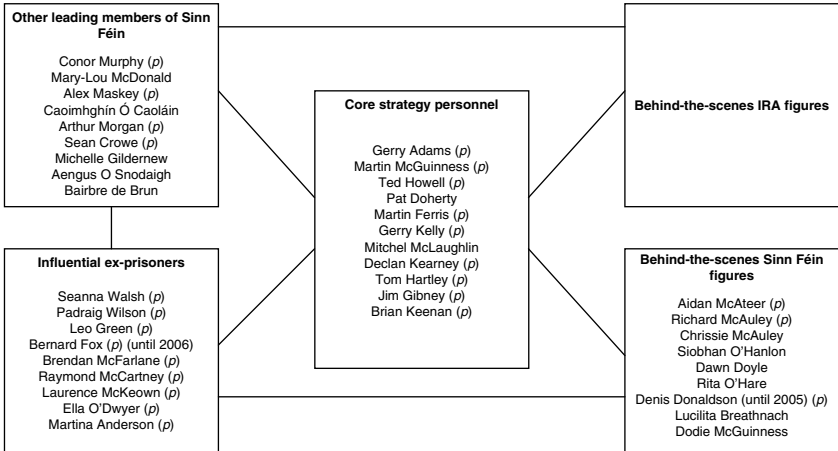


Appendix I: The Leadership of the Republican Movement during the Peace Process



(p) denotes former republican prisoner

Appendix II: The Geographical Base of the Republican Leadership

<p>Gerry Adams Ted Howell Gerry Kelly Declan Kearney Tom Hartley Jim Gibney Seanna Walsh Padraig Wilson Leo Green Bernard Fox Brendan McFarlane Laurence McKeown Alex Maskey Denis Donaldson Chrissie McAuley Richard McAuley Aidan McAteer Siobhan O'Hanlon Brian Keenan</p>	<p>Martin McGuinness Mitchel McLaughlin Raymond McCartney Martina Anderson Dodie McGuinness</p>	<p>Mary-Lou McDonald Sean Crowe Aengus O Snodaigh Dawn Doyle Lucilita Breathnach Rita O'Hare Ella O'Dwyer</p>	<p>Pat Doherty (Donegal) Martin Ferris (Kerry) Conor Murphy (South Armagh) Arthur Morgan (Louth) Caoimhghin O Caolain (Monaghan) Michelle Gildernew (Fermanagh)</p>
BELFAST	DERRY	DUBLIN	OTHER

Notes

Introduction

1. Sinn Féin Northern Ireland Assembly Election Leaflet, *Vote Sinn Féin, Vote Nationalist: Vote Carron and Molloy 1 and 2* (1982) (Linenhall Library Political Collection – henceforth LLPC).
2. ‘IRA leads the way – IRA statement’, *An Phoblacht/Republican News* (hereafter, *AP/RN*), 28 July 2005; ‘IRA “has destroyed all its arms”’, BBC News Online, 26 September 2005, available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/northern_ireland/4282188.stm>, last accessed 26 October 2006.
3. The ‘Provisionals’ are held to be the mainstream IRA and Sinn Féin throughout, and as such the moniker is not always used. Rival claimants to the title deeds of those organizations, such as the ‘Official’ or ‘Real’ IRA, are identified as such where appropriate.
4. Morrison, cited in ‘By Ballot and Bullet’, *AP/RN*, front page, 5 November 1981.
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6. Cited in D. Lister, ‘Adams is a top leader in IRA, Irish minister says’, *The Times*, 21 February 2005.
7. Lemass, cited in R. Dunphy, *The Making of Fianna Fáil Power in Ireland 1923–1948* (Oxford, 1995), p. 139.
8. ‘Introduction to Sinn Féin’, Sinn Féin website, available at <<http://www.sinnféin.ie/introduction>>, last accessed 26 October 2006.
9. Barry McElduff, interview with the author, Belfast, 12 August 2003.
10. B. Feeney, *Sinn Féin: A Hundred Turbulent Years* (Dublin, 2002).
11. In this regard, see, for example, P. Taylor, *Provos: The IRA and Sinn Féin* (London, 1997); B. O’Brien, *The Long War: The IRA and Sinn Féin*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 1999); M.L.R. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland? The Military Strategy of the Irish Republican Movement*, 2nd edn (London, 1997).
12. E. Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (London, 2002).
13. H. Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion: A Political History of the IRA*, 2nd edn (London, 1997).
14. R. Bourke, *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas* (London, 2003), pp. 173, 177–8.
15. Eoin O’Broin, interview with the author, Belfast, 5 January 2004.
16. A. Maillot, *New Sinn Féin: Irish Republicanism in the Twenty-First Century* (Abbingdon, 2005); G. Murray and J. Tonge, *Sinn Féin and the SDLP: From Alienation to Participation* (London, 2005).
17. Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, p. 190.
18. ‘Annual Commemoration of Wolfe Tone, Bodinstown Oration, given by Jimmy Drumm’, *Republican News*, 18 June 1977. Ed Moloney has convincingly explained that it was Adams and Morrison who actually composed the speech and then chose Drumm to read it. See Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 150–1.
19. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*
20. M. O’Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns: Republican Strategy and the Provisional IRA* (Belfast, 1998).
21. K. Rafter, *Sinn Féin 1905–2005: In the Shadow of Gunmen* (Dublin, 2005), p. 3.

22. See R. English, *Armed Struggle: A History of the IRA* (London, 2003) and R. English, *Irish Freedom: A History of Nationalism in Ireland* (London, 2007).
23. R. Alonso, *The IRA and Armed Struggle* (London, 2006), p. 194.
24. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 12 May 2005.
25. For more on the 1981 hunger strike, see, for instance: L. Clarke, *Broadening the Battlefield: The H-Blocks and the Rise of Sinn Féin* (Dublin, 1987); D. Beresford, *Ten Men Dead: The Story of the 1981 Irish Hunger Strike*, 2nd edn (London, 1994); and for a more revisionist view, R. O'Rawe, *Blanketmen: An Untold Story of the H-Block Hunger Strike* (Dublin, 2005).
26. Gibney, cited in Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, p. 291.
27. Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, pp. 43–180; Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, pp. 186–7.
28. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, p. 154.
29. See, for example, Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, pp. 180–94; Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, pp. 165–72.
30. It is generally accepted that 'Brownie' was Gerry Adams; republicans themselves have admitted as much in the past. In an article for *An Phoblacht/Republican News* in 1987, for example, Martin McGuinness confirmed that the pen name 'Brownie' applied to Adams (see M. McGuinness, 'A Comradeship of Suffering', *AP/RN*, 23 July 1987). However, in March 2004, Adams' close aide, Richard McAuley, wrote a letter to the *Belfast Telegraph* in which he claimed to have co-authored several of the 'Brownie' articles, including one in which the author admitted to being an IRA member. For more on this, see C. Thornton, 'Adams' IRA sham', *Belfast Telegraph*, 19 March 2004.
31. 'IRA Geared To A Long War', *Republican News*, 9 December 1978.
32. G. Adams, 'Presidential Address: Sinn Féin Ard Fheis', *AP/RN*, 17 November 1983.
33. 'Brownie', 'Active Republicanism', *Republican News*, 1 May 1976.
34. Gibney, cited in Frontline Online, 'The IRA and Sinn Féin: Interviews: Jim Gibney', PBS, available at <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/ira/inside/gibney.html>>, last accessed 28 October 2006.
35. Irish Interest Group, 'Sinn Féin and the Educative Process: An Interview with Daisy Mules', *Jouvert: A Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, April 1996, available at <http://social.chass.ncsu.edu/wyrick/test/mule/mules_fulltext.html>, last accessed at 28 October 2006.
36. The pre-1981 drift of power away from Ó Brádaigh and O'Connell and towards the 'young Turks' had been made evident by the shift in control of Sinn Féin's newspaper, which led to the emergence of an overhauled *An Phoblacht/Republican News* (merging the previously separate newspapers of *An Phoblacht* and *Republican News*) under the editorship of Danny Morrison in 1979. See Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 178–80.
37. Clarke, *Broadening the Battlefield*, pp. 206–8.
38. G. Adams, *Hope and History: Making Peace in Ireland* (Dingle, 2003), pp. 31, 79.
39. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 12 May 2005.
40. Adams, *Hope and History*, p. 27.
41. See, for example, O'Brien, *The Long War*, p. 122; Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 401.
42. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 1 September 2003.
43. Danny Morrison, interview with the author, London, 12 March 2005.
44. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 12 May 2005.
45. Danny Morrison, interview with the author, London, 12 March 2005.
46. *Ibid.*

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48. F. O'Connor, *Only Child* (London, 1961).
49. D. Morrison, *Then the Walls Came Down: A Prison Journal* (Dublin, 1999), p. 93.
50. Gerry Kelly, interview with the author, Belfast, 2 March 2004.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 12 May 2005.
53. Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, speaking to Sinn Féin's November 1983 *ard fheis*, remarked that the history of republicanism was one of 'splits, splits, splits'; cited in D. Sharrock and M. Devenport, *Man of War, Man of Peace: The Unauthorised Biography of Gerry Adams* (London, 1997), p. 213. Similarly, the republican-turned-playwright, Brendan Behan, was famously said to have remarked that the first item on the agenda, when any new movement met in Ireland, was 'the split'.
54. A. McIntyre, 'Modern Irish Republicanism: The Product of British State Strategies', *Irish Political Studies*, 10 (1995), pp. 97–121.
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1 Building the Political Party and 'Republicanization', 1981–5

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2. Rafter, *Sinn Féin 1905–2005*, p. 113.
3. 'By Ballot and Bullet', *AP/RN*, front page, 5 November 1981.
4. Figures taken from 'Northern Ireland Assembly Elections 1982', ARK Northern Ireland: Social and Political Archive, available at <<http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fa82.htm>>, last accessed 1 November 2006.
5. Figures taken from 'Westminster election, 11 June 1983', ARK Northern Ireland: Social and Political Archive, available at <<http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fw83.htm>>, last accessed 1 November 2006. See also Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, p. 318.
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7. M. Kelly, 'The world according to Gerry Adams – Michael Kelly Interview', *In Dublin*, 22 August 1985.
8. 'Interview with IRA spokesperson', *Magill*, July 1983, p. 9.
9. "'We have now established a sort of Republican veto": Michael Farrell interviews Gerry Adams MP, vice-president of Sinn Féin', *Magill*, July 1983, p. 13.
10. S. O'Callaghan, *The Informer* (London, 1999), p. 425.
11. "'We have now established a sort of Republican veto": Michael Farrell interviews Gerry Adams MP, vice-president of Sinn Féin', *Magill*, July 1983.
12. Sinn Féin European Election Leaflet, *Vote Sinn Féin No. 1: One Ireland, One People – The Only Alternative* (1984) (LLPC).
13. Sinn Féin General Election (UK) Leaflet, *Vote Sinn Féin: Gerry Adams* (1983) (LLPC).
14. *Ibid.*
15. McGuinness, cited in O'Brien, *The Long War*, p. 152.
16. Morrison, cited in G. Kerrigan, "'The IRA has to do what the IRA has to do": Interview with Danny Morrison', *Magill*, September 1984, p. 12.
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21. Sean O'Callaghan, interview with the author, London, 12 September 2006.
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25. 'IRA rocks enemy morale', *AP/RN*, front page, 22 July 1982; 'IRA Blitz Brits', *AP/RN*, front page, 18 October 1984; '100lbs that Shook the Establishment', *AP/RN*, 18 October 1984.
26. Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 64.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
30. Sinn Féin, *Republican Lecture Series No. 9: Loyalism* (1984) (LLPC).
31. *Ibid.*
32. "'We have now established a sort of Republican veto": Michael Farrell interviews Gerry Adams MP, vice-president of Sinn Féin', *Magill*, July 1983, p. 14.
33. D. Morrison, 'Danny Morrison', in M. Collins (ed.), *Ireland after Britain* (London, 1985), p. 92.
34. Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 89.
35. 'Federalism rejected, positive electoral policy adopted', *AP/RN*, 5 November 1981.
36. Morrison, 'Danny Morrison', pp. 87 and 92.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
38. G. Adams, 'Scenario for a Socialist Republic speech: Article first printed in *An Phoblacht/Republican News* April 1980', in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism: Recent Papers by Gerry Adams* (Dublin, 1988), p. 31.
39. 'Annual Commemoration of Wolfe Tone, Bodenstown Oration, given by Jimmy Drumm', *Republican News*, 18 June 1977.
40. The IRA informer, Freddie Scappaticci, confirmed that this was the term used by republicans when he was interviewed by a team from a TV programme, *The Cook Report*. Cited in M. Ingram and G. Harkin, *Stakeknife: Britain's Secret Agents in Ireland* (Dublin, 2004), p. 80.
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43. O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns*, pp. 151–4.
44. J. Hejlesen, "'... And a Ballot Paper in this Hand ...': A Review of the Political Strategy and Policies of Sinn Féin in the 1980s', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Odense, 1994, p. 54.
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50. J. Madden, 'Why the war was lost: An appraisal of republican strategy in 1922', *AP/RN*, 26 July 1984.
51. 'Poleglass blackspot', *AP/RN*, 26 July 1984; S. O'Malley, 'Bray takes drug action', *AP/RN*, 26 July 1984.
52. The roots of Northern Ireland's Civil Rights Movement lay in the mid-1960s' efforts of groups such as the Homeless Citizens League and the Campaign for Social Justice, to bring an end to discrimination in precisely this area. For more on this see Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, pp. 53–63.
53. Sinn Féin, *Republican Lecture Series No.7: Social Agitation* (1985) (LLPC).
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60. 'Broadening the struggle', *West Belfast Bulletin*, 1(1), March 1983.
61. See, for example, S. O'Malley, 'A push against the pushers', *AP/RN*, 7 July 1983; B. Kerr, 'Ballymun takes on pushers', *AP/RN*, 26 January 1984; K. Burke, 'Drugs Carnage – 7 dead in a week', *AP/RN*, 28 June 1984; S. O'Malley, 'Bray takes drug action', *AP/RN*, 26 July 1984; M. MacDiarmada, 'Attempt to Smash Concerned Parents Campaign', *AP/RN*, 31 October 1985.
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63. M. de Barra, 'Gardai target anti-drugs groups', *AP/RN*, 22 March 1984.
64. Anonymous (confidential interview with former community worker), Dublin, 20 July 2006.
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67. Anonymous (confidential interview with former community worker), Dublin, 20 July 2006.
68. Sean O'Callaghan, interview with the author, 22 November 2005.
69. J. Noonan, 'Education Department Background Reading Document', *Iris Bheag*, 3, October 1987, p. 19.
70. F. O'Connor, *In Search of a State: Catholics in Northern Ireland* (Belfast, 1993), p. 18.
71. Gibney, cited in 'Adams highlights importance of republished Greaves classic', *The Irish Democrat*, available at <<http://www.irishdemocrat.co.uk/features/mellows/>>, last accessed 31 October 2006.
72. Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, pp. 6, 8, 37–8, 47, 128 and 132–6.
73. Mellows, cited in C.D. Greaves, *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution* (London, 1971), pp. 363–4.
74. 'Brownie', as cited on pp. 16–17 above.
75. Mellows, cited in Greaves, *Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution*, p. 364; G. Adams, 'Labour Cannot Wait!: Speech to Annual Republican May Day Rally in Derry, 1985', in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism*, p. 22.
76. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 27 March 2003.

77. Tom Hartley, interview with the author, Belfast, 27 March 2003.
78. English, *Armed Struggle*, p. 232.
79. For more on this see M. Frampton, "'Squaring the Circle": The Foreign Policy of Sinn Féin, 1983–1989', *Irish Political Studies*, 19(2) (Winter 2004), pp. 47–9.
80. See, for instance, D. Breatnach, 'Celtic Origin', *AP/RN*, 2 May 1981. Ó Brádaigh was a keen advocate of a Celtic Federation, and made frequent trips to the Basque country in pursuit of this proposed alliance.
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82. Bourke, *Peace in Ireland*, pp. 25–6.
83. Cited in 'IRA condemn NLF lying statements', *An Phoblacht*, October 1972. See also, 'The Provos are the force in Ireland today', *An Phoblacht*, March 1972; 'Eire Nua', *An Phoblacht*, August 1972.
84. Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 132.
85. Adams, 'Labour cannot wait!', in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism*, p. 20.
86. Adams, 'Not just a "Brits Out" Movement', in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism*, p. 25.
87. *Ibid.*
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95. Danny Morrison himself noted the scale of this shift in his 1984 *Magill* interview. Morrison, cited in G. Kerrigan, "'The IRA has to do what the IRA has to do". Interview with Danny Morrison', *Magill*, September 1984, p. 13.
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97. Danny Morrison, interview with the author, Belfast, 21 August 2003.
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118. *Ibid.*, pp. 231–2.
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121. Adams, 'Presidential Address: Sinn Féin Ard Fheis', *AP/RN*, 17 November 1983; Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 132.
122. E. Moloney, 'Adams denies “Marxist” Tag', *Hibernia*, 25 October 1979, p. 6
123. Adams, 'Not just a “Brits Out” Movement', in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism*, p. 25.
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125. P. Bolger, 'Which way forward in the Free State?', *Iris: The republican magazine*, 7, November 1983, p. 7. Paddy Bolger was a southern republican who was, nonetheless, a close ally of the Adams-McGuinness leadership.
126. M. Tse-Tung, 'On Guerrilla Warfare', available at <<http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/1937/guerrilla-warfare/ch06.htm>>, last accessed 30 November 2006. Gerry Adams himself explicitly referred to Mao's theory; see Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 58.
127. Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 34.
128. McLaughlin, cited in O'Connor, *In Search of a State*, p. 40.
129. S. Delaney, 'Building Community Confidence: Sinn Féin and Housing in Belfast: Interview with Sean Keenan', *Iris: The republican magazine*, 9, December 1984, p. 47.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
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137. P. Bew, E. Hazelkorn and H. Patterson, *The Dynamics of Irish Politics* (London, 1989), p. 121; see also T. Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922–2002* (London, 2004), pp. 316–20.
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142. See 'Visiting Belfast', *AP/RN*, front page, 3 March 1983; 'Sinn Féin in London', *AP/RN*, front page, 28 July 1983.
143. Morrison referred to these talks in his 1984 interview with *Magill*: G. Kerrigan, "'The IRA has to do what the IRA has to do". Interview with Danny Morrison', *Magill*, September 1984, p. 13.
144. The shift in the Labour Party's approach to Northern Ireland that Kinnock oversaw, was noted at the time by the journalist, Kevin Toolis, in an article for the *Irish Times*. See K. Toolis, 'British Labour rejects bigger NI role for Dublin', *Irish Times*, 1 February 1985.
145. In the 1984 European Elections, Danny Morrison secured 13 per cent of the vote, compared to John Hume's 22 per cent. Figures taken from 'The 1984 European Elections', ARK Northern Ireland: Social and Political Archive, available at <<http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fe84.htm>>, last accessed 1 November 2006.
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148. Adams on *Brass Tacks*, BBC Radio 2, July 1984, cited in P. Bew and H. Patterson, *The British State and the Ulster Crisis: From Wilson to Thatcher* (London, 1985), p. 125.
149. Morrison, cited in G. Kerrigan, "'The IRA has to do what the IRA has to do". Interview with Danny Morrison', *Magill*, September 1984, p. 11; H. MacThomas, 'Elections strategy outlined', *AP/RN*, 2 May 1985.
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2 Pan-Nationalism, Peace and the Political Mainstream, 1985–90

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3. In the 1985 Northern Ireland local government elections, Sinn Féin took 11 per cent of the vote, to the SDLP's 18 per cent. Figures taken from 'The 1985 Local Government Elections', ARK Northern Ireland: Social and Political Archive, available at <<http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/flg85.htm>>, last accessed 1 November 2006.

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5. Hume, cited in E. Staunton, *The Nationalists of Northern Ireland, 1918–1973* (Dublin, 2001), p. 279.
6. Mallon, cited in G. Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP: Impact and Survival in Northern Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), p. 139.
7. ‘Thatcher boosts IRA: SDLP hypocrisy exposed as secret meetings revealed’, *AP/RN*, 26 September 1981.
8. Adams, *Hope and History*, p. 36.
9. Adams, cited in *Interview Transcription of Gerry Adams and John Hume on Behind the Headlines, BBC Radio* (1985) (LLPC).
10. *Ibid.*
11. For fuller details of these exchanges, see Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP*, pp. 161–4.
12. Adams, *Hope and History*, p. 37.
13. Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 105.
14. Sinn Féin, *The Hillsborough Agreement: Text of Bobby Sands Commemorative Lecture given by Danny Morrison, Twinbrook, Belfast, 4 May 1986* (Belfast, 1986) (LLPC), pp. 9–10.
15. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 21 July 2006.
16. Sinn Féin, *The Hillsborough Agreement: Text of Bobby Sands Commemorative Lecture given by Danny Morrison, Twinbrook, Belfast, 4 May 1986* (Belfast, 1986) (LLPC), pp. 14–15.
17. Sinn Féin, *Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration, Bodenstown, 22 June 1986, Speech of Martin McGuinness* (1986) (LLPC), p. 3. The SDLP had opposed the introduction of internment in 1971 and, indeed, it was their opposition to this measure that helped prompt the collapse of the Stormont assembly. See Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, pp. 270–1.
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20. Murray and Tonge, *Sinn Féin and the SDLP*, p. 156.
21. O’Callaghan, *The Informer*, p. 285.
22. ‘Anglo-Irish Agreement 1985 between The Government of Ireland and The Government of the United Kingdom’, CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet), available at <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/aia/aiadoc.htm>>, last accessed 31 October 2006.
23. Murray, *John Hume and the SDLP*, pp. 152–4.
24. G. Adams, ‘Freedom – much more than the right to vote?: Speech given during a speaking tour of the 26 Counties, April 1988’, in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism*, p. 5.
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26. G. Adams, ‘A Bus Ride to Independence and Socialism: Speech given to Sinn Féin Internal Conference, 1986’, in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism*, p. 16.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
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29. Adams, ‘Labour cannot wait!’, in *Signposts to Independence and Socialism*; Adams, cited in ‘“What’s on the agenda now is an end to partition”: Interview with Gerry Adams’, *Irish Times*, 10 December 1986.

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32. M. O'Muilleor, 'Real Politics – An Urban View' (speech given to Sinn Féin Internal Six County Conference, Belfast, 25 June 1988) (LLPC).
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34. Adams, cited in M. Strong, 'Playboys: Making war not love. Playboy Interview: The IRA', *Magill*, March 1989, p. 33; Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 135.
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63. 'No Extradition to British Injustice', *AP/RN*, front page, 4 February 1988; 'Extradition: Time is Running Out', *AP/RN*, 30 July 1987.
64. 'Doing Britain's dirty work', *AP/RN*, front page, 26 November 1987. See also, 'A Judgement against us all', *AP/RN*, front page, 21 January 1988; 'Don't hand them over', *AP/RN*, front page, 9 June 1988; 'Mobilise: Free Robert Russell, Smash Extradition', *AP/RN*, front page, 18 August 1988; 'Thatcher Hopping Mad: Anti-Extradition Victory', *AP/RN*, front page, 15 March 1990; 'Third Victory for Anti-Extradition Campaign', *AP/RN*, front page, 12 April 1990; 'Dessie Ellis – political hostage', *AP/RN*, front page, 19 July 1990; 'Hunger Strike', *AP/RN*, front page, 11 October 1990; 'Act now – before it's too late', *AP/RN*, front page, 18 October 1990; 'Let Dessie Ellis live', *AP/RN*, 1 November 1990; 'Haughey's Shame', *AP/RN*, front page, 15 November 1990.
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72. 'Our vision sees past partition and poverty – our struggle remains intact: Gerry Adams Presidential Address, 86th Sinn Féin Ard Fheis', *AP/RN*, 7 February 1991.
73. Adams, cited in M. Strong, 'Playboys: Making war not love. Playboy Interview: The IRA', *Magill*, March 1989, p. 33.
74. Morrison, cited in M. Strong, 'Playboys: Making war not love. Playboy Interview: The IRA', *Magill*, March 1989, p. 34.
75. At the previous general election in the Republic of Ireland (in February 1987), the party had won a mere 1.7 per cent of the vote. Figure taken from Feeney, *Sinn Féin*, p. 336.
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80. Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 298.
81. With regards to the UN and international law, specific reference was made to: the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*; the *International Covenant*

- on *Economic Social and Cultural Rights*; the *Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations*; and the *Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries*. See 'A Scenario for Peace: A Discussion Paper', *AP/RN*, 7 May 1987.
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 84. G. Adams, *Peace in Ireland: A Broad Analysis of the Present Situation* (1976) (LLPC); Adams later reiterated his arguments in relation to Danny Lennon in his 1986 work, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*. See Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, pp. 60–1.
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 94. Adams, cited in Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 268.
 95. Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 269.
 96. A full copy of the letter can be found in the appendices to the revised edition of Ed Moloney's book. See Letter from Father Alec Reid to Charles Haughey 11 May 2007, available in E. Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, 2nd edn (London, 2007), pp. 615–630.
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 99. *Ibid.*, pp. 224–6, 238–40, 245.
 100. *Ibid.*, p. 270.
 101. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
 102. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
 103. Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, p. 255; Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 423.
 104. Adams, *Hope and History*, p. 32.
 105. *Ibid.*
 106. Adams, cited in M. Strong, 'Playboys: Making war not love. Playboy Interview: The IRA', *Magill*, March 1989, pp. 32 and 42.
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111. See 'Sinn Féin Internal Conference on 26 Counties, Dublin, 18/19 May 1991' (LLPC). This comment can be found at the back of the document among various notes made by Hartley while at the conference.
112. 'After Enniskillen: Interview with Gerry Adams', *AP/RN*, 19 November 1987.
113. Sean O'Callaghan, interview with the author, London, 22 November 2005.
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116. "'The IRA – They're Everywhere'", *AP/RN*, front page, 5 May 1988; "'We will meet force with force" – IRA', *AP/RN*, front page, 5 January 1989. See also 'Take Cover!', *AP/RN*, front page, 19 March 1987; 'IRA Blitz', *AP/RN*, front page, 26 March 1987; 'IRA blasts Paras', *AP/RN*, front page, 23 February 1989; 'IRA bombs Marines', *AP/RN*, front page, 28 September 1989.
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120. *Ibid.*
121. Morrison, cited in G. Kerrigan, "'The IRA has to do what the IRA has to do". Interview with Danny Morrison', *Magill*, September 1984, p. 14.
122. Maillot, *New Sinn Féin*, pp. 17–18.
123. Sinn Féin, *Republican Lecture Series No.1a: Where Sinn Féin Stands* (1979) (LLPC), p. 2.
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125. See B. Lynn, 'Tactic or Principle? The evolution of republican thinking on abstentionism in Ireland, 1970–1998', *Irish Political Studies*, 17(2) (2002), pp. 74–94; Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 287–97.
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 141. J. McAllister, 'Mainstream Politics' (Sinn Féin Internal Conference, Dublin, 7/8 May 1988) (LLPC).
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 147. 'Health Cuts: This is [sic] the instructions sent out to the Comhairle Ceantair', *Iris Bheag*, 1, 1987, p. 3.
 148. 'Fianna Fáil Thatcherism: Unemployment, Emigration, Cutbacks', *AP/RN*, front page, 15 October 1987.
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 150. Sinn Féin, *84th Ard Fheis Clar agus Ruin 1989* (Dublin, 1989) (LLPC), Motions 85–9, pp. 83–7.
 151. Sinn Féin, *83rd Ard Fheis Clar agus Ruin 1987* (Dublin, 1987) (LLPC), Motions 7–30, pp. 17–33.
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 159. G. Adams, "'Britain will not beat us" thousands pledge at Bodinstown: Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration, Bodinstown', *AP/RN*, 29 June 1989.
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163. Figure taken from 'Olltoghchan don 26u Dáil 15/06/1989', Guthanphobail.net, available at <<http://www.guthanphobail.net/dail-19890615.htm>>, last accessed 2 November 2006.
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7. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 12 May 2005.
8. G. Adams, 'Our struggle and our party have never faltered', *AP/RN*, 27 February 1992.
9. 'Sinn Féin maps road to peace', *AP/RN*, 20 February 1992.
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11. Adams, *Hope and History*, p. 108.
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17. "'We are totally committed to a real peace process": Gerry Adams Interview, Part Two', *AP/RN*, 12 September 1991.
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38. Brooke, cited in T. Hennessey, *The Northern Ireland Peace Process: Ending the Troubles?* (Dublin, 2000), p. 69.
39. G. Adams, 'Our vision sees past partition and poverty – our struggle remains intact: Gerry Adams Presidential Address to 86th Sinn Féin Ard Fheis', *AP/RN*, 7 February 1991.
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44. Morrison, *Then the Walls Came Down*, p. 91.
45. A. Guelke, '“Comparatively Peaceful”: South Africa, the Middle East and Northern Ireland', in Cox, Guelke and Stephen (eds), *A Farewell to Arms?*, p. 227.
46. G. Adams, *Selected Writings* (Dingle, 1997), p. 278.
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48. 'Blaming the Oppressed', *AP/RN*, front page, 10 September 1992. See also, for example, 'In Ireland and South Africa – Struggle is the Key', *AP/RN*, 28 April 1994; N. Forde, 'Path to a just peace in Ireland and South Africa', *AP/RN*, 18 August 1994; 'Parallels drawn between South Africa and Ireland', *AP/RN*, 15 June 1995; 'Post-Apartheid South Africa – Lessons for Ireland?', *AP/RN*, 19 October 1995.
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54. Information and figures gathered from 'Chronological List of Deaths', CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet), available at <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/sutton/chron/index.html>>, last accessed 2 November 2006. See also Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 318–19.
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57. Adair, cited in Crawford, *Inside the UDA*, p. 167.
58. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, pp. 117–23.
59. Cited in D. Morrison, ‘Taylor-made “Provos”’, *AP/RN*, 25 September 1997.
60. Smith, *Fighting for Ireland?*, pp. 117–19.
61. For further detail on the Shankill Road and Greysteel atrocities, see E. Mallie and D. McKittrick, *Endgame in Ireland* (London, 2001), pp. 141–6.
62. Adams, cited in Hennessey, *The Northern Ireland Peace Process*, p. 39.
63. Anonymous (confidential interview with former army officer), Belfast, 22 July 2006.
64. Figures taken from Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 340.
65. ‘Sinn Féin in the 26 Counties’ (Sinn Féin Internal Conference on 26 Counties, Dublin, 18/19 May 1991) (LLPC), p. 5.
66. Figures taken from ‘Westminster election, 9 April 1992’, ARK Northern Ireland: Social and Political Archive, available at <<http://www.ark.ac.uk/elections/fw92.htm>>, last accessed 1 November 2006.
67. J. Gibney, ‘Sinn Féin – A slightly electoral party!’, *The Starry Plough*, 2(2) (1992), p. 13.
68. For further details on this see D. Bloomfield, *Political Dialogue in Northern Ireland: The Brooke Initiative, 1989–92* (London, 1998), pp. 11–63.
69. Such nervousness can be seen in the extended coverage given to the Brooke talks process in *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, much of which called for Sinn Féin to be included in the talks, even as the paper disparaged their being held. See, for instance, H. McThomas, ‘Talks? What talks? Talks about what?’, *AP/RN*, 7 February 1991; H. McThomas, ‘British Ultimatum whips parties in to line’, *AP/RN*, 25 March 1991; H. McThomas, ‘The Brooke talks – whose guns under the table?’, *AP/RN*, 25 April 1991; ‘Unionists dictate agenda . . . Nationalists locked out’, *AP/RN*, front page, 9 May 1991.
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71. Danny Morrison, interview with the author, London, 12 March 2005.
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73. Sean O’Callaghan, interview with the author, London, 22 November 2005.
74. McAuley, cited in R. Wilson, ‘Time for magnanimity’, *Fortnight*, September 1992, p. 5.
75. The article was eventually printed in Morrison’s prison memoir: Morrison, *Then the Walls Came Down*, pp. 288–92.
76. Sean O’Callaghan, interview with the author, London, 12 September 2006.
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79. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 12 May 2005. See above, p. 74.
80. Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, p. 253.
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82. Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, p. 253; Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, p. 423.

83. 'TUAS Document' (1994), provided in Mallie and McKittrick, *The Fight for Peace*, pp. 421–4.
84. *Ibid.*
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86. *TUAS Document*.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid.*
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90. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 21 July 2006.
91. Adams, *Hope and History*, p. 116.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
93. Tom Hartley, interview with the author, Belfast, 27 March 2003.
94. See Bloomfield, *Political Dialogue in Northern Ireland*, p. 168.
95. Major, *The Autobiography*, pp. 438–9.
96. Sinn Féin, *Towards a Lasting Peace* (1992) (LLPC).
97. Adams, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, p. 66.
98. Sinn Féin, *Towards a Lasting Peace* (1992) (LLPC).
99. Anthony McIntyre, interview with the author, Belfast, 6 January 2004.
100. The text of 'Hume–Adams' (and the various drafts leading to the creation of the final agreed document) can be found in Appendix I of Mallie and McKittrick, *The Fight for Peace*, pp. 411–20.
101. The June 1993 document is 'Draft 11' in Mallie and McKittrick, *The Fight for Peace*, p. 420.
102. Major, *The Autobiography*, pp. 449–50.
103. Phoenix, cited in Holland and Phoenix, *Phoenix: Policing the Shadows*, pp. 297–8.
104. Mallie and McKittrick, *Endgame in Ireland*, p. 149.
105. Patterson, *The Politics of Illusion*, p. 249.
106. Jim Gibney, interview with the author, Belfast, 21 July 2006.
107. P. Bew, P. Gibbon and H. Patterson, *Northern Ireland 1921–2001: Political Forces and Social Classes* (London, 2002), p. 221.
108. Major, cited in Mallie and McKittrick, *Endgame in Ireland*, p. 166.
109. Mallie and McKittrick, *The Fight for Peace*, pp. 271–2.
110. 'Prisoners' Address to Sinn Féin *Ard Fheis*', *An Glor Gafa/Captive Voice*, 6(1), Summer 1994, p. 10.
111. See, for instance, Sinn Féin, *Speech by Martin McGuinness to the 1994 Sinn Féin Ard Fheis* (1994) (LLPC); 'Sinn Féin's 20 questions', *AP/RN*, 26 May 1994.
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113. Sinn Féin, *Report on National Internal Delegate Conference 24 July 1994: Ard Chomhairle Motions* (1994) (LLPC).
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115. 'Joint Declaration on Peace: The Downing Street Declaration, Wednesday (15 December 1993)', CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet), available

- at <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/peace/docs/dsd151293.htm>>, last accessed 6 January 2007.
116. For use of this phrase, see, for instance, 'Peace Process will continue', *AP/RN*, 28 July 1994.
 117. In the European election, for instance, the party won 2.4 per cent of the vote. Figure taken, 'Toghchan Eorpach 09/06/1994', Guthanphobail.net, available at <<http://guthanphobail.net/eoraip-19940609.htm>>, last accessed 2 November 2006.
 118. See, for example, 'Sinn Féin makes advances in all-Ireland poll', *AP/RN*, 16 June 1994; A. MacEoin, 'Significant advances in the 26 Counties', *AP/RN*, 16 June 1994.
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 120. 'Peace Process will continue', *AP/RN*, 28 July 1994.
 121. 'Seize the Moment for Peace: Historic announcement from Óglaigh na hÉireann', *AP/RN*, front page, 1 September 1994.
 122. 'Historic handshake', *AP/RN*, front page, 8 September 1994.
 123. 'Tide of History with nationalists', *AP/RN*, front page, 27 October 1994.
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 127. L. O Coileain, 'Adams calls for immediate dialogue', *AP/RN*, 8 September 1994; 'Seize the Moment for Peace: Historic announcement from Óglaigh na hÉireann', *AP/RN*, front page, 1 September 1994; 'Process could flounder if Major doesn't move', *AP/RN*, front page, 6 October 1994.
 128. Sinn Féin, *Annual Bodinstown Speech 1995, Address by Sinn Féin's Martin McGuinness, 18 June 1995* (1995), available at <http://www.sinnFéin.ie/pdf/Speech_Bodinstown95.pdf>, last accessed 2 November 2006.
 129. See, for example, O'Doherty, *The Trouble with Guns*, p. 192.
 130. Jeffrey Donaldson, cited in Hennessey, *The Northern Ireland Peace Process*, p. 110.
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139. See, for example, 'Graffiti: "Not a bullet, not an ounce – IRA": Mural 236, Album 7', Dr Jonathan McCormack's Mural Directory, CAIN (Conflict Archive on the Internet), available at <<http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/mccormick/album7.htm>>, last accessed 30 November 2006.
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143. H. McThomas, 'More Unionist than (some) Unionists', *AP/RN*, 25 August 1994. See also, 'Bruton's Unionist agenda', *AP/RN*, front page, 14 March 1996.
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145. For further detail on the Kerr murder, see Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA*, pp. 433–4.
146. For more on this issue, see Rafter, *Sinn Féin, 1905–2005*, pp. 188–218.
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152. See D. Godson, *Himself Alone: David Trimble and the Ordeal of Unionism* (London, 2004), p. 203.
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4 Confronting Unionism, Negotiation and Agreement, 1997–2001

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18. P. Bew, *Ireland: The Politics of Enmity 1789–2006* (Oxford, 2007), p. 549.
19. Morrison, *Then the Walls Came Down*, pp. 96–7.
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21. H. McThomas, 'Divided forces of Unionism', *AP/RN*, 20 October 1994.

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