisoned between 1981 and 1984 and now an elected PSF representative, remembered his mother, 'a very devout Catholic' and daily communicant, with a brother and two sons imprisoned for republican activities, 'had her own sense and didn't look to the Church for her political leadership'.[862] Similarly, former Belfast PIRA volunteer Nuala Perry argued that Catholic republicans tended to divorce their personal faith from their political conscience. Where religiosity and politics were concerned, 'it was as if the two never really met'.[863] These perspectives, bifurcating the Church's religious and political authority, reflected the scepticism towards clerical politics which PSF's Director of Publicity, Danny Morrison, had proclaimed in a televised debate in February 1983. For Morrison, republicans might

> take their religion from Rome, but they take their politics from their hard experience on the ground, and that's the way it should be.[864]

Yet even after 1981, senior Provisionals instinctively looked to Catholic leaders to publicise grievances with British rule and provide community leadership. Through the 1980s, Provisionals repeatedly awaited Church involvement in broad-based campaigns against security forces, supergrass trials, and strip-searching in prisons. Danny Morrison invited Bishop Cahal Daly to meet the Provisionals in the early 1980s, but received no reply.[865] In 1983, Provisional writer Peter Hayes criticised the 'Catholic hierarchy' for perceived inaction over 'shoot-to-kill' controversies.[866] An editorial in Provisional organ *Iris* the same year condemned Bishop Cahal Daly's 'studious silence' during supergrass trials.[867]

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[860] Catherine Shannon, 'Catholic Women and the Northern Irish Troubles', in Yonah Alexander & Alan O'Day (eds.), *Ireland's Terrorist Trauma: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p. 239.
[861] '200 walk out over priest's plea at Provo funeral', *Irish Independent*, 21 February 1992.
[862] Conor Murphy interview with Jack Hepworth. Newry, 16 September 2015.
[863] Nuala Perry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 30 March 2016.
[864] HVA D00570 Tape 37: *Counterpoint* (3 February 1983).
[865] Danny Morrison interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 11 August 2015.
[866] Peter Hayes, 'Shoot to kill: the unchanging face of repression', *Iris*, 5 (March 1983).
[867] 'Catholic hierarchy: propping up the Orange State', *Iris*, 6 (July 1983).

These republicans still implicitly valued churchmen's categories of morality and legitimacy. In an open letter in 1985, Gerry Adams implored Cahal Daly, Bishop of Down and Connor, to judge publicly whether the British presence was 'morally justified'.[868] Even when attacking Father Faul, Provisional publicity cited Sandinista priest Ernesto Cardenal as evidence of clerics' capacity to engage radical politics.[869]

Simultaneously, leading Provisionals directed criticisms of unsympathetic clergy against the supposed folly of an ignorant Catholic 'hierarchy' as opposed to the entire Church body. Addressing an Easter commemoration in 1984, Gerry Adams pinpointed Cahal Daly encapsulating a 'long and inglorious tradition of Irish Church leaders' who consistently condemned 'any radical, separatist, or republican organisation'.[870] An internal PSF document in 1981 exhorted party representatives 'at all levels of S[inn] F[éin]' to 'facilitate religion' since Christianity was 'part of the Irish culture'.[871]

The tendency to look to the Church hierarchy to endorse or validate republican grievances was not limited to the Provisional leadership through the 1980s, extending to the grassroots. Speaking after being released from custody when a 'supergrass' withdrew evidence in 1983, Belfast PIRA volunteer Eddie Carmichael considered it 'up to… the like of the established churches' to protest against supergrass trials.[872] PIRA prisoners from Strabane, County Tyrone recognised the Church's societal significance, appealing in 1985 to the town's population to support the Catholics for Justice grouping pressurising anti-republican clergy to denounce strip-searching.[873] Provisional expectations of the Church recall Antonio Gramsci's conceptions of subaltern agency and 'organic intellectuals'. Such intellectuals could be 'functionaries' of the ruling class, yet their perceived class connections to the oppressed signalled their social importance.[874]

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[868] Ó Fiaich Library and Archive Armagh NP2/5: Gerry Adams, 'Open Letter to Cahal Daly, Bishop of Down & Connor' (1 February 1985).
[869] Sluka, *Hearts and Minds*, 259-261.
[870] 'The Bishops and Sinn Fein', *Donegal News*, 5 May 1984.
[871] LHL NIPC P982: PSF, *Towards a Policy on Culture/Dréacht pholasaí ar chultúr* (Dublin: PSF, 1981).
[872] Eddie Carmichael quoted in British Universities Film & Video Council: 'Released IRA man claims RUC attempted bribery' (22 October 1983). Available at: http://bufvc.ac.uk/tvandradio/lbc/index.php/segment/0016800322002 (Accessed 22 September 2017).
[873] Strabane Republican POW's, '"Catholics for Justice" supported', *Strabane Chronicle*, 20 April 1985.
[874] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (ed. and transl. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith) (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), pp. 150-151, 365, 368-369.

Personal affinities with clergy led a minority of Provisionals to maintain cordial relationships with individual priests. PIRA prisoner John McComb, serving a 16-year sentence in Durham's Frankland Prison, eulogised Cardinal Ó Fiaich at his death in 1990. In a letter to a clerical friend, McComb claimed Ó Fiaich had 'never lost contact with his people'. Although 'many' prisoners had 'given up religion', they still regarded Ó Fiaich highly, McComb argued.[875] Paul Stitt, imprisoned for PIRA activities in 1994, praised three Belfast priests who joined republican prisoners for 'good and energetic debates' in Long Kesh through the 1990s.[876] Raymond McCartney, who spent 17 years in prison, remembered friendships between republicans and priests surviving political differences:

> In Long Kesh there'd be priests coming in to say Mass, and some of them would detect it, and would have said, "you know, because the Church called something wrong, doesn't mean you're not part of the Church".[877]

6.3 'Provo priests': Radical clergy and liberation theology, c.1968-c.1994

Throughout the Irish conflict, a minority of clergy moved beyond acknowledging lay Catholic grievances, and supported physical-force republicanism more overtly. Although relatively uncommon, republicanism among clergy was not as exceptional as Martin Dillon has suggested.[878]

Republican clergy framed a centuries-long struggle aligned with God's justice, stressing national sovereignty, cultural heritage, and agricultural and industrial stewardship. Writing for *Republican News* in 1973 and 1974, Father Art O'Neill located the 'honest' PIRA downstream of Pádraig Pearse's visionary nationalism in 1916. O'Neill perceived hypocrisy in clergy who celebrated the revolutionary period of the early twentieth century but castigated the PIRA.[879] In the early 1970s, Canon James McDyer of Glencolumbkille, County Donegal lauded the Provisionals' Éire Nua proposals as an emblem for national sovereignty. McDyer led the 'Save the West' movement, which championed farmers' cooperatives and industrial development in west Donegal. He also endorsed Provisional Euroscepticism, affirmed by his

[875] Ó Fiaich Library and Archive Armagh NP5/24: Letter from John McComb, Frankland Prison (14 May 1990).
[876] Paul Stitt, *Republican Outcast: The Paul Stitt Story* (Belfast: Justice Press, 2006), p. 52.
[877] Raymond McCartney interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 18 September 2015.
[878] Dillon's description of the Church's 'strenuous efforts' to turn young Catholics away from militant republicanism fits the Catholic hierarchy's record, but does not apply uniformly to Catholic clergy in rural parishes. Martin Dillon, *God and the Gun: The Church and Irish Terrorism* (London: Orion, 1997), p. 93.
[879] Father Art O'Neill, 'The duties of priests towards republicans', *Republican News*, 6 April 1974.

'firm belief in God and Ireland'.[880] For Father Seán McManus from County Fermanagh, who was fined in August 1971 for obstructing an RUC officer in Enniskillen during an anti-internment rally, the 'colonial' northern state violated divine law. McManus told the court that 'sympathy' was 'too weak a word' for his support for republican guerrillas.[881] Father Piaras Ó Dúill, who served four years' imprisonment in Belfast between 1957 and 1961 during the IRA's Operation Harvest, chaired the National H-Block/Armagh Committee (NHBAC) in the early 1980s, and was a veteran Irish language activist. Ó Dúill located 'love of country' as 'part of the love of God', and in 1985 he framed the PIRA campaign as the legitimate successor to the War of Independence of 1919 to 1921.[882]

During the 1970s, the majority of republican clergy resided in isolated or rural parishes. Some rural clergy even joined republican guerrilla organisations. Substantial reported evidence suggests that Father James Chesney, a curate in the rural parish of Cullion, County Derry, was involved with the PIRA bombing of the nearby village of Claudy in 1972.[883] Journalist and commentator Henry McDonald has cited cases of three priests involved with the PIRA in the north Antrim countryside in the early 1970s.[884] In 1980, Father Vincent Forde, with a parish in the village of Castlewellan, County Down, was convicted of an INLA armed bank robbery.[885]

Most republican churchmen were relatively low-ranking. Those without a parish, and thus somewhat on the margins of society, also supported Provisional republicans in the early 1970s. In May 1972, two Cistercian monks in Belfast pleaded guilty to aiding prisoners who had absconded from Crumlin Road Jail.[886] The same year, monks at Portglenone Abbey in County Antrim published Christmas cards for the Ardoyne Relief Committee, with proceeds donated to internees and their dependents.[887]

Local inflections informed the nexus between radical politics, Church, and community. In County Fermanagh, for example, republicanism, civil disobedience activists, and clergy overlapped and cooperated especially closely. In 1973, Fermanagh republicans

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[880] 'An ordinary guy', *Irish Press*, 28 March 1972; 'Canon McDyer', *Saoirse*, 9 (January 1988).
[881] 'Six Counties Redemptorist "in sympathy with IRA"', *Irish Independent*, 7 September 1971.
[882] 'Love of country', *Republican News*, 13 July 1974; Liam Ó Cuinneagáin, 'An Chaora Dhubh ag Innilt ar an Uiagneas (Spléachadh ar an Athair Piaras Ó Dúill), *Comhar*, Volume 44 Number 3 (March 1985); 'Bundoran call to fight extradition', *Saoirse*, 5 (September 1987).
[883] Rosie Cowan, 'Does this letter prove a priest was behind IRA bombing?', *Guardian,* 21 September 2002.
[884] Henry McDonald, 'Three more IRA priests in Claudy link', *Observer*, 22 December 2002.
[885] 'Priest held in Eire swoop', *Daily Telegraph*, 12 January 1980.
[886] 'The Past Two Weeks', *Fortnight*, 40 (25 May 1972).
[887] IEL: Ardoyne Relief Committee Christmas greeting card (1972).

and civil disobedience activists celebrated the 'many clergymen… who are actively supporting our cause'. Localised collective memory lionised rebel priests of the early twentieth century's revolutionary period: the mention of Canon Maguire and Canon Coyle drew a standing ovation at a civil disobedience meeting. Writing in 1973, an anonymous member of the Fermanagh Civil Disobedience Committee described the campaign for the 'poor and oppressed' as 'what Christianity is all about'.[888]

Family connections underscored republicanism among clergy who quietly supported bereaved republicans' families. Brendan Hurson, brother of PIRA hunger striker Martin Hurson, recalled priests from the local farming communities of south Armagh calling at the family home to offer support in 1981.[889] After PIRA volunteer Antoine Mac Giolla Bhrighde was killed by the SAS in December 1984, his mother received consoling letters from several priests in south Derry, commending Mac Giolla Bhridghde as a 'committed soldier' and 'good Christian'. Mac Giolla Bhridghe belonged to the religiously devout minority among the Provisionals.[890]

Republican clergy consistently echoed Provisional criticisms of a moralising Church hierarchy oblivious to grassroots grievances. Individual priests felt isolated, even ostracised, within the Church, but responded defiantly. Father Joe McVeigh, from rural Lisbellaw, County Fermanagh, criticised bishops who condemned republicans and blithely called for 'reconciliation'.[891] McVeigh admired just four other radical priests nationwide, and noticed that outspoken activists were often banished to missionary work abroad: 'My bags are always packed'.[892] In west Belfast, Father Des Wilson resigned his ministry in June 1975 after accusing his superior, Bishop Philbin, of ignoring British Army brutality.[893] In 1980, Wilson defied Church edicts, holding a funeral and celebrating Mass in the home of PIRA volunteer Kevin Delaney, after Delaney's coffin had been barred from three west Belfast churches.[894] In 1983, when Father Faul implored Catholics to supply the security forces with information,

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[888] 'Many clergy and religious support resistance campaign to oppression', *Concerned: Official Organ of Fermanagh Civil Disobedience Committee*, No. 85 (5 May 1973).
[889] Padraig O'Malley, *Biting at the Grave: The Irish Hunger Strikes and the Politics of Despair* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990), pp. 268, 271.
[890] Susan McKay, *Bear In Mind These Dead* (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), p. 121.
[891] LHL NIPC P4475: Father Joe McVeigh, *Tackling the Root Causes: The only way to peace* (Omagh: Community for Justice, 1991); LHL NIPC P1331: Father Desmond Wilson & Father Joe McVeigh, *British Occupation in the North of Ireland: Two priests speak out!* (Belfast: Published by the authors, 1982).
[892] Rory Nugent, 'Inside the IRA', *Spin*, August 1994.
[893] 'Church split?', *The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta*, Vol. 1 No. 4 (July 1975).
[894] 'Volunteer Dee Delaney laid to rest', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 26 January 1980.

Wilson branded the remarks 'ill-advised and damaging'.[895] Addressing the first meeting of the Donegal Anti-Extradition Committee in Letterkenny in September 1987, Wilson said a Church which failed to oppose 'immoral' extradition commanded no allegiance.[896] In December 1988, when a parish priest in Maghera, County Derry contravened veteran republican and former NICRA chair Kevin Agnew's wishes to have Father Piaras Ó Dúill conduct his funeral service, Ó Dúill condemned the Church's 'arrogance'.[897]

The climax of the blanket protests and hunger strikes in 1980 and 1981 prompted some PIRA prisoners to turn to religion as consolation and an assertion of collective identity, irrespective of complicated individual beliefs. During the hunger strike of 1980, senior Belfast Provisional Brendan Hughes attended Mass seeking 'solace'.[898] In his diaries, Bobby Sands recorded that prisoners recited the Rosary in unison every evening during the protest, to raise morale and antagonise prison warders.[899]

However, Catholicism's functions as consolation and emblem of a repressed community was fleeting. In 1982, after the hunger strike, an anonymous PIRA prisoner recalled, republicans told Father Faul to stop visiting, and Mass attendance declined sharply.[900] Similarly, Eamonn MacDermott, imprisoned from 1977 to 1992, remembered that although there had been

> a lot of religion during the blanket [protests]… by the mid-eighties, Catholicism within the movement would have been very weak… Once the blanket was over, religion had no big part.[901]

However, despite the tumult of the early 1980s, many PIRA prisoners became increasingly interested in liberation theology and its implications throughout the decade. For Peruvian priest Gustavo Gutiérrez, liberation theology 'is an expression of the right of the poor to think out their own faith' and become 'active agents of their own destiny'.[902] Emerging from the Medellín conference of 1968, liberation theology flourished in Catholic

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[895] 'Confidentiality and the clergy', *Iris*, 6 (July 1983).
[896] 'F. F. supporters to be pressed on extradition', *Donegal Democrat*, 18 September 1987.
[897] 'Funeral of Kevin Agnew', *Saoirse*, 22 (February 1989).
[898] Brendan Hughes interview with Laurence McKeown. McKeown, *Out of Time*, 77.
[899] Bobby Sands, *Writings from Prison* (Cork: Mercier, 1998), p. 75.
[900] Anonymous PIRA prisoner, 'Jail History' [no date]. Copy in author's possession.
[901] Eamonn MacDermott interview with Jack Hepworth. Derry, 17 September 2015.
[902] Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation* (London: SCM Press, 1988), p. xix.

Churches in Central and South America, intersecting with radical pedagogy and campaigns against human rights abuses and poverty.[903]

Officials had drawn upon international liberation theology in the early 1970s, several years before the Provisionals. In 1973, an anonymous Official from Derry looked to South America for the revolutionary cleric *par excellence*, Colombian national liberation militant Camilo Torres. Torres, a 'Third World hero', exemplified the activist-priest, committed to socialism, pedagogy, and revolutionary 'inspiration for the down trodden [sic]'.[904]

For PIRA prisoners in the 1980s, liberation theology connoted the pedagogy and internationalist leftism which influenced republican prison communities.[905] Yet it also offered qualified compatibility with the Church with which most nationalists were nominally affiliated ethnically and culturally, if not spiritually. For PIRA prisoner Jim McVeigh, who researched liberation theology for the Provisional movement's internal education programme in the mid-1980s, liberation theology's focus on radical clergy in Central and South America empowered prisoners' anti-elitism, internal discussions, and leftist disillusionment with the Irish Catholic Church's particularly 'conservative ethos'.[906]

Brazilian cleric-activist Paolo Freire's pedagogy, more than his theology per se, inspired prisoners' education programmes and cultural interests through the 1980s and beyond. Former PIRA prisoner Micheál Mac Giolla Ghunna remembered that Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* shaped the Provisionals' education programmes including Irish language classes, poetry, crafts, creative writing, and music from 1981. Freirean pedagogy advocated open discussions of political ideas, strategy, and internal education programmes within a radical movement and its community base, lest leadership ossifies and becomes authoritarian. Freire imagined the student achieving critical consciousness, with the corollary that revolutionary leaders could not simply 'implant' ideas in a passive public. In 1995, PIRA

[903] Similar to second-wave feminism (see Chapter 5), PIRA prisoners mainly discovered liberation theology from the mid-1980s, more than a decade after their first international expressions. Daniel H. Levine, 'Assessing the Impacts of Liberation Theology in Latin America', *Review of Politics*, 50 (1988), p. 248.
[904] 'The revolutionary priest', *The Starry Plough: Derry's Own Republican Newspaper* [OSF], Vol. 2 No. 5 (n.d. [c.1973]).
[905] For Gerry MacLochlainn, liberation theology especially appealed to 'some of the people who would have been very Catholic… starting to make their way towards socialism'. Gerry MacLochlainn interview.
[906] Jim McVeigh, 'The Irish Church and Republicanism: The Need for Liberation Theology', *The Furrow*, 50 (January 1999).

prisoners drew upon Augusto Boale's conception of the 'theatre of the oppressed' to adapt and perform Bobby Sands's writings on the stage.[907]

The radical class politics of South American liberation theology similarly influenced republican priest Father Joe McVeigh, who imagined an 'Irish or Celtic Theology of Liberation' or 'Church of the Poor' replacing Ireland's 'authoritarian' Church.[908] In 1978, Father McVeigh quoted José Porfirio Miranda and Paulo Freire on the Church's responsibility to address socioeconomic and political problems. McVeigh argued that political violence should remain an option to achieve 'the kind of radical changes that we believe are necessary'.[909] Reflecting in 2010, McVeigh celebrated liberation theologian Archbishop Romero of El Salvador, 'killed in the act of defending the poor'.[910]

As Chapter 5 demonstrated, many PIRA prisoners espoused feminist positions on social policy and reproductive rights from the late 1980s. Anticlericalism, especially targeting the perceived theocracy in the Republic of Ireland, underpinned these critiques. Provisional feminists, including members of PSF's Women's Department, did not differentiate within the Church, regarding it as an irrelevant, archaic institution impeding women's emancipation. In 1988, Maghaberry PIRA prisoners accused the Church of malign complicity in closing abortion information centres and clinics and promoting 'medieval morality' and 'so-called "therapy sessions"' instead.[911] Writing in 1993, PIRA prisoner Pamela Kane condemned the Church's positions on contraception and divorce and positioned the Church alongside the state and judiciary as Ireland's 'biggest bastions of patriarchy'.[912] In 1995, PIRA Mary McArdle decried Church interference in Irish politics and dismissed Pope John Paul II's apology to women as patronising.[913] The Derry branch of PSF's Women's Department identified 'the Churches' with 'Thatcherism' among a right-wing 'emerging coalition'.[914]

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[907] In 1964, Brazilian-born Freire was exiled to Chile, where he lobbied for agrarian reforms and coordinated adult education programmes. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (transl. Myra Bergman Ramos) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), pp. 11, 42, 54, 68, 97; Micheál Mac Giolla Ghunna, *Cultural Struggle and a Drama Project* (1995). Copy in author's possession.
[908] Joseph McVeigh, 'A liberation theology', *Socialist Republican: Quarterly Publication of the Socialist Republican Collective*, Volume 1 Issue 1 (n.d. [1988]).
[909] LHL NIPC P5080: Father Joe McVeigh, *Thoughts on the liberation of Ireland* (Monaghan: Borderline Press, 1978).
[910] Joe McVeigh, 'Reflecting on the Irish Catholic Church', *The Furrow*, 61 (May 2010).
[911] Women Republican POWs Maghaberry Gaol, 'Defend the Clinics Campaign', *Iris Bheag*, 7 (February 1988).
[912] Pamela Kane, 'Fighting back!', *Women in Struggle/Mna I Streachilt*, Volume 4 (n.d. [1993]).
[913] Mary McArdle correspondence with Philomena Gallagher, 1995. Gallagher, 'Oral History of the Imprisoned Female Irish Republican Army', 54.
[914] 'The Role of Women in Sinn Fein', *Iris Bheag*, 11 (June 1988).

6.4 Conclusions

Ethnic Catholics of devout faith and none participated in the Irish republican struggle. Activists' contrasting perspectives on organised religion reflect the dynamic differentiation of Irish republicanism. Throughout the conflict, the degree of accommodation for Catholic opinion and morality divided republicans. Divergent republican perspectives on how to historicise, spatialise, and frame their campaign informed heterogeneous responses to Catholicism as both a political, philosophical institution and a contentious ethno-nationalist identity.

In their wide-ranging study, Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring situate secularisation and radical Catholic activism as paramount legacies of Europe's '68 years.[915] In this respect, as in others, the Irish republican experience bore similarities and differences from prevailing patterns of contentious politics in Europe's '68. Compared to events in Poland and Italy, for instance, radical action *within* the Catholic Church was relatively scarce.[916] Whereas a multitude of clergy joined revolutionary movements in Nicaragua and El Salvador in the 1970s and 1980s,[917] Irish republicans received scant, and often heavily qualified, sympathy from clergy. However, substantial sections of the Catholic population, practising or lapsed, supported militant organisations drawn predominantly from their ethno-national community. For many Catholics in Northern Ireland, confessional allegiance was an essential signifier of a profoundly politicised collective identity.

The few priests who sympathised with republican politics often served in rural republican parishes, were connected to republicanism by family history, and framed the campaign as a centuries-long struggle. These narratives represented patriotism as a form of divine obligation. Father Brian McCreesh, originally from Camlough, County Armagh, with a parish in republican east Tyrone, supported his brother, PIRA volunteer Ray McCreesh, through the hunger strike of 1981.[918] When the SAS killed PIRA volunteer Colm McGirr in December 1983, McCreesh denounced the 'violation of the law of nature' when 'Irishmen [were] struck down… in their own ancestral fields'.[919] Father Joe McVeigh traced the

[915] Gildea, Mark & Warring (eds.), *Europe's 1968*, 212, 218.
[916] Rebecca Clifford & Nigel Townson, 'The Church in Crisis: Catholic Activism and "1968"', *Cultural and Social History*, 8 (2011), p. 531.
[917] Bahman Bakhtiari, 'Revolution and the Church in Nicaragua and El Salvador', *Journal of Church and State*, 28 (1986), pp. 20, 28-29.
[918] 'Mrs. Thatcher replies to telegram', *Irish Examiner*, 21 May 1981.
[919] 'Volley as two killed by SAS are buried', *Irish Press*, 7 December 1983.

oppression of Irish Catholics through 'centuries' in which the Church had stood with the 'politically and socially powerful'.[920]

Unlike nationalist movements in El Salvador and East Timor, for example,[921] Irish republicans enjoyed no support from senior members of the Catholic Church. Conversely, whereas republicans engaged with socialism, feminism, and revolutionary strategy internationally, republican interactions with the Catholic Church were situated almost exclusively in an Irish context. With the notable exception of PIRA prisoners reading liberation theology in the 1980s, republicans generally did not allude to Church agency in foreign conflicts.

Consistently, leading Provisionals carefully associated churchmen's criticisms of republicanism with only individual members of the 'Catholic hierarchy' rather than the Church as a whole. These nuanced interpretations of different levels of 'the Church' endure today. Narrating the origins of the peace process, veteran Belfast republican Kevin Hannaway credited 'individuals' such as Fathers Alec Reid and Gerry Reynolds, 'not the Church itself', with cross-community initiatives.[922] Another founding member of the Provisional movement: 'I don't class the hierarchy as the Catholic Church; I think they're two separate things'.[923]

Similarly, grassroots Provisionals studiously separated the Church's spiritual and political espousals, and filtered these positions accordingly, especially after the Church's contentious role in the hunger strike of 1981. During Bobby Sands's funeral, an elderly mourner repeatedly interrupted parish priest Father Mullan's sermon to insist on a 'just peace' every time Mullan implored an end to armed struggle.[924] When PIRA volunteer Martin McCaughey was killed in 1990, his father Eoin warned the parish priest in Cappagh, County Tyrone, that if he refused to allow republican symbols into the chapel, the late volunteer's family would defy him and have a sympathetic clergyman preside at the burial with full republican honours.[925] Publicly, republicans looked to religious authority to legitimise grievances for mass consumption. Privately, some individuals found consolation in

[920] 'Joe McVeigh, 'Reflecting on the Irish Catholic Church', *The Furrow*, 61 (May 2010).
[921] In El Salvador, Archbishop Romero supported rural peasants' right to organise in agrarian unions. Church leaders in East Timor internationally publicised Indonesian repression of East Timorean nationalists in the late 1970s and 1980s. Kenneth Medhurst, 'Politics and Religion in Latin America', in Moyser (ed.), *Politics and Religion in the Modern World*, 199; Chris Lundry, 'From Passivity to Political Resource: The Catholic Church and the Development of Nationalism in East Timor', *Asian Studies*, 38 (2002), pp. 12-13, 26.
[922] Kevin Hannaway interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.
[923] Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 6 December 2017.
[924] 'The funeral of Bobby Sands', *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 9 May 1981.
[925] 'IRA Volunteers Dessie Grew & Martin McCaughey' (2012). Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5RdoXpWDPQc (Accessed 22 September 2017).

religion. Socially, religion as a signifier of ethnonationalism could reinforce contested ideas of collective identity.

Although the founding Provisionals were not entirely deferential to Church authority, successive Provisional leaderships were enduringly pragmatic, accommodating Catholic categories of morality in societal opinion. In the early 1970s, leading Provisionals framed their ideology as compatible with Catholic morality, and appealed to Catholic disdain for Soviet atheism in their attempts to discredit their Official republican rivals. Even into the mid-1980s, after the tumult of the hunger strikes, Provisionals expected the Church to vindicate protests against British rule. As late as 1984, a senior PSF ideologue suggested party education events should include Church representatives on discussion panels and encourage debates about the relationship between the Church and the republican struggle.[926]

By contrast, from the late 1960s, the Officials, PD – and, from the mid-1970s, the IRSP-INLA – opposed the Church more thoroughly, theoretically, and internationally. To this end, all three organisations branded the Provisionals socially conservative Catholics. Where Catholic youth groups constituted a major bloc among Italian student radicals in the late 1960s,[927] for example, PD students such as Margaret Ward and Bernadette Devlin campaigned for reproductive rights and denounced the perceived hypocrisy and superficiality of Catholic morality and ritual.[928]

To many republicans, the Catholic Church in Ireland was at best irrelevant, and at worst detrimental, to their struggle. Irish republicans found little useful comparison with the Church in contemporary foreign struggles. Unlike France and Belgium in the 1940s and 1960s, Northern Ireland had no tradition of worker-priests,[929] nor did Irish radical clergy establish ecclesiastical base communities which propelled liberation theology in Central and South America after the Medellín conference of 1968.[930] Unlike Nicaragua's Sandinistas proclaiming Catholicism at the 'cornerstone' of their nationality in October 1978,[931]

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[926] LHL NIPC P3885: PSF, *Republican Education: What we need to know to win* (Dublin: PSF, 1985).
[927] Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), p. 86.
[928] Other PD members flouted Church-sponsored censorship laws in the Republic of Ireland by marching across the border bearing banned books in 1969. Ward, 'From Civil Rights', 122; Bernadette Devlin, *The Price of My Soul* (London: Pan Books, 1969), p. 74; Paul Arthur, *The People's Democracy, 1968-1973* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1974), p. 54.
[929] Joseph Rutte, 'The Worker-Priest Archetype', *Psychological Perspectives: A Quarterly Journal of Jungian Thought*, 60 (2017), p. 447.
[930] Daniel H. Levine, 'Assessing the Impacts of Liberation Theology in Latin America', *Review of Politics*, 50 (1988), pp. 248, 250-251, 258-259.
[931] Bakhtiari, 'Revolution and the Church', 23.

Provisionals shared Cuban revolutionaries' proposals to dismantle the Church's hidebound, institutional political influence, while recognising the Church's societal standing and the devout believers among their own radical ranks.[932] Complex republican engagements with the politics of the Church, as a philosophical, political, and social institution illuminate another facet of the variations of Irish republicanism since 1968.

Conclusion: The Dynamic Heterogeneity of Irish Republicanism, 1968-1998

[932] Siegel, *The Meek and the Militant*, 259, 264-265.

This thesis examined and explained the heterogeneity of Irish republicanism between 1968 and 1998. Its conclusions inform new understandings of republicanism, and Northern Ireland's politics past and present. For different reasons, hostile British analysts and republican leaders presented republicanism as monochrome and unified. Yet the reality was more complex: differences *within* republicanism shaped the conflict, as social movement theorists Robert W. White, Lorenzo Bosi, and Gianluca de Fazio have shown.[933]

The chapters above have supported Ronnie Munck's critique of simplistic binaries of intra-republican difference such as young and old, left and right, hawks and doves. As Munck argued, these categories elide the complexity and diachrony of views within republicanism.[934] This thesis posits three interconnected explanatory forces for republican variation: dynamic networks between 'pragmatic' and 'orthodox' republicans, experiences of place, and political formulations of class. These explanatory forces remain relevant surveying republican fragmentation and the shortcomings of Northern Ireland's peace process two decades after the Good Friday Agreement.

Networks and dynamic milieux, demarcating what this thesis terms 'pragmatic' and 'orthodox' republicans, were vital historically, and continually fluctuate. Older generations of republicans who experienced the conflict and oppose PSF's constitutional strategy today sustain kinship and friendship ties which predate 1998 by several decades. Equally, parallel networks are essential for longstanding comrades who now find a home in elected office for PSF. Ongoing disputes between republican camps today reflect enduring differences between 'pragmatic' and 'orthodox' republicans on questions of historical legitimacy and strategic evolution.

These networks can blur, and interactions between them are not necessarily acrimonious. Some republicans accentuate shared experience of struggle, and are especially

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[933] Robert W. White, 'From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilisation of the Provisional Irish Republican Army', *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (1989), pp. 1277-1302; Robert W. White, 'Structural Identity Theory and the Post-Recruitment Activism of Irish Republicans: Persistence, Disengagement, Splits, and Dissidents in Social Movement Organizations', *Social Problems*, 57 (2010), pp. 341-370; Lorenzo Bosi & Niall Ó Dochartaigh, 'Armed Activism as the Enactment of a Collective Identity: The Case of the Provisional IRA between 1969 and 1972', *Social Movement Studies*, 17 (2018), pp. 35-47; Gianluca de Fazio, 'Intra-Movement Competition and Political Outbidding as Mechanisms of Radicalisation in Northern Ireland, 1968-1969', in Lorenzo Bosi, Chares Demetriou & Stefan Malthaner (eds.), *Dynamics of Political Violence: A Process-Oriented Perspective on Radicalisation and the Escalation of Political Conflict* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 115-136.

[934] Ronnie Munck, 'Irish Republicanism: Containment or New Departure', in Alan O'Day (ed.), *Terrorism's Laboratory: The Case of Northern Ireland* (Aldershot: Dartmouth Publishing, 1995), p. 165.

measured in how they express differences with former comrades. Former INLA prisoner Seamus McHenry recalled past republican schisms but insisted that he would never 'crucify' or 'condemn' other organisations, as 'there's a lot of good volunteers lying dead now'.[935] A Provisional for more than 30 years, Albert Allen explained why he had never joined PSF:

> I found myself – and not only myself, but loads of other volunteers, we have never been a part of Sinn Féin, although we're all politically aware, we could've, could've. But I made a decision at the time that I would not join Sinn Féin, and I wouldn't go that way and the direction that I took then was more of a community-based effort. I've been involved in the residents' group round here and been involved for years. And before that I was instrumental in setting up the ex-prisoners' [organisation], I was instrumental in the memorial gardens, I'm still the chairperson of that, but I don't, I don't go that way [Sinn Féin]. I don't have a grievance against anybody who does, do you know what I mean, but that was my particular view of the time… But I would never go out and condemn [Sinn Féin]… and I would be against them, but I wouldn't be able to go out my way to condemn them, because at the end of the day it's happened, it's gone; you're not gonna fix it. They're going to go down this route anyway, and it'll always be that way now… But again, it doesn't mean to say that Sinn Féin have the only voice for republicans. There is other people with different opinions that have other ideas.[936]

Place remains salient among republicans, informing political diversity within republicanism and continually reframing legacies of the conflict. Republican identities differed across Ireland, between rural townlands and urban strongholds, between one county and another. Republicans spatialised their struggle differently, between local, regional, national, and international ideological formulations. The social geography of Northern Ireland's communities remains largely unchanged since 1998. In 2013, Peter Robinson and Martin McGuinness envisaged removing all of Northern Ireland's so-called 'peace walls' by 2023,[937] yet more than 100 barriers remain.[938] Public space remains politically contentious, amid seemingly interminable disputes over marches, flags, and commemorations.

Republican experiences of class and interactions with socialism undergirded republicanism's complex ecology, connecting to widespread republican disenchantment today. Republican formulations of place and collective memory linked to class as an

[935] Seamus McHenry interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 7 December 2017.
[936] Albert Allen interview with Jack Hepworth. Belfast, 13 December 2017.
[937] Gerry Moriarty, 'Robinson and McGuinness want "peace walls" down within 10 years', *Irish Times*, 10 May 2013.
[938] Rebecca Black, 'Progress on transforming Northern Ireland's peace walls "slowed by lack of government"', *Belfast Telegraph*, 10 December 2018.

experience. Leftism complicated and disrupted republicanism during the conflict. Today, many 'dissenting' and 'dissident' republicans accentuate class politics as they observe ongoing socioeconomic plight in Northern Ireland, where unemployment and poverty remain acute. The left-republicanism of organisations such as Saoradh, IRSP, and the 1916 Societies decries economic hardship across the partitioned island.

i. Project methodology and epistemology

Exploring republican heterogeneity, this thesis has sought perspectives spanning variegated time, space, and activist careers. This study has followed Martin McCleery in moving the object of study beyond Belfast and Derry, Northern Ireland's two major cities. The conflict was experienced differently across the north: between densely-populated working-class west Belfast, and the rural hinterland of south Armagh; between the 'peace walls' and urban interfaces of Lurgan and Portadown, and the staunchly republican villages of Cappagh and Carrickmore; between the everyday encounters with the British Army, RUC, and UDR in Northern Ireland, and, just a few miles away, the curious political environment of border areas of the Republic of Ireland.

Many of the primary sources consulted for this thesis have either never, or only fleetingly, been used by other scholars. Of itself, this does not render such sources valuable or even remarkable. However, this extensive archival work has generated many snapshots and amplified voices across the strata of several republican organisations. The emphasis on the Provisional movement is justified, since that movement dominated republicanism politically and numerically from 1970. However, the thesis has also considered republican trajectories in People's Democracy, the Official movement in the early 1970s, the IRSP and INLA from their foundation in the mid-1970s, and other groups which appeared from the late 1980s, including Republican Sinn Féin (RSF), the League of Communist Republicans (LCR), and the Irish People's Liberation Organisation (IPLO).

The sample of oral history interviewees for this project had a degree of variety, including several interviewees from IRSP-INLA perspectives, but there were shortcomings. For reasons discussed in Chapter 5, female perspectives were underrepresented. The geographical range of interviews exceeded Belfast and Derry, but there were no interviewees from County Fermanagh or the Republic's border counties. The sample also lacked representation from PD and RSF. Insights into these organisations relied on archival activist literature.

Press reports and news bulletins provided only occasional evidence illuminating my research questions around republican heterogeneity. Newspapers intensively documented the violence of the Troubles, but republican voices appeared less frequently. However, these sources suggested how republicanism pervaded the political zeitgeist at particular times in particular places. Periodically, court reports, transcripts of funeral orations, republican letters to local newspapers, or interviews in the non-republican alternative press, including leftist publications, yielded valuable insights into republican organisations. In Marc Bloch's schema, these momentary snapshots of contemporary political debates are largely 'unintentional'.

Republican organisations produced newspapers offering their own partisan reportage, most notably the Provisionals' *An Phoblacht* and *Republican News*, which merged in January 1979. These publicity mouthpieces were often subject to centralised editorial command, with staff writers producing content. Unsurprisingly, activist publications generally presented unified, univocal organisations, and therefore required contextual knowledge and reading 'against the grain' to access their undercurrents and tensions. Intermittently, these publications would feature opinion pieces and highlight deliberation within the movement. Insofar as these utterances depart from a 'party line', they are revealing.

Future research might consider in depth intra-movement reception of republican organisations' publicity mouthpieces. Party newspapers and public relations officers framed grievances and narratives of the conflict, with their emphases alternating between the local, national, and international contexts. More nuanced understandings of how grassroots republicans interpreted these frames – or even the extent to which these publicity outputs interested or concerned active volunteers – would elucidate appreciation of republican power structures.

More polyvocal archival material has a temporal bias. Activist publications under looser editorial control, yielding insight through the ranks of the Provisional movement – for example, prison journals such as *The Captive Voice* and *Iris Bheag*, or dissenting League of Communist Republicans paper *Congress* – originated in the late 1980s. The early 1970s Official republican prisoners' discussion forum *An Eochair* is exceptional, presenting inter-republican debates in the earlier phase of the conflict. Discovering grassroots republican perspectives before the mid-1980s requires intensive research in correspondence to local and national newspapers, or access to the local republican bulletins which survive sporadically in small numbers in the Linen Hall Library and Eileen Hickey Irish Republican History Museum.

This thesis's thematic structure lends itself to explaining heterogeneity, rather than simply describing it. These themes span political currents in dialogue with the fundamental republican objective of Irish unity. Exploring how republicans engaged '68 themes and the New Left, feminism, socialism, religion, and revolutionary theory elucidated variations in how republicans shaped their politics, framed their objectives, and negotiated the particular demands of movement unity.

However, exploring republicanism's internal dynamics, there is an epistemological danger of essentialising every republican as uniformly politicised, reflexive, and participant in intra-republican debates. A corrective is required. At one level, during their activism, republicans were unified only by the overarching objectives of forcing a British withdrawal and maintaining unity within their campaign as far as possible. The themes and questions this thesis probes would often have appeared abstract or even irrelevant for individuals engaged in guerrilla war. As one republican veteran put it:

> I've always asked myself, as we're talking, you know, the bottom line is, was it worthwhile? Do you know? That's a question you have to ask yourself. Would you do it all again? But hindsight's a wonderful thing. Even decisions you make in your own life… And at that particular time you were so caught up in, every single day was different, friends were getting shot dead, or somebody else was getting shot dead or blew up, and then there was rallies here and then you had Bloody Sunday and Ballymurphy all these different things were all happening… My idea at that time was: keep everybody together. That was the main thing. Keep the movement together.[939]

The fact that some republicans assessed and appreciated diversity of republicanism, while others did not, reflects key differences in how activism was experienced, how intra-movement power dynamics functioned, and how internal variation influenced changes within republicanism. The more republicans interrogated the dynamics of their movement and posed theoretical questions about their campaign strategy, tactics, and priorities, the more fractures appeared. On the contrary, leaders and middle-ranks organisers faced the practical imperative of maintaining internal unity and projecting cohesion for public consumption. This process usually meant eschewing introspective questions about republicanism and superficially assuming an integrated movement.

This project has also contended with the epistemological challenges of researching secretive organisations which do not readily reveal internal structures, especially the relationships between political fronts and guerrilla armies. Journalistic commentary

[939] Albert Allen interview.

speculates on these connections; this thesis has not, only assigning group membership according to activists' own acknowledgements and actions.

ii. Explaining republican heterogeneity

Networks

If networks and milieux are important explanatory forces for heterogeneity, how do they crystallise? Pathways to and through micromobilisation navigated the individual's cognitive, affective, and collective senses of themselves, their society, and their struggle. As Sidney Tarrow suggested, activism negotiates conceptions of individuals' rational choices, broader group processes, and perceived political opportunities.[940] Following the findings of social movement theorists David A. Snow, Louis A. Zurcher, and Sheldon Ekland-Olson, this thesis has argued that personal connections within a radical movement were important in shaping allegiances within a multi-organisational field.[941] For example, a minority of republicans had family connections to clergy, or maintained personal faith during activism, yet filtered the pronouncements, heeding the salvific and mediating the political.

Individual pathways in republicanism navigate several complicating factors. There is the cognitive level, at which the individual considers their position relative to the movement – although this is necessarily complicated by social identity and group membership. There are the individual's networks of kinship and friendship, intimately connected to place and lived experience. Additionally, a conjunctural element of particular circumstance at a given historical moment shapes activist careers.

Furnished with wide-ranging republican testimony, this project has drawn upon Luisa Passerini's oral history of Italian '68ers, which engaged collective biography to analyse networks.[942] Marshalling individual itineraries, collective biography explores individual trajectories and how the individual navigates networks and wider social and political contexts.[943] Republican subjectivities traversed seeming contradictions in complicated activist trajectories, attesting the conjunctural quality of threshold moments in their struggle,

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[940] Sidney Tarrow, 'Social Movements in Contentious Politics: A Review Article', *American Political Science Review*, 90 (1996), p. 880.
[941] David A. Snow, Louis A. Zurcher & Sheldon Ekland-Olson, 'Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment', *American Sociological Review*, 45 (1980), pp. 787-801.
[942] Luisa Passerini, *Autobiography of a Generation: Italy, 1968* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1996).
[943] Roberta Hawkins, Karen Falconer Al-Hindi, Pamela Moss & Leslie Kern, 'Practicing Collective Biography', *Geography Compass*, 10 (2016), pp. 165-166.

such as 1969, 1981, and 1998. These moments of reorientation within republicanism recall what Walter Benjamin termed 'historical ruptures' which 'explode the continuum of history'.[944] There was also an individual dynamic in republican mobilisation. In oral history interviews and recent published accounts of activism, republicans narrated their mobilisation around what Benjamin called 'authentic experiences' (*erfahrungen*) of awakening and disruption in young lives.[945]

Examining republicanism across the past five decades, this thesis has suggested the significance of generational cohorts. Broadly, three 'generations' defined diachronic shifts in Irish republicanism. First, the senior republicans of the late 1960s before the movement split, including Ruairí Ó Brádaigh (born 1932) and Tomás Mac Giolla (1924), who proceeded to the founding leaderships of the Provisional and Official movements respectively. This generation had experienced earlier republican campaigns, and observed British imperial decline.

A 'second generation' revolved around Gerry Adams (1948) and Martin McGuinness (1950), who rose to the Provisional leadership in the early 1980s, having been active in republicanism since the late 1960s and early 1970s. Parallels in the IRSP-INLA include those at the centre of the organisation's feuds in the late 1980s, most notably Jimmy Brown (1956), Ta Power (1954), and Gerard Steenson (1957). This generational cohort played pivotal roles in intra-republican debates about tactics, strategy, and revolution theory from the 1980s, as Chapter 3 showed. This 'second' generation led the Provisional movement for several decades. As recently as January 2017, Adams remained PSF President, with McGuinness Northern Ireland's Deputy First Minister.

Finally, a 'third' generation born around or after the outbreak of conflict in 1968, who joined republican organisations from the mid-1980s but did not reach the leaderships of the republican organisations before 1998. Some of these republicans were PIRA prisoners in the 1990s who became prominent opponents of the Good Friday Agreement after 1998, including John Connolly (1976) from County Fermanagh, Colin Duffy (1968) from Lurgan, County Armagh, Davey Jordan (1971) from Donaghmore, County Tyrone, and Carl Reilly (1975) from Belfast.[946] Donatella della Porta highlights this 'generation of activists, which has

[944] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), pp. 261-262.
[945] Ibid., p. 159.
[946] Connolly left the Provisionals in 1997 and was jailed in 2000, later becoming leader of the Real IRA (RIRA) prisoners in Maghaberry. Connolly cut ties with republican groups on his release in 2007. Duffy received a life sentence in 1995 but was acquitted the following year, when a witness was

socialised to politics after violence has become accepted in larger or smaller wings of the social movement sector'.[947] Future research should extend chronologically this analysis of the 'third' generation of republicans and their trajectories spanning Northern Ireland's conflict transformation since the 1990s.

However, generations only go so far in explaining republican heterogeneity. While Adams and McGuinness defined republican leadership from the early 1980s, multiple currents existed beneath the surface of this ostensibly disciplined movement. Republicans from different places, classes, networks, and personal trajectories participated in the struggle, through the middle-ranks and grassroots of Provisional republicanism – to say nothing of other groups in this multi-organisational field.

Republican subjectivities towards strategic and tactical changes were not determined simply by generation, geography, or rank within the movement. Rather, this thesis distinguished between 'pragmatists' and 'orthodox' in the Provisional movement. Pragmatists were more open to tactical innovation, perceiving new political opportunities, and this degree of openness usually correlated with the degree of confidence they placed in the movement's leaders. Conversely, orthodox republicans situated authority in republican 'principles' and historical precedent.

Differences between republican organisations were of varying importance at particular times and through groups' strata. Organisation leaderships espoused varying class politics, revolutionary strategies, and different versions of the 'new Ireland'. Organisational identity shaped individuals' milieux, inside and outside prison: members of a particular republican group mostly encountered their organisational comrades. Especially during intra-republican quandaries, such as the NHBAC experienced in the early 1980s, group identity acquired new significance. Nevertheless, this thesis has suggested the blurred quality of political subjectivities in the lower echelons of republican organisations. For example, while

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implicated in loyalist gun-running. Jordan was imprisoned in the early 1990s and was elected as Saoradh's national chair in September 2016. Reilly joined the PIRA in 1993 but later left the Provisionals and chaired Republican Network for Unity. 'Former Real IRA commander: Even cameras on masts would be seen as "spy posts" in border regions', *thejournal.ie* (18 February 2019). Available at: https://www.thejournal.ie/real-ira-brexit-border-john-connolly-4495704-Feb2019. Accessed 18 February 2019; Carmel Robinson, 'Murder appeal will focus on evidence of jailed UVF man', *Irish Times*, 16 May 1996; Connla Young, 'New "revolutionary" republican party Saoradh launched', *Irish News*, 26 September 2016; Rogelio Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. 60; Andrew Norfolk, 'Terrorism keeps Belfast charity in business', *Times*, 21 August 2018.

[947] Donatella della Porta, 'Introduction: On Individual Motivations in Underground Political Organizations', in Donatella della Porta (ed.), *Social Movements and Violence: Participation in Underground Organizations* (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1992), p. 23.

differences between early Official leader Tomás Mac Giolla and founding PSF President Ruairí Ó Brádaigh are easily identified, there were no such stark contrasts between left-leaning PIRA volunteers in Long Kesh and their INLA counterparts in the late 1980s.

How individuals interpreted 'legitimacy' and political priorities emerged as a central difference among republicans in the 1980s. Commemorations of 1968 in 1978 and 1988 highlighted how activists historicised their own radical pasts amid ongoing struggle. The historical context of 1916, and particularly of James Connolly, was particularly pliable, offering adamant militarists and revolutionary socialists alike a touchstone for their political heritage. Some republicans looked to revolutionary processes elsewhere for basic inspiration against an imperialist power, whereas other sought to extract particular strategic lessons.

In the late 1980s, strategic innovators in the Provisional leadership redefined the republican campaign as a rights-based struggle for 'pan-nationalist' self-determination. These new departures bled into electoral tactics, council work, and grassroots activism, and exposed divisions within the movement. Leftist republicans criticised Adamsites for compromising with moderate nationalism and drifting rightward. An older guard including Ó Brádaigh and Ó Conaill complained that electoralism desecrated historical legitimacy and undermined armed struggle.

Assessing changes within Irish republicanism over three decades, Tarrow's four factors driving social movement demobilisation are worth recalling.

i. *Regime repression* did not drive changes in republican activism. Republicans faced consistent repression between the late 1960s and late 1990s, and the PIRA experienced major military reverses throughout these decades, but sustained its low-intensity warfare. On the contrary, shifting political opportunity structures, particularly around PSF's electoralism in the 1980s, broadened the republican campaign.

ii. *Activist exhaustion* affected the Provisional leadership more than its prisoners and rank-and-file. Adamsites in the late 1980s advocated talks with the SDLP and a 'pan-nationalist' alliance, partly as a response to a perceived military impasse. However, many Provisionals' confidence in their armed campaign endured through the 1990s.

iii. *Contenders' claims being satisfied* did not directly drive republican demobilisation. The British government remained in Northern Ireland and did not relinquish the principle of consent within Northern Ireland. Nevertheless, Provisional supporters of the Adams leadership believed in the early 1990s

that shifting repertoires of contention would ultimately achieve their objectives.

iv. *Activist groups becoming incorporated and institutionalised in orthodox politics* rings true for the Provisional movement, which committed to exclusively constitutional methods by 2005. However, this thesis has argued that this institutionalisation was an outcome, rather than a cause, of shifting strategies from the 1980s.

Future research should follow Tarrow's work and explore micro-experiences of republican demobilisation. Those experiences most visible in the literature and the archives are those of republicans who have left the Provisional movement acrimoniously and now repudiate it. Accounts of those who left militant republicanism for different reasons are harder to access, but could yield insight into the dynamics of class politics, place, and networks which this thesis has highlighted.

Place

Republican collective identities were multi-layered and contingent, reconstituted dynamically.[948] Some defined themselves in international terms as anti-imperialists or leftists, while others were more emphatically *Irish* republicans. In prison communities, or when writing collectively to a local newspaper, republicans might identify as a Fermanagh republican, or even more specifically as a Divis Flats or Kilwilkie republican. Organisational identity could overlap with locality, for example South Derry Erps, East Tyrone Provos.

The richness of republican testimony around place and class recalls Vološinov's conception of language as a multi-accented medium of class consciousness and contestation, linking the subject and their milieux.[949] Narrating subjective experience and multi-layered conceptions of community and identity, the language of place mediated political class consciousness in republican narratives. Movement leaders' monological representations of republicanism as unified and uniform erased socialist politics within the movement, and the significance of class as an experience. By contrast, subjective representations of place connoted micro-dynamics within republicanism.

[948] This point follows Philip Schlesinger's remarks on collective identity as 'a continual process of recomposition rather than a given' and 'a dynamic, emergent aspect of collective action'. Joshua Gamson, 'The Dilemmas of Identity Politics', in Jeff Goodwin & James M. Jasper (ed.), *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts* (Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2003), p. 337.
[949] V. N. Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (transl. Ladislav Matejka & I. R. Titunik) (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 18, 20, 85, 102-103.

Republicans were embedded in networks and communities in which they enjoyed sovereignty outside state authority. In 1969, attacks by state forces and loyalists on civil rights marches and Catholic areas of west Belfast and Derry produced acutely localised defence committees. These groups contained the kernel of a renascent militant republicanism, including experienced veterans such as Billy McKee (born 1921) and Joe Cahill (1920), as well as legions of younger foot-soldiers born in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Once the old republican movement split in late 1969 and early 1970 amid disputes about the response to the onslaught in 'August '69', the Provisionals quickly mobilised across large parts of Northern Ireland and the Republic's border counties. This movement would dominate republicanism, numerically and politically, throughout the following three decades.

The split in the republican movement largely reflected different understandings of the crisis of 1969, but also mapped broader diversity in how individuals and networks strategised and spatialised their campaign. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson examined how the abstract idea of 'nationhood' could be communicated to large numbers of people.[950] For Ó Brádaigh and Ó Conaill, Ireland's struggle was relatively isolated from developments elsewhere; they emphasised the national context, and often particular local dynamics.

Place profoundly coloured variations in republicanism. For example, civil rights and republican politics interacted particularly closely in Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone, where they did not in Derry or south Armagh. In 1988, when the Provisional movement established '68 Committees to harness the civil rights legacy, they targeted 'places of memory' in the civil rights struggle such as Coalisland, Dungannon, Derry, and Enniskillen.[951] The depth of the Provisionals' engagement with their host community since 1969 set them apart in this multi-organisational field. PSF's electoral machine and grassroots activism from the 1980s further emulated the social hegemony Antonio Gramsci described. For Gramsci, a hegemonic group must 'propagate itself throughout society – bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity'.[952]

Local dynamics evaded republican leaders' homogenising versions of a 'national' struggle. Provisionals in Derry City consistently defied the movement's official line on

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[950] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

[951] Pierre Nora defined a *lieu de memoire* as 'any significant entity, whether material or nonmaterial in nature, which by human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community'. Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past – Volume 1: Conflicts and Divisions*, p. xvii.

[952] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (ed. and transl. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith) (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971), p. 406.

feminism from the mid-1980s, criticising the movement's stance on abortion and its treatment of women within its ranks. Most of those few clergy who openly supported republican aspirations, and even sympathised with their methods, resided in isolated, rural parishes in majority-community areas.

The IRSP-INLA and PD enjoyed a degree of grassroots support, but resembled revolutionary sects. In contrast, the Provisionals expanded their base through the 1980s and diversified their conception of republicanism. In the process, they alienated some of their own militants, who considered pan-nationalism and capacious politics a diversion from a specific political programme and disciplined armed campaign.

Class

Republicanism in 'the '68 years' defies straightforward categorisation. Civil rights protests through the 1960s, and their repression, bequeathed multifaceted opposition to the unionist regime, spanning liberal unionists, constitutional nationalists, socialist revolutionaries, and militant republicans. In 1969, Belfast's student radicals founded People's Democracy, whose internationalist leftism and provocative tactics frequently collided with the broader civil rights movement across Northern Ireland.

Situating Irish republicanism as a strand of radical opposition in the global '68 highlights differences in how republicans formulated political ideas, framed their campaign, and interacted with radical politics beyond the national. Although republican trajectories in subsequent decades differed sharply from those of most '68ers worldwide, republican resurgence in the late 1960s and early 1970s drew upon civil rights struggles with connections to the civil disobedience of the global '68.

However, the composition and strategies of republicanism differed considerably from the 'terrorist' afterlives of '68 in West Germany, Italy, and France. Compared to West Germany's *Rote Armee Fraktion*, Italy's *Brigate Rosse*, and France's *Gauche Prolétarienne*, republicans, especially the PIRA, were:

- More numerous, and unified in fewer organisations rather than multitudinous underground cells;
- More pronouncedly working class in membership, whereas Europe's 'terrorists' included greater numbers of students, radical workers, academics, and intellectuals;
- More integrated in their host society, enjoying a greater degree of community support;
- More formally organised politically, especially through PSF from the 1980s;

- More theoretically eclectic and ambiguous, compared to doctrinaire leftists, anarchists, and Maoists in Europe.

Republicans waged consistent, 'low-intensity' guerrilla warfare in an ethno-nationalist campaign of attrition to corrode the British government's will to remain in Northern Ireland. By contrast, Europe's terrorists favoured 'spectacular' acts of violence to provoke state repression and stir the masses into sympathy for a broader struggle against injustice and oppression worldwide.[953]

In the early 1970s, Official republican leaders such as Tomás Mac Giolla and Seán Garland framed the republican campaign globally among Third World anti-imperialist movements and worldwide socialism. By contrast, for senior Provisionals such as Ruairí Ó Brádaigh and Dáithí Ó Conaill, socialism was a secondary concern. Instead, they identified a particularly Irish revolutionary lineage for a unified, independent Ireland, which usually harked back to the rebellion of 1798, or the revolutionary decade between 1912 and 1923.

Class politics informed republican relationships with the Catholic Church. Leftist Provisionals, as well as members of the IRSP-INLA and PD more straightforwardly condemned the Church as a bastion of the social conservatism they sought to overthrow. Although not entirely deferential to Church authority, founding Provisionals pragmatically presented their politics as compatible with Catholic teaching. During the early 1970s, leading Provisionals such as Ruairí Ó Brádaigh lambasted their Official republican rivals as irreligious. However, hostile caricatures of the founding Provisionals as 'rosary beads republicans' ignores their filtering religious pronouncements and challenging the Church hierarchy to justify its antipathy towards republicanism.

Republicans' political priorities differed where their politics interacted with other radical strands, such as socialism, feminism, and internationalism. For example, for early Provisionals such as Seán Mac Stíofáin, republicanism's purpose was to end British rule in Ireland. Thereafter, the Irish body politic would determine the nation's direction. By contrast, leftist republicans such as Tomás Mac Giolla and Seamus Costello considered the national question just one part, albeit an important one, in a wider social revolution which would transform class structures, including women's subjugation under capitalism.

Mark Ryan's and Kevin Bean's analyses of Irish republicanism as 'deeply influenced by the changes taking place in world politics' and 'susceptib[le] to the ideological pull of

[953] Kay Schiller, 'Political Militancy and Generation Conflict in West Germany during the "Red Decade"', *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 11 (2003), p. 29.

external forces' reflect only certain sections of this multi-organisational field.[954] Although some Provisionals considered republican aspirations intimately involved with international radicalism, others isolated Ireland. These contrasting positions map broader divisions among Provisionals. Republicans interacted with international politics and the radical left in different ways for different ends. Official republican publicity repeatedly identified explicitly with leftist national liberation movements, especially those receiving support from the USSR. Through the 1970s and 1980s, left-wing theorists in People's Democracy studied working-class struggles from Britain to sub-Saharan Africa, from Central America to south-east Asia. By contrast, Provisional leaders Ó Brádaigh and Adams instrumentalised anti-imperialist struggles elsewhere, as diverse as Poland, Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Honduras, as simple encouragement for republicans. Whereas Officials in the early 1970s situated Ireland's struggle in a global succession of socialist revolutions, Provisionals tended to treat Ireland as a place apart, a unique situation.

More broadly, republican leftists in the Official movement in the early 1970s, in the theoretically-minded wing of the IRSP-INLA from the mid-1970s, in PD and the LCR in the late 1980s, looked to other struggles not simply to signal vague inspiration, but to render their own strategy and credo, reflecting overarching arguments about the porosity of republican ideology. They read international politics and revolutionary theory with considerable acuity and critical enquiry. Especially during imprisonment, many republicans from different organisations studied international politics and revolutionary theory. The leaderships of the PSF-PIRA recognised that these ventures often triggered centrifugal forces within the movement, and evaded doctrinaire leftism, preferring vague talk of redistributive and cooperative economics in 'the new Ireland'. Almost inversely, the IRSP *Ard Comhairle* asserted control of its military wing, the INLA, and attempted to codify the movement's republican socialism. Militarists such as Gerard Steenson resisted this direction and the movement split catastrophically.

Leftist Provisionals perceived their movement comprising with moderate nationalism and drifting rightward by the late 1980s, as Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrated. Socialism also bled into feminist critiques of the Adams leadership. Female PIRA prisoners in Maghaberry cogently criticised their own movement's attempts to contain women's subjugation in

[954] Mark Ryan, 'From the Centre to the Margins: The Slow Death of Irish Republicanism', in Chris Gilligan & Jon Tonge (eds.), *Peace or War? Understanding the Peace Process in Northern Ireland* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 73; Kevin Bean, *The New Politics of Sinn Féin* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2007), p. 74.

national terms, instead internationalising patriarchy and connecting with feminist anti-imperialists in Britain and beyond. Similarly, leftist PIRA men in Long Kesh harnessed the prison's radical pedagogy to critique their movement as uncommitted to women's liberation and socialist revolution.

Successive Provisional leaderships regarded feminist and socialist politics as potential distortions of a holistic republican line. Ó Brádaigh and Adams alike configured feminism internally by accentuating women's agency in Irish republican history, whereas Official republicans and members of PD and the IRSP-INLA treated feminism as an integral aspect of the social revolution they envisaged. Similarly, Adams spoke of women's repression as a product of British rule, whereas IRSP and PD representatives situated patriarchy in tandem with global imperialism and capitalism.

The international left's decline from 1989 barely affected Provisional leaders. In the post-Cold War 'new world order', republican campaigns endured, but did not engage radical opposition to World Trade Organisation globalisation, and neoliberal democratisation and transitions, unlike Mexico's Zapatistas, who issued their First Declaration and Revolutionary Laws in January 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement was effected. Rather, South Africa's conflict transformation dominated Provisionals' international politics in the mid-1990s. Until discussions about prison releases began in late 1994 and 1995, the PIRA rank-and-file scarcely addressed peace processes elsewhere, instead confident that a British withdrawal would soon occur leaving republicans to determine the 'new Ireland'.

In 2013, Paul Gill and John Horgan analysed a dataset of 1,240 former PIRA volunteers. With up to 39 data-points on each individual, their statistical prosopography recorded, inter alia, roles within the movement, age at first identifiable activity, connections to place, and occupation. Their detailed analysis suggested the nuanced micro-dynamics of place and class in the PIRA, beyond reductive dichotomies of urban and rural, young and old, unskilled and professional. Gill and Horgan evoked a PIRA which was largely working-class, but spanned skilled and unskilled, specialised and unspecialised workers; which was chiefly urban, but constituted almost as much in small towns or villages with fewer than 10,000 inhabitants as in the larger cities of population above 100,000.[955] Following Gill's and

[955] Gill and Horgan found PIRA members typically became active in their mid-twenties: the average age of first identifiable PIRA activity was 24.99 years. Although 34.1 percent of their sample operated in a town or city with a population of 100,000 or more, a significant minority of PIRA activity took place in villages and small towns: some 39.1 percent were active in villages and towns with a population of 10,000 or fewer. Gill and Horgan recorded a 'broad spectrum of occupation types'

Horgan's detailed quantitative investigation of the PIRA's internal composition, this thesis has sought qualitative embellishment and explanation.

The Good Friday Agreement was an epochal moment in Irish republicanism. Prior to 1998, republicanism constituted a multi-organisational field including diverse individuals who historised, spatialised, and strategised their struggle in different ways. Since the PIRA announced an end to its armed campaign in 2005, mainstream commentary has presented militarism as the sole divider within republicanism. This thesis has suggested that republicanism's mosaic quality was, and is, more complex, spanning class politics, place, and networks of orthodox and pragmatic republicans. The distinction between republican networks prompts reflection on the degrees of openness to other international, radical ideas.

A powerful strand in Irish republicanism reinvents radicalism as apolitical militarism. The national question marginalises all others: republican allusions to class are often implicit, whereas celebration of a national tradition is overt and commonplace. Here, 'politics' is a metonym for the compromises which had undermined republicans in 1921. For many republicans, 'politics' ceased to be an unwelcome cipher for reformism during long prison sentences. The relationship between 'politics' and armed struggle is one among several crucial controversies within Irish republicanism, past and present. Adapting Mikhail Bakhtin's theoretical work, this thesis has explored the contrasts and collisions between centripetal and centrifugal forces in language. Bakhtin's 'social heteroglossia' and 'dialogic reverberations' schematise the clash between state authorities and movement leaders alike, seeking an official monologue, and the dialogical processes within contentious movements and its individual members.

Following Henri Tajfel's social identity theory interrogating 'the way human identity develops in groups',[956] oral histories in this thesis have revealed how multi-layered memory is constantly renegotiated. Present-day political realities shape subjective narratives of historical activism and trajectories. These testimonies illuminate the dynamic quality of republican heterogeneity in terms of interconnected experiences and representations of class, place, and networks of pragmatists and orthodox republicans. They chart how individuals

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among 422 volunteers. Overall, almost two-thirds (63.4 percent) of this sample of 422 worked in construction, services, or the industrial sector, and these ranks were fairly evenly balanced between specialists (61 percent of construction workers; 42 percent of industrial/services workers), and non-specialists. Paul Gill & John Horgan, 'Who Were the Volunteers? The Shifting Sociological and Operational Profile of 1240 PIRA Members', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25 (2013), pp. 435-456.

[956] Henri Tajfel, 'Social Identity and Intergroup Behaviour', *Social Science Information*, 13 (1974), pp. 65-93.

organise experiences at individual and collective levels, especially amid dilemmas of allegiance and direction within republicanism. Narratives traverse internal cognitive and external group-based dialogues at conjunctural historical moments.

Contemporary debates about republican fragmentation profoundly colour these subjective representations of the past. Interviewees who have remained in an organisation throughout their activist career tend to collapse republican heterogeneity. They stress an essential version of republicanism from which they have not wavered. Conversely, republicans who have experienced schisms and left their previous groups, or who are disillusioned with the outcomes of the struggle, often present a greater degree of difference within republicanism. They emphasise points of fissure within republicanism, and the seeming contradictions of former comrades who now belong to distinct strategic approaches and networks. These interviewees often narrate republican decline, or even defeat, and speculate what 'might have been', recalling what Alessandro Portelli called the 'uchronic moment'.[957]

Today, 'dissenting' and 'dissident' republicans frame the Provisionals' expanding repertoires of contention since the 1980s as a catalogue of errors acquiescing in British statecraft. Republican fragmentation today risks obscuring the profound confidence among the majority of Provisionals throughout the 1990s that British withdrawal was either imminent, or inevitable in the longer term. Even during the PIRA ceasefires of the mid-1990s, many Provisionals continually perceived their movement as the commanding authors of the embryonic peace process.

For social movement theorists Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, four key aspects determine political opportunity structures:

- (i) Relative openness or closure of the institutionalised political system;
- (ii) The presence of stable allies;
- (iii) Stability of that broad set of elite alignment that typically undergird a polity;

[957] For Portelli, oral history interviewees' 'uchronic dreams' reflect on aspirations for transformations which did not materialise. A 'motif of history that could have gone differently', they assert historical agency and imagine what 'might have been'. Jonna Katto found similar patterns in oral testimonies of economically marginalised former Frelimo militants in Mozambique, who were disillusioned with the revolution's outcomes. Alessandro Portelli, 'Uchronic Dreams: Working Class Memory and Possible Worlds', in Raphael Samuel & Paul Thompson (eds.), *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 147-155; Jonna Katto, 'Landscapes of Belonging: Female Ex-Combatants Remembering the Liberation Struggle in Urban Maputo', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 40 (2014), pp. 539-557; Jonna Katto, 'Emotions in Protest: Unsettling the Past in Ex-Combatants' Personal Accounts in Northern Mozambique', *Oral History*, 46 (2018), pp. 53-62.

- (iv) The state's capacity and propensity for repression.[958]

Between the late 1960s and late 1990s, the British state broadly maintained its global standing (iii) and its capacity and propensity for repression (iv). Political opportunities for Irish republicans in this period shifted chiefly in terms of (i) and (ii). Provisional republicanism's shifting strategies stemmed from two interacting factors: firstly, moments of crisis in the republican struggle amid limited political opportunities; secondly, and perhaps paradoxically, republican perceptions of regime vulnerability at particular opportune moments.

In the late 1970s, the PIRA adopted a cell structure geared towards a 'long war' campaign of attrition, having perceived their movement to be infiltrated by informers and weakened by a ceasefire between February 1975 and January 1976, as a senior PIRA member, speaking with the Army Council's permission, explained in 1978.[959] Similarly, in the late 1980s, Adamsites in the leadership diagnosed impasse in their campaign and looked to a pan-nationalist front to develop the republican base and explore constitutional avenues after two decades of guerrilla war.

Yet Provisional 'new departures' were also experimental responses to leaders' perceptions of regime weakness – even if these moments were transitory and largely unforeseen. Through the 1980s, the Provisionals adapted their tactics incrementally when they happened upon new political opportunities. These changes later evolved into more profound, strategic change. In 1981, having endured five years of blanket protests amid intransigent British criminalisation policy, the publicity success of hunger strikers' election candidacies surprised leading figures in the Provisional movement who subsequently determined to pursue further experiments.

Comparably, the Anglo-Irish Agreement of November 1985 provoked unionist ire, which inadvertently created new political opportunities for PSF councillors. Abused by unionist councillors, Provisionals appealed to popular opinion and invoked the language of civil rights, and explored the radical potential of grassroots activism in besieged Catholic working-class communities. The Provisional movement's career from the early 1980s fits

[958] Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, 'Introduction: Opportunities, Mobilising Structures, and Framing Processes: Towards a Synthetic, Comparative Perspective on Social Movements', in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald (eds.), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilising Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 10.
[959] *Magill*, Volume 1 Number 11 (August 1978), pp. 14, 16.

David A. Snow's and David A. Benford's argument that new frames prompt tactical innovation in a social movement organisation.[960]

Under Adams's leadership from 1983, the Provisionals' electoral turn was a paradigmatic shift in Irish republicanism. Mindful of the need to unify the movement, Adamsites introduced these changes as tactical experiments, as distinct from irreversible strategic changes. As these changes evolved more profoundly – culminating ultimately in 'exclusively democratic' methods by 2005 – criticism of the Adams leadership developed. Although the Provisionals' avoided major schisms within their movement from the late 1980s, they experienced considerable dissent. Splits were limited and dissension was largely contained, due both to the movement's tradition of entrusting major decisions to its leadership, and a newer preference in the early 1990s for consulting and informing the movement's membership through piecemeal changes – even if the route was predetermined. That Provisional tactical and strategic changes unfolded by steps, and amid largely unforeseen circumstances, gives the lie to 'dissident' claims today that Adams and his followers determined decades ago to manipulate the movement to exclusive constitutionalism. Critique of Adams's leadership is on firmer ground when it recognises the profound power vested in the upper echelons of the Provisional leadership.

This thesis has analysed the dynamics of republican organisations, considering how power was situated and negotiated within. The Provisional movement had a long history of entrusting major strategic decisions to its party executive. Consequently, when the movement altered its repertoires of contention – through electoralism in the 1980s or peace negotiations in the 1990s, for example – the grassroots specifically identified these innovations with 'the leadership'.

To some extent, the Provisional high command reciprocated the trust they enjoyed. Middle-ranks in PSF and the PIRA were informed of decisions, and consulted increasingly through the 1980s. Especially during debates within republicanism, the cachet of veterans commanded attention, and pragmatists and orthodox alike vied for senior republicans' hallowed approval. Meanwhile, active volunteers were occupied mainly with prosecuting the armed struggle, devoting greater attention to strategic and theoretical concerns mostly in prison.

The IRSP and INLA were smaller organisations, and their publicity outputs revealed far less of their internal structure, the IRSP *Ard Comhairle* and several notable INLA

[960] David A. Snow & David A. Benford, 'Master Frames and Cycles of Protest', in Morris & McClurg Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, 146.

volunteers excepted. However, this thesis has explored fundamental divisions within the republican socialist movement around the central question of whether the party or the army would control the movement. This volatile factionalism scarred the organisation from its foundations in the mid-1970s, contrasting with the traditional of hierarchical discipline which pervaded the Provisional movement.

Across six thematic chapters, this thesis has demonstrated and explained the dynamic heterogeneity of Irish republicanism since 1968. It has located centripetal and centrifugal forces within republicanism chiefly around divergent experiences of, and approaches towards, class politics, place, and dynamic networks of 'orthodox' and 'pragmatic' republicans. The complex ecology of the republican past indelibly marks Northern Ireland today. Republicanism remains divided socially, geographically, strategically, and, for many of its adherents, personally. Republican legacies remain contested among ex-combatants and across society more broadly. Contrary to popular usage, there is no singular 'republican movement'. Its breadth has alternately strengthened and strained Irish republicanism, and continues to do so today.

Appendix I: interviewees and key actors

Gerry Adams: Born Belfast, 1948; interned, 1972, 1973-1976; President, PSF, 1983-2018; PSF MP, Belfast West, 1983-1992, 1997-2011; TD, Louth, 2011-present.

Albert Allen: Born Belfast, 1954; joined Na Fianna Éireann, 1969; joined OIRA, 1970; joined PIRA, 1971; interned, 1971-1972; PIRA prisoner, 1976, 1977-1978, 1978-1986; Officer Commanding PIRA in Crumlin Road Jail, 1978.

Mickey Brady: Born Newry, 1950; PSF MLA, Newry & Armagh, 2007-2015; PSF MP, Newry & Armagh, 2015-present.

Don Browne: Born Derry, 1959; joined OIRA; joined INLA; republican prisoner, 1985-1998; resigned from INLA, 1986.

Charlie Casey: Born Newry; PSF councillor, Newry, 2001-present.

Seamus Costello: Born Bray, County Wicklow, 1939; joined SF and IRA, 1955; imprisoned, 1957-1960; founding member of IRSP and INLA, 1974; INLA Chief of Staff, 1974-1976; killed by OIRA, 1977.

Bernadette Devlin: Born Cookstown, County Tyrone, 1947; founding member of People's Democracy, 1968; MP, Mid-Ulster, 1969-1974; joined IRSP, 1974; joined Independent Socialist Party, 1977; founding member of South Tyrone Empowerment Programme, 1997.

Máire Drumm: Born Newry, 1919; joined NICRA; joined *Cumann na mBan*; Vice-President, PSF; killed by Red Hand Commando, 1976.

Mairéad Farrell: Born Belfast, 1957; PIRA prisoner, 1976-1986; Officer Commanding PIRA in Armagh Jail; killed on PIRA active service, 1988.

Gerry Foster: Born Belfast, 1963; joined INLA, 1982; INLA prisoner, 1982-1988, 1992-1994.

Seán Garland: Born Dublin, 1934; joined IRA, 1953; imprisoned, 1957-1959; founding member of OSF and OIRA, 1970; elected General Secretary, OSF, 1977; died, 2018.

Fra Halligan: Born Belfast, 1968; joined IRSP, 1984.

Kevin Hannaway: Born Belfast, 1947; joined PIRA, 1969; interned, 1971; imprisoned 2018.

Brendan Hughes: Born Belfast, 1948; joined IRA, 1969; PIRA prisoner, 1974-1986; Officer Commanding PIRA in Crumlin Road Jail, 1974-1975; Officer Commanding PIRA in Long Kesh, 1977-1978, 1978-1980; died, 2008.

Peadar Lagan: Born Magherafelt, County Derry, 1974; INLA prisoner, 1993-1996.

Seán Lynch: Born Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, 1954; PIRA prisoner, 1986-1998; Vice Officer Commanding PIRA in Long Kesh, 1992-1994; Officer Commanding PIRA in Long Kesh, 1994-1996; PSF councillor, Fermanagh County Council, 2011; PSF MLA, Fermanagh-South Tyrone, 2011-present.

Eamonn MacDermott: Born Derry, 1957; PIRA prisoner, 1977-1992.

Tomás Mac Giolla: Born Nenagh, County Tipperary, 1924; joined IRA, 1950; President, SF, 1962-1970; founding member of Official republican movement, 1970; TD, The Workers' Party, Dublin West, 1982-1992; died, 2010.

Gerry MacLochlainn: Born Derry, 1954; republican prisoner, 1980-1983; PSF representative in London, 1984-1994.

Seán MacManus: Born Blacklion, County Cavan, 1950; Secretary, County Sligo Anti-H-Block Committee, 1980; joined PSF Ard Comhairle, 1982; National Chairperson, PSF, 1984-1990; PSF councillor, Sligo County Council, 1994-2017.

Patrick Magee: Born Belfast, 1951; joined PIRA, 1972; interned, 1973-1975; PIRA prisoner, 1985-1999. During his incarceration, Patrick wrote a doctoral thesis on representations of republicans in fiction. He later developed this into a book: *Gangsters or Guerrillas? Representations of Irish Republicans in 'Troubles Fiction'* (Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 2001).

Raymond McCartney: Born Derry, 1954; joined PIRA, 1972; interned, 1972-1974; PIRA prisoner, 1977-1994; Officer Commanding PIRA in Long Kesh, 1989-1991; PSF MLA, Foyle, 2004-present.

Francie McGuigan: Born Belfast, 1947); joined PIRA, 1969; left Provisional movement, 1990s.

Martin McGuinness: Born Derry, 1950; Officer Commanding PIRA in Derry City, 1972; PIRA prisoner, 1973, 1974; PSF Assembly representative, Derry, 1982-1986; PSF Vice-President; PSF MP, Mid-Ulster, 1997-2013; PSF MLA, Mid-Ulster, 1998-2016; PSF MLA, Foyle, 2016-2017; Deputy First Minister, Northern Ireland, 2007-2017; died, 2017.

Seamus McHenry: Born Belfast; joined OIRA; joined IRSP-INLA, 1974; INLA prisoner.

Anthony McIntyre: Born Belfast, 1958; PIRA prisoner, 1975-1993; left Provisional movement, 1998. In 1999, McIntyre gained his PhD for a thesis entitled 'A Structural Analysis of Modern Irish Republicanism: 1969-1973'. He is the author of *Good Friday: The Death of Irish Republicanism* (New York: Ausubo Press, 2008), and co-founded *The Blanket*, an online magazine critically analysing the peace process. McIntyre was later lead researcher on the Boston College oral history project.

Tommy McKearney: Born Lurgan, County Armagh, 1952; joined PIRA, 1971; republican prisoner, 1977-1993; founding member of League of Communist Republicans, 1986.

Billy McKee: Born Belfast, 1921; joined IRA, 1939; imprisoned, 1940-1946; founding member of PIRA, 1969; OC Belfast Brigade PIRA, 1970-1971, 1974; imprisoned, 1971-1974; joined Republican Sinn Féin, 1986; died, 2019.

Seán MacStíofáin: Born London, 1928; joined IRA, 1948; imprisoned, 1953-1959; founding member of PIRA, 1969; PIRA Chief of Staff, 1970-1972; imprisoned, 1972-1973; resigned from PSF, 1982.

Danny Morrison: Born Belfast, 1953; PSF Director of Publicity, 1979-1990; PSF Assembly representative, Mid-Ulster, 1982-1986; imprisoned, 1990-1995.

Conor Murphy: Born Camlough, County Armagh, 1963; joined PIRA, 1981; PIRA prisoner, 1981-1984; PSF councillor, Newry and Mourne District Council, 1989-1997; PSF MLA, 1998-present; PSF MP, Newry & Armagh, 2005-2015.

Ruairí Ó Brádaigh: Born Longford, County Longford, 1932; joined SF, 1950; joined IRA, 1951; imprisoned, 1956-1958; IRA Chief of Staff, 1958-1959; imprisoned, 1959-1960; founder member of PSF, 1970; President, PSF, 1970-1983; founder member of Republican Sinn Féin, 1986; President, Republican Sinn Féin, 1986-2009; Died, 2013.

Dáithí Ó Conaill: Born Cork, 1938; joined IRA, 1955; founding member of PIRA, 1970; imprisoned, 1975-1977; founding member of Republican Sinn Féin, 1986; died, 1991.

Nuala Perry: Born Belfast, 1958; joined *Cumann na mBan*; joined PIRA, 1975; PIRA prisoner, 1975-1977, 1981-1982; left Provisional movement, late 1990s; founder member of Saoradh, 2016.

Gerard Steenson: Born Belfast, 1957; joined OIRA, 1972; joined INLA, 1974; founder member of IPLO, 1986; killed in feud, 1987.

Séanna Walsh: Born Belfast, 1956; PIRA prisoner, 1973-1976, 1976-1985, 1988-1998. PSF councillor, Belfast City Council, 2016-present.

Appendix II: Oral history anonymous designations, recording agreements, and copyright clearance agreements

ANONYMOUS DESIGNATION FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

I have assigned copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969', but do not wish my name to be disclosed.

I hereby agree to the researcher quoting or paraphrasing from my recording, and designating my testimony as follows:

Former Provisional interviewee

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: [REDACTED]

Date: [REDACTED]

ANONYMOUS DESIGNATION FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

I have assigned copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969', but do not wish my name to be disclosed.

I hereby agree to the researcher quoting or paraphrasing from my recording, and designating my testimony as follows:

Former Provisional republican activist

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: [REDACTED]

Date: [REDACTED] 2016

ANONYMOUS DESIGNATION FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

I have assigned copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969', but do not wish my name to be disclosed.

I hereby agree to the researcher quoting or paraphrasing from my recording, and designating my testimony as follows:

FORMER PROVISIONAL REPUBLICAN INTERNEE

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: [REDACTED]

Date: [REDACTED] 12/2017

ANONYMOUS DESIGNATION FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

I have assigned copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969', but do not wish my name to be disclosed.

I hereby agree to the researcher quoting or paraphrasing from my recording, and designating my testimony as follows:

Former Provisional Republican internee

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: [REDACTED]

Date: December 2017

ANONYMOUS DESIGNATION FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

I have assigned copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969', but do not wish my name to be disclosed.

I hereby agree to the researcher quoting or paraphrasing from my recording, and designating my testimony as follows:

FORMER ARMAGH REPUBLICAN PRISONER

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: [REDACTED]

Date: [REDACTED] 2017

ANONYMOUS DESIGNATION FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

I have assigned copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969', but do not wish my name to be disclosed.

I hereby agree to the researcher quoting or paraphrasing from my recording, and designating my testimony as follows:

Former Official republican internee

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: [REDACTED]

Date: 31-03-2016

ANONYMOUS DESIGNATION FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

I have assigned copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969', but do not wish my name to be disclosed.

I hereby agree to the researcher quoting or paraphrasing from my recording, and designating my testimony as follows:

FORMER PROVISIONAL REPUBLICAN ACTIVIST

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: [REDACTED]

Date: [REDACTED] 2017

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: ALBERT ALLEN

In regard to the interview taking place on: 13/12/17

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: ALBERT ALLEN

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 13/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HEPWORTH

SIGNED: [signature] DATE: 13/12/17.

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Mickey Brady

In regard to the interview taking place on: 15th Sept. 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

_____

_____

_____

_____

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Mickey Brady

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 15.09.15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Dan Browne

In regard to the interview taking place on: 12/12/2017

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

_____

_____

_____

_____

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Dan Browne

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 12/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack Hepworth

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 12/12/17

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Charlie Casey

In regard to the interview taking place on: 15th Sept. 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Charlie Casey

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 15.09.15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack Hepworth

SIGNED: Hepworth DATE: 15/09/15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: GERRY FOSTER

In regard to the interview taking place on: 13 AUG. 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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_____

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: GERRY FOSTER

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 13.08.15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HERWORTH

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 13.08.15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Kevin Hannaway

In regard to the interview taking place on: 6 December '17

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: KEVIN HANNAWAY

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 6/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack HARWORTH

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 6/12/17

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Peadar Lagan

In regard to the interview taking place on: 11/12/17.

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

_____

_____

_____

_____

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Peadar Lagan

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 11/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HEPWORTH.

SIGNED: j.w.hepworth2 @newcastle.ac.uk. DATE: 11/12/17.

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: EAMONN MACDERMOTT

In regard to the interview taking place on: 17th Sept 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

_____

_____

_____

_____

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: EAMONN MACDERMOTT.

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 17.09.15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HEPWORTH

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 17.09.15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: GERRY MAC LOCHLAINN

In regard to the interview taking place on: 12/12/17.

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: G MAC LOCHLAINN

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 12/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HEPWORTH.

SIGNED: [signature] DATE: 12/12/2017.

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Patrick Magee

In regard to the interview taking place on: 13th August 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: PATRICK MAGEE

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 13-08-15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK THEPWORTH

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 13-08-15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Raymond McCartney

In regard to the interview taking place on: 18-09-2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Raymond McCartney

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 18/9/15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jane Hepworth

SIGNED: Hepworth DATE: 18/9/15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Francie McGuigan

In regard to the interview taking place on: 06/12/17

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Francie McGuigan

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 06/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack Hepworth

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 06/12/17

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Seamus McHenry

In regard to the interview taking place on: 7th December 2017

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here.

This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Seamus McHenry

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 07/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HEPWORTH

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 07/12/17

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Tommy McKearney

In regard to the interview taking place on: 15-09-15

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Tommy McKearney

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 15-09-15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack Hepworth

SIGNED: [signature] DATE: 15-09-15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Tommy McKearney

In regard to the interview taking place on: 08/12/17

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Tommy Mc Kearney

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 08/12/17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack Hepworth

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 08/12/17

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Danny Morrison

In regard to the interview taking place on: Tue 11th Aug. 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: DANNY MORRISON

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 11/8/15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HEPWORTH

SIGNED: Hepworth DATE: 11/8/15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Conor Murphy

In regard to the interview taking place on: 16th Sept. 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Conor Murphy

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 16-09-15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack Hepworth

SIGNED: Hepworth DATE: 16-09-15

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Nuala Perry

In regard to the interview taking place on: 30th March 2016

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: Nuala Perry

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 30/03/16

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: Jack Hepworth

SIGNED: Hepworth DATE: 30/03/16

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: Nuala Perry

In regard to the interview taking place on: 13/12/17

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: NUALA PERRY

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 13-12-17

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HOLLOWORTH

SIGNED: [redacted] DATE: 13-12-17

RECORDING AGREEMENT

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

This Agreement is made between **The research project 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969** ("the research project") and you ("the interviewee", "I"):

Your name: SEANNA WALSH

In regard to the interview taking place on: 12th August 2015

Declaration: I, the interviewee, confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the research project all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media. I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

If you do not wish to assign your copyright to the research project, or you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years, please state these conditions here:

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This Agreement will be governed by and construed in accordance with English law and the jurisdiction of the English courts.

Both parties shall, by signing below, indicate acceptance of the Recording Agreement:

The interviewee:

NAME: SEANNA WALSH

SIGNED: [REDACTED] DATE: 12.08.15

On behalf of the research project:

NAME: JACK HEPWORTH

SIGNED: [signature] DATE: 12.08.15

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

As present owner of the copyright in the contributor content (i.e. the words spoken by the interviewee), I hereby assign such copyright to the project, 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history, 1969-1994'. I hereby waive any moral rights which I presently own in relation to this work on the understanding that the content will not be used in a derogatory manner and that the author of the contribution will be correctly identified in all uses of it. I understand that no payment is due to me for this assignment and consent. In assigning my copyright, I understand that I am giving 'Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969' the right to use and make available the content of the recorded interview in the following ways:

- Use in schools, universities, colleges and other educational establishments, including use in a thesis or dissertation
- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** ✓ **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: ALBERT Allen

Date: 13/12/17.

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: Mickey Brady

Date: 15-09-15

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: Ben Browne

Date: 12/12/17.

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** ✓ **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: CHARLIE CASEY

Date: 15th Sept. 2015

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: GERRY FOSTER

Date: 13-08-2015

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? YES NO

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: KEVIN HANNAWAY

Date: 06/12/17

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Use in schools, universities, colleges and other educational establishments, including use in a thesis or dissertation
- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: EAMONN LAGAN

Date: 11/12/17.

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Use in schools, universities, colleges and other educational establishments, including use in a thesis or dissertation
- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** ~~NO~~

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: EAMONN MACDERMOTT

Date: 17.09.15

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Use in schools, universities, colleges and other educational establishments, including use in a thesis or dissertation
- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: G MacLochlainn

Date: 12/12/17.

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

In respect of the content of a sound recording made by and/or deposited with this research project ('Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969'), consisting of the recollections of a contributor and constituting a literary work as defined by the Copyright, Designs & Patents Act 1988:

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- Use in schools, universities, colleges and other educational establishments, including use in a thesis or dissertation
- Public performance, lectures or talks
- Use in publications, including print, audio or video cassettes
- Public reference purposes in libraries, museums and record offices
- Publication on the internet

DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: Patrick Magee

Date: 13-08-15

COPYRIGHT ASSIGNMENT AND CONSENT FORM

Variations within Irish republicanism: A social history since 1969

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DO YOU WANT YOUR NAME TO BE DISCLOSED? **YES** **NO**

If you answer NO, the researcher will contact you in due course to agree a suitable anonymous designation.

I have read and understood the information sheet and give my consent, as per the conditions outlined above, to participate in the research project.

Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: RAYMOND McCARTNEY

Date: 18/09/15

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: Francie McGUIGAN

Date: 6th DECEMBER 2017

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: SEAMUS McHENRY

Date: 07/12/17

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: Tommy McKearney

Date: 15th Sept. 2015.

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: Tommy McKearney

Date: 8th Dec 2017

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: DANNY MORRISON

Date: TUE 11TH AUG. 2015

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: Conor Murphy

Date: 16-09-15

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: NUALA PERRY.

Date: 30/03/16

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Signed: [REDACTED]

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Signed: [REDACTED]

Print name: SEANNA WALSH

Date: 12th AUG. 2015

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