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Collective Leadership in Contemporary Irish Nationalism: The Writing of Gerry Adams

Kathryn Cantrell

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

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COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN CONTEMPORARY IRISH NATIONALISM:
THE WRITINGS OF GERRY ADAMS

COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN CONTEMPORARY IRISH NATIONALISM:
THE WRITINGS OF GERRY ADAMS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

By

KATHRYN CANTRELL, B.A.:
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Introduction

Tracing its origins to Theobald Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen, founded in Belfast on October 18, 1791, Irish Republicanism has evolved from its original anti-sectarian, Lockean principles as represented by Tone¹ to a modern movement encompassing national self-determination, anti-sectarianism, cultural nationalism, radical social policies, the politics of electoralism, as well as support for the armed struggle dedicated to British withdrawal from Northern Ireland and a united Ireland.

Today, the modern Irish Republican movement is best represented by the political party Sinn Féin. The party's present leadership, headed by its president Gerry Adams, has changed the politics and strategies of Sinn Féin and the entire Republican movement. Prior to the era of Adams' leadership, Sinn Féin's role was primarily a supporter of the armed struggle for British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. Adams and his supporters, chief among them Danny Morrison, brought the movement under "radical leadership" (Cronin 4) that altered the emphasis from the armed struggle to the political struggle, increasing its support among the nationalist community of the six counties by non-violent

¹Tone's United Irishmen did not seek total separation from England, but only the right to be ruled by an Irish parliament that represented the Irish people (Cronin 21). The Irish parliament created in 1782, known as Grattan's Parliament, represented the Protestant Ascendancy. It was not only unrepresentative (Catholics were excluded), but far from independent in that it remained under English control.

protests and electoral politics. Furthermore, the leadership of the movement increasingly has become more decentralized and "collective," with participation from the membership a primary objective of Adams' new strategy.

Sean Cronin, a noted expert on Irish history and politics, identified five strands of Irish nationalism:

traditionalist is Catholic and often Gaelic; *constitutional nationalism* is influenced, but not controlled by the Catholic Church, uses Henry Grattan's arguments on Ireland's right to nationhood as an independent kingdom, and opposes violence; *physical-force republicanism* refers to Tone and the United Irishmen for its justification, but is often socially conservative; *radical republicanism* argues that there can be no political change without social revolution and stresses the values of the secular state; *cultural nationalism* emphasizes the nation and its language rather than the state (3).

Republicanism, therefore, is a theoretical strain of the broader term Irish nationalism, and Cronin argues that its radical form, under which the present movement primarily falls, is the weakest of the five (4). Cronin attempts to distinguish between a nationalist and a republican. "An Irish nationalist is one who wants Ireland ruled by the Irish people through a representative parliament, the end result of which must be a nation-state," Cronin contends. "An Irish Republican, in theory, advocates the kind of republic envisaged by the United Irishmen, but in practice the term has come to mean one who seeks to separate Ireland from England by force" (23). Cronin's analysis, however, is twelve years old and so does not include the more recent developments in the movement since Gerry Adams took the leadership helm upon his

1983 election as president of Sinn Féin. Adams has expanded modern Republicanism by merging elements of all five categories, thereby increasing its support and effectiveness. Furthermore, his emphasis on political education has helped clearly define the political platform for the movement. Adams also argues that Republicans are the only true nationalists in the present-day Irish political arena, either north or south of the border.

The modern Irish Republican movement has its origins in the dispute over the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty that partitioned the country, establishing the southern 26 counties as the Irish Free State (with dominion status within the United Kingdom) and six of Ulster's counties as Northern Ireland (Antrim, Derry, Tyrone, Armagh, Down, and Fermanagh). In the 1918 general election in Ireland, Sinn Féin ran on the sole issue of total independence from Britain and won 73 of the 105 seats, with 36 of the Sinn Féin candidates in prison (Kelley 35). Despite this democratic evidence of the desire of the Irish people for independence and unity, a desire even the British admitted, the Government of Ireland Act (1920), referred to as The Partition Act, was passed by the British Parliament on December 23, 1920 (Gallagher 138-39). Originally opposed by the Protestants in Ulster because they wanted all of Ireland to remain under British Rule and had fought diligently against Home Rule, the partition carved six of the original nine counties of the ancient province to form Northern Ireland because Ulster's population ratio between

Protestants and Catholics was 56/44 percent and Protestants wanted the larger and "safer" majority of 66 percent (Farrell 24).² With the three Ulster counties that possessed large Catholic majorities (Cavan, Donegal, and Monaghan) cut off from the province, Northern Ireland was a gerrymandered statelet from its inception, and Irish Nationalists generally refuse to use the term *Ulster* to refer to the statelet because it does not adequately reflect the area. Although the gerrymandered Protestant majority in the Northern Ireland statelet ostensibly reflects a democratic will, it should be noted that the two Ulster counties with small Catholic majorities (Fermanagh and Tyrone) were forced into the partition.³ Negotiations in 1921 led to the Anglo-Irish Treaty, agreed to by the Irish representatives

on the promise given by the British Premier [David Lloyd George] and his colleagues that it would so greatly reduce the partitioned area as to make its continued separate existence impossible, and so lead to unity (Gallagher 164).

The subsequent debate over ratification in the Dáil produced the dissention that led to the split in the

²In the Treaty negotiations in 1921 with Lloyd George, Sinn Féin representative Michael Collins presented figures of the religious makeup of the two areas in question: in all nine counties of Ulster, there were 890,000 Protestants and 700,000 Catholics; in the six counties there were 820,570 Protestants and 429,161 Catholics (Cronin 271). It can be argued that partition coerced not only Catholics, but almost 70,000 Protestants as well.

³The Boundary Commission provided for in the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty, the British argued, would be used to incorporate areas with nationalist majorities into the Free State. Arthur Griffith was one who opposed this idea and demanded a plebiscite, but one was never conducted (Cronin 135).

Republican movement. Those who opposed the Treaty "saw it as a betrayal of the Republic proclaimed in 1916" and argued that Britain would maintain a colonial hold over the entire country because of partition (Cronin 29, 144), an argument modern Republicans continue to maintain. Erskine Childers, Liam Mellows, and Cathal Brugha, three of the most prominent anti-Treaty Republicans, referenced the long history of British broken promises and maintained that the Second Dáil⁴ members had no right to sign away Irish freedom and sovereignty (Cronin 144-47). Treaty opponents also claimed that Irish signatories signed the document under duress because Lloyd George threatened war within three days if they refused to sign (Cronin 137).

The Treaty's proponents were not against a united Ireland. On the contrary, they argued that the Treaty would provide the means to obtain that goal. Two of the members of the pro-Treaty forces, Arthur Griffith and Michael Collins, maintained that the Treaty would be a stepping stone to a united Ireland and the Republic, and they cited the British promise of a Boundary Commission as the means to that end (Cronin 150). Many believed that the six counties could not stand on their own economically, and therefore the Unionists would have no recourse but to join with the 26 counties.

⁴For an explanation of the First and Second Dáil Eireann, and any subsequent terms or people not fully explained in the text, see the glossary in Appendix B.

Civil war inevitably broke out in June 1922 and ended May 1923 with the anti-Treaty forces' cease-fire. The Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.), founded in 1919 and, at the time of the Civil War, represented the anti-Treaty forces, was poorly armed and outmanned, and had no political organization and no real plan to defeat the Treaty (Cronin 153). Those members of Sinn Féin who supported the treaty left the party. Eamonn de Valera, though opposed to the Treaty during the Civil War, broke with Sinn Féin and founded Fianna Fáil in 1926 in order to become a member of the Dáil. He became the Free State's Taoiseach (Prime Minister) in 1932 and the President of the Republic of Ireland in 1959.

The Republican forces regrouped after the Civil War and began in the late 1930s to concentrate their energies on guerrilla tactics against the British to end partition. Sinn Féin, weak after the war, was taken over by the I.R.A. and used as its political arm. Though much under the control of the I.R.A. at this time, the party was "not just a front" for the armed struggle, Cronin asserts; it was still "very conservative and careful of its 'national image'" (169). The role of the party during the I.R.A.'s campaigns of 1939-40, 1942-44, and 1956-62 was largely one of support for the armed struggle; but with the advent of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement in the late 1960s, Sinn Féin became more politically active and much less militaristic.

Arthur Griffith, the party's primary founder, established the movement that was to become in 1905 Sinn Féin, and its

roots were not Republican. A Protestant woman offered the name *Sinn Féin* (Cronin 99), which has been translated as "ourselves alone" or "we ourselves," and was applied to emphasize its aim of political, economic, and cultural independence. Griffith founded the party on capitalist principles of economic self-reliance, and it advocated a restoration of an independent Irish parliament (Jackson 368). It was not until after the Easter 1916 Rising that Sinn Féin became a true Republican party, and at that time it was a form of physical-force republicanism.

The 1960s saw the Republicans split again, this time on the issue of reform of the Northern Ireland statelet, the role of the armed struggle, and leftist ideology. In 1969, the I.R.A. split into the Officials, who maintained that Northern Ireland could be reformed through political means alone, and the Provisionals, who argued the traditional republican line of historical British intransigence and deception and the necessity for the armed struggle to end partition, and thus destroy the statelet. In 1970, Sinn Féin split along these same lines. Adams, along with others who took the Provisional side in the debate, maintained that the Republican movement neglected to defend its community from the attacks by loyalists and the Royal Ulster Constabulary (R.U.C.). in the riots squelching the civil rights movement. The Officials (its political party is now called The Workers Party) are Marxist in ideology and have maintained a stance of opposition to the armed struggle since its August 1971 cease-fire (Farrell 355).

The Provisionals, sometimes referred to as the Provos, initially held a very traditionalist and socially conservative stand (Farrell 270). Today, the Provisional prefix has been dropped, and all references in this work to the I.R.A. and Sinn Féin will refer to the Provisional wing.

After the split, the Republicans (Provisionals) set their sights on British withdrawal, amnesty for political prisoners, and the abolition of the Unionist-controlled Stormont government (Cronin 205). They were determined to show Britain that the statelet could not govern without the nationalist community's involvement and that Britain must face responsibility for the six county statelet and its injustice. Their efforts succeeded, and on March 24, 1972, the Stormont government was suspended. The British government's attempt to replace it with an Assembly and an executive formed from the Assembly members failed. Today, the British government maintains direct rule of Northern Ireland.

The number one priority of today's Republican movement takes its roots directly from its anti-Treaty stance: the fight against partition and the removal of the British from the six counties that constitute Northern Ireland, the prerequisite for a united Ireland. The 1916 Proclamation,⁵ which proclaimed an independent Irish Republic for all of Ireland, continues to be both its rhetorical and political basis. The challenge to Sinn Féin and its leadership has been to develop a political

⁵See the text of the Proclamation in Appendix C.

organization that builds on the fundamental philosophy of the movement and creates a viable strategy to obtain both its objectives and community support. Adams has recognized this necessity: "Political leadership involves defining the political objective and providing the political guidance on how to achieve that objective" (Pathway 69).

Gerry Adams joined Sinn Féin in 1964, while the leadership in Dublin was advocating increased political activity at the expense of the armed struggle and the national question (Keena 26-27). When the movement split in 1969/70, Adams joined the Provisionals and proceeded to become a leading public figure of the movement and increasingly an important political strategist for it. In 1977 and 1978, the Republicans began a reappraisal of their strategies, and Adams' ideas greatly influenced the outcome, which set its goal as a relevant 32-county political party with a solid support base. He was active in the movement to support the hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981, and encouraged the electoral intervention in the Westminster elections of 1981. Adams became President of Sinn Féin at the party's *Ard Fheis*⁶ in 1983, a position he maintains today, and was elected MP for West Belfast in the same year.

Adams' leadership of Sinn Féin has clearly been revolutionary. He helped end the abstentionist policy from Leinster House, the Dublin parliament, in 1986; persuaded the

⁶National conference.

membership to accept electoralism as a valid tactic for the Republican movement; encouraged an all-Ireland struggle; and has continued efforts to develop a strong political organization with a collective leadership. He has transformed Sinn Féin from a semi-organized support group of the I.R.A. into a growing force in nationalist politics, focusing on broad-based issues as well as the military efforts for independence, and aimed toward a 32-county party that participates in the wide spectrum of electoral politics. Adams played, and continues to play as president, a critical role in the maturation and direction of Sinn Féin and, consequently, the entire Republican movement. In essence, Adams is the primary force moving the Republicans into the 21st Century.

Gerry Adams, a self-educated political activist and theorist, has written five book-length works that delve into his political philosophy, four of which are included in this study. The fifth book, The Street and Other Stories (1992), is a collection of short stories centered on the people of the six counties and how the "Troubles" affect their lives. These works outline the psychological, cultural, social, and political foundations of Adams' political philosophy. A study of his works is essential to understanding the modern Republican movement and predicting its future direction. Though the argument may be advanced that because Gerry Adams and Sinn Féin support the armed struggle of the I.R.A. then Adams' works are unworthy of study, such a contention is absurd. No political scientist or historian would dream of

applying that logic to Thomas Jefferson, who promoted and supported armed nationalist rebellion against the British colonialism of his era.⁷ As Sean MacDonagh, publisher of Adams' The Politics of Irish Freedom, points out:

The viewpoint that Sinn Féin should be as free to express its politics as any other party does not depend on agreement with Sinn Féin or the IRA. . . . The publication of this book . . . may . . . promote and increase knowledge and understanding, and these are valuable commodities irrespective of any degree of sympathy or antipathy. Whatever one's opinion of it, the republican movement possesses a definable ideology, identifiable policies and a sense of political strategy, all of which are expressed by Gerry Adams (xv).

Sean Cronin described the "thinkers" behind Irish nationalism - Theobald Wolfe Tone, Arthur Griffith, Padraig Pearse, James Connolly -- as "fashioning an ideology of struggle" (26-27). In that same manner, Gerry Adams is re-fashioning the ideology of the Republican movement for the modern era.

⁷Not only were Irish nationalists influenced by the American revolutionaries, Ireland's sons played a key role in America's War of Independence. In addition to a large number of Irish emigrants in America (a 1790 Census estimated that 10 percent were of Irish extraction), there were a number of notable Irish-American officers in the army. This fact did not escape the notice of the British, one of whom noted in parliament that "We have lost America through the Irish" (Gallagher 35-36).

Chapter I

Birth of an Irish Republican:
Falls Memories

Falls Memories, originally published in 1982 and Gerry Adams' first published book-length work, begins the journey of a working-class, Belfast boy into political maturation and leadership. An interweaving of history, Belfast street songs and poems, and Adams' own childhood stories, the book demonstrates the psychological, political, and social circumstances that came to bear upon Adams and other Republicans and that define the working class of which he is a part and from which Sinn Féin draws most of its present support. This work subtly delves into Adams' political ideas and also provides a framework from which the reader can understand both his early political education as a child and teenager and the political philosophy he has articulated as an adult.

Adams opens Falls Memories with a collection of his childhood memories. These recollections not only serve autobiographical purposes; they also provide a sort of working-class Northern Ireland Catholic Everyman's childhood biography. Much of the book is Adams' fairly detailed historical analysis, from the Republican perspective, of Belfast and its surrounding area. Falls Memories, therefore, is Adams' attempt not only to relate his childhood, but also to chronicle the Falls Road neighborhood before much of it was devastated in the riots squelching the civil rights movement

of the 1960s, an event Adams calls "the passing of a community" (Falls 5).

Gerry Adams, born 6 October 1948 to a family of Irish Republicans, spent his childhood in the relative calm in Northern Ireland of the 1950s and early 1960s. Along with the typical mischievous trouble that he and his boyhood friends got into, such as sneaking into a movie theater, Adams also recalls the more subtly political events: "whispers about 'the boys' or an occasional witness to meetings of pale-faced earnest young men, who, we gathered disinterestedly, had just 'got out.'" As youngsters, Adams and his cohorts are not only chased by the local watchman but "later still, but with less glee, pursued by R.U.C. riot squads and, later again, by the British Army" (Falls 4). More memories surface, including stories of I.R.A. volunteers: a young female volunteer "her face streaming with tears and her body wracked with sobs as she tried to exact vengeance [for the death of a friend] on a hovering helicopter with an aged .303 rifle which was too big for her to shoulder properly" (Falls 5). This particular passage passionately illustrates the dogged determination of the Irish people to fight what they see as British oppression, no matter how arduous and seemingly futile that fight may be.

After this brief introduction, Adams shifts from the personal to the historical and delves into his examination of the province of Ulster, beginning with the ancient history of the area and continuing through the early twentieth century. His purpose for this history is two-fold: first, to show why

the province developed as it did and why the English considered it the most difficult province to conquer and thus had to implant it with Scottish Presbyterians; and second, through the use of historical accounts, to reveal the nature of English rule as tyrannical and genocidal.

Adams takes great pride in the ancient history of the area, stressing both its Celtic culture and the interconnection between it and the Republican movement. In 1795, for example, Protestants Theobald Wolfe Tone and Henry Joy McCracken, leaders of the United Irishmen, selected a fort overlooking Belfast and built in the 5th Century BC, an important era of Celtic civilization, "to swear themselves to the struggle for Irish independence," (Falls 8) an act that inevitably and eventually led to the doomed rebellion of 1798 and both leaders' deaths in that same year.

The difficulty in conquering Ulster can be seen in the history of the castle in Belfast built by John de Courcy, who was "granted" the province by the English in 1177. In 1333, the castle, after numerous battles between the native Irish and the Anglo-Normans and Scots, was firmly established in Irish hands until the 1550s. In that era, the castle was twice "granted" to the O'Neill clan in agreements with the English monarch. But both times these agreements were ignored, and the English took control of the castle and the surrounding lands, primarily to develop the timber industry (Falls 9).

One of the most moving stories in this history, and one that Adams relates because it epitomizes English rule and

displays English promises as deceitful, is that of the massacre of Brian MacPhelim O'Neill and his family by the Earl of Essex in 1573. Adams quotes the Four Masters, who describe the scene of a feast in Belfast castle hosted by O'Neill in celebration of cessation of hostilities and an agreement to develop the town.

'At the expiration of this time, when they were agreeably drinking and making merry, Brian, his brother, and his wife were seized upon by the Earl, and all his people put unsparingly to the sword -- men, women, youths and maidens -- in Brian's own presence. Brian was afterwards sent to Dublin, together with his wife and brother, where they were cut in quarters. Such was the end of their feast. This unexpected massacre; this wicked and treacherous murder of the lord of the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill, the head and senior of the race of Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and of all the Gaels, was a sufficient cause of hatred, of the English to the Irish' (Falls 12).

Essex and his massacre of the O'Neill family are by no means anomalies in the history of British rule of Ulster. Sir Arthur Chichester, a robber of English tax collectors prior to going to Ireland, along with Lord Mountjoy were Queen Elizabeth I's instruments by which her policy of extermination of the native Irish was carried out. Adams deftly cites Chichester's own words to display the "ruthlessness and obvious relish," (Falls 13) he and Mountjoy enjoyed in this process:

I burned all along the lough within four miles of Dungannon and killed 100 people, sparing none whatever quality, age or sex, soever besides many burned to death. We kill man, woman and child, horse, beast and whatsoever we find (Falls 13).

After the Flight of the Earls in 1607, the plantation of the province continued full-force, with more Scotsmen and Manxmen joining the English planters. The "native or Gaelic Irish were forbidden to live within town or city walls," (Falls 15), thus those Catholic families settled to the west of the city, where most remain today.

Nineteenth and twentieth century Belfast history provides many lessons for Irish Republicans, and Adams incorporates street songs and poems into his historical analysis of these eras as a unique method of communicating the nature of working-class life in Belfast. For instance, "The Linen Slaves of Belfast," which describes the deplorable conditions of the workers in the linen mills in the early 19th century, opens with this Belfast millsong:

There goes that bloody whistle
And you never get a stand
Sure you'd be better off in the Union
Or in MacNamara's Band (Falls 33).

From the 1830s to the 1850s, large numbers of rural Irish, most Catholics, settled Belfast and worked in the growing linen industry. Most of the workers in the mill were women and children, and by the early 20th century, there were numerous harsh rules enacted by the linen companies that severely restricted the workers. Adams points to the horrid working conditions in the mills as evidence of yet another slavery (besides that of British imperialism) of the working class. The minimum wage workday was 6:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. on weekdays, and 6:30 to noon on Saturdays. The workers received

two breaks, breakfast at 8:00 a.m. and lunch at 1:00 p.m. (Falls 28). Adams' description of the environment for these women and children in the mills is vivid:

In the spinning rooms the uncomfortably hot air was kept damp to prevent the fine linen thread from breaking, and in the earlier stages of the process the very air in the carding or spinning rooms was thick with fine 'pouce' or dust which came from the raw flax. The millworkers and especially the doffers, who worked barefooted, inhaled this pouce and serious bronchial illness was common (Falls 29).

The workers, due in part to these harsh conditions and in part to insufficient nutrition, suffered from a variety of medical problems, including premature births, tuberculosis, and susceptibility to numerous outbreaks of disease, such as typhoid (Falls 29-30).

The severe rules placed on the mill workers were numerous. A day's pay was lost if the worker was late (Falls 30), singing and laughing were prohibited by a 1911 rule, and fines and dismissal were possible punishments if a worker combed her hair or brought to work a newspaper or knitting needles (Falls 33).

The labor movements led by two individuals in the early twentieth century are declared by Adams as important milestones in the history of the Belfast working class. In 1907, James Larkin began organizing the Belfast dock workers in an effort to obtain better pay and to create a union for these and similar workers (Falls 31), and in 1909 he established the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) that was to play a crucial role in worker unrest in

Dublin (Boyce, 300, 305), and whose Citizen Army participated in the Easter 1916 Rising (Jackson 378, Farrell 354).

It is partly from Larkin's labor efforts in Belfast that Adams draws an anti-sectarian and leftist bent. Larkin unified both Protestant and Catholic workers in this labor agitation and eventual strike. Seen as dangerous by the employers, this unity was greeted by fierce and violent opposition by both the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.) and the British Army. After the strike began, efforts by the establishment to divide the workers intensified. Unionists politicians and the press tried in vain to prevent Protestant workers from joining Larkin, who was publicly censured as "a socialist and a Catholic" (Falls 31). A number of British troops were eventually stationed in the Falls Road area, even though the strike was not taking place there. On August 12, 1907, these troops, after several demonstrations and clashes, killed two people when they fired into a Catholic crowd gathered on the Grosvenor Road. Eventually the strike was ended with pay raises guaranteed to the workers. Adams' assessment of this labor agitation and its historical alliance of Protestants and Catholics stressed the ability of the two communities to unite in causes that clearly affected both and the inevitable difficulty in sustaining that unity: ". . . it showed very clearly what could be achieved if a permanent unity could be forged; but it was also clear how remote, given the influence of Orangeism, such a development really was within a society dominated by the Orange ascendancy" (Falls 32).

The second labor leader portrayed, James Connolly, is a man about whom Adams was to learn more when imprisoned in Long Kesh. Though probably most famous for his role in the Easter 1916 Rising, Connolly is cited here only for his labor efforts for the Belfast linen workers. After joining Larkin's ITGWU (which he would eventually lead), he set his sights on organizing the linen workers in 1911. Connolly was infuriated by the conditions of the women and children in the mills, and he publicized their plight and called for action in the labor publication the Irish Worker:

The whole atmosphere of the mill is an atmosphere of slavery. The workers are harassed by petty bosses, mulcted in fines for the most trivial offences and robbed and cheated in a systematic manner. . . . Imagine a spinning room so hot with a moist heat that the girls and women must work in bare feet, with dress open at the breast and arms, hair tied up to prevent it irritating the skin . . . imagine the stifling, suffocating atmosphere that in a few months banishes the colour from the cheeks of the rosiest half-timer¹ and reduces all to one common deathly palor (Falls 34).

Connolly led about 3000 linen workers on strike, mainly over the wretched working conditions, even though the labor union, of which about nine percent of the total workforce were members, refused to support the strike, and thus, to pay them strike pay (Falls 36). Because the mills were largely unaffected due to a glut in the linen market, Connolly encouraged a "stay-in strike," whereby the workers would join together when one was disciplined unfairly (Falls 37-38).

¹Children who alternated between work in the mills and attending school.

Though the strike failed, some women joined the section of the ITGWU specifically for the textile workers, and it became a base upon which Connolly would draw in later labor agitations.

One of Adams' primary concerns is the lack of Belfast childrens' awareness of this history:

Not for nothing did we read little of such occurrences in our school history books. We passed the mills every day, knowing little of the slavery upon which they prospered. Instead we read about or were lectured upon the shrewd business sense of the unionist landowning and manufacturing class and of how they built up the North's textile industry. Yet the people whose sweated bodies they sapped live all around us (Falls 39).

Education, therefore, is an essential part of economic, social, and political awareness and maturation for Adams and his vision of Irish Republicans, a theme to which he returns in later books. The history of educational efforts in the Falls area demonstrates one aspect of the unequal status and conditions under which the Catholic population lives. In the late 1800s, three times as many Catholics as Protestants were considered illiterate, and most, Adams asserts, lived in the Falls (Falls 57). The situation only began to improve when Catholic-run schools, particularly the Christian Brothers' schools begun in 1866, were set up as a response to the allegations of proselytization of Catholic children by the Protestant teachers in the "ragged schools." Though not explicitly stated, Adams implies that the Catholic Church only came to the aid of the Falls children when it feared

conversion from Catholicism was imminent, a subtle example of the Catholic Church's failure to support its worshippers.

Though he and his friends were not taught in school much of the history of Belfast that he recalls in Falls Memories, Adams did learn first-hand about the harsh realities of working-class Catholic life in Belfast. Sectarianism played a role even in the lives of young children. Adams' first memory of encountering sectarianism was of being cornered by three boys who forced him to prove he was not a Protestant. Saying the Hail Mary and, eventually, paying them the little money and candy he had with him, satisfied the group. But the event impressed upon Adams that sectarianism, "had nothing to do with religion and was merely, as always, a profitable ruse" (Falls 109). Later, as a young man, he was admittedly surprised when he was turned down for a job because, as the Orangeman owner put it, "'we don't employ your sort here. Cudn't do it. You dig with the wrong fut'" (Falls 114). Though this rejection might have been startling, Adams knew he was not the first nor would he be the last to encounter such discrimination; its long-standing roots originated in the province's plantation and continued into the establishment of the statelet. Sir Basil Brooke, a Unionist prime minister of the Stormont parliament, once boasted proudly and publicly of his discriminatory policies: he condemned "Protestants and Orangemen who employ Roman Catholics. I feel I can speak freely on this subject as I have not a Roman Catholic about my place. I recommend those people who are loyalists not to

employ Roman Catholics, ninety-five percent of whom are disloyal" (Falls 75).

As a teenager, Adams worked at a West Belfast pub that was situated on the border of the two communities, and its patrons were primarily working class Protestants from the Shankill with a few Catholics (Falls 114). During this time, Adams was beginning to become politically active in the housing agitations, but his politics did not prevent a camaraderie, though shallow, with the bar's patrons. A popular poem of the day, written by Robert Calvert, was a favorite of all of the bar's patrons and showed the Irish sense of humor that both Protestants and Catholics share:

In a mean abode on the Shankill Road lived a man
 named Billy Bloat
 He had a wife, the curse of his life, who continually
 got his goat
 So one day, at dawn, with her nightdress on, he cut
 her bloody throat.

With razor gash he settled her hash, oh, never was
 crime so quick
 But the drip, drip, drip on the pillowslip of her
 lifeblood made him sick
 And the pool of gore on the bedroom floor grew
 clotted and cold and thick.

And yet he was glad he had done what he had when
 she lay there stiff and still
 But a sudden awe of the angry law struck his heart
 with an icy chill
 So to finish the fun so well begun he resolved
 himself to kill.

He took the sheet from his wife's coul' feet and
 twisted it into a rope
 And he hanged himself from the pantry shelf, 'twas
 an easy end, let's hope
 For in the face of death with his last dying breath he
 solemnly cursed the Pope.

But the strangest turn to the whole concern is only
 just beginning,
 He went to Hell but his wife got well and she's still
 alive and sinning,
 For the razorblade was German made but the sheet
 was Belfast linen. (Falls 114-15)

The poem also reflects Irish nationalism of the 18th century and the political arguments of Theobald Wolfe Tone and his United Irishmen. Protestant (Presbyterian and Anglican) merchants and manufacturers and the Catholic middle class formed the backbone of a movement designed to reform the Irish parliament and break England's economic power over Ireland. One foreign competitor of Irish linen was German linen, and Tone lamented the English royal family's preference for the lesser quality German linen (Cronin 49).

It was during one of the rowdy St. Patrick's Day nights that one of the Protestant patrons "whispered to me with a friendly and knowing wink, 'Y'know, we're all Paddys beneath the skin.' He took another meditative slug from his Guinness and continued: 'If youse fenians would just catch yourselves on and stay quiet, everything would be okay'" (Falls 115). To Adams, this single declaration sums up the problem between the two communities. While the Protestants are, indeed, as Irish as the Catholics (though some refuse to admit it), the Catholic population is treated as second class citizens who are viewed as disloyal troublemakers.

A devout Catholic, Adams does not condone sectarianism of any kind, and, in fact, stresses that anti-sectarianism is a founding principle of Irish Republicanism. In his description of the early churches, both Catholic and Protestant, built in

Belfast, Adams makes a point of acknowledging the Protestant contribution of funds for the construction of St. Peter's Catholic church (Falls 24). Furthermore, in the heart of the Protestant section of West Belfast, there are four streets, Blaney, Loftus, Brenna, and Meenan streets, named after Catholic priests who helped nurse cholera victims in the area (Falls 42).

Even more important is the role of Protestants in the Irish Republican movement itself. In an old man's first-person account of the "Troubles" in the 1920s, Adams subtly stresses the non-religious foundation upon which Irish Republicanism was born. The United Irishmen, founded by Protestant barrister Theobald Wolfe Tone and consisting mostly of Presbyterians [none of the 28 founding members were Catholic (Cronin 47)], and considered the ancestor of the contemporary Republican movement, had its beginnings in Belfast in 1791. And, Adams' old man points out, a monument, now destroyed, erected in the Milltown cemetery commemorated over twenty Protestant Fenians: "that's a contradiction, people would say nowadays: ignorance is a great man . . ." (Falls 64). It is from Tone and the United Irishmen that the Irish Republican movement acquires this anti-sectarianism. The organization's constitution, drawn in large part from John Locke's social contract theory, calls for "a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and an Union of power among Irishmen of *every religious persuasion*; and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the Legislature,

founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty" (Cronin 23; emphasis mine).

Though Irish Republicanism sprang from the United Irishmen, the modern movement, as represented by Sinn Féin, includes more elements than Tone and his organization expressed. One important theme Adams repeatedly emphasizes in his books is that Celtic culture is the nucleus of the nationalist movement. Though Tone declared that his league's objective was "to substitute the common name Irishman for the names Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter," that aim did not include the revitalization of the Irish language, the teaching of Irish history, or the celebrating of Irish cultural events (Cronin 47). Today, however, Irish Republicanism places great emphasis on the importance of both the Gaelic language and Irish cultural heritage. Throughout Falls Memories, Adams informs the reader that numerous place names are corruptions of the Irish Gaelic. His hometown, Belfast, is from the Irish *Béal Feirste*, which translates to "the mouth of the ford of the sand banks" (Falls 19). *Tuath na bhFál*, "district of the high hedges" is the present Falls Road area, while *Bóthar na bhFál* is the Falls Road, or "road of the high hedges" (Falls 18,19). Many more towns have Irish ancestry: Ballydownfine is from the Irish *Baile Dún Fionn*, meaning "the townland of the white fort;" Clondeboye is from *Clann Aoidh Buí*; and Rathmore (near Antrim) was originally *Rath Mór Muigh Line* (Falls 15,9,8).

In his historical analysis, Adams includes the rise of a number of Gaelic organizations that were to become crucial in the development of Irish Republicanism. The first Gaelic League, founded in 1893, was a non-political and non-sectarian organization originally devoted only to the revitalization of Irish Gaelic, but eventually broadened to include other elements of Gaelic culture such as music and the arts (Falls 46, Jackson 365). Padraig Pearse, one of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising, claimed it paved the way for the Rising (Cronin 3). The Gaelic Magazine was established in 1795, and the Ulster Gaelic Society was begun in 1835 (Falls 46). As a result of the increasingly Catholic presence in these Gaelic organizations by the turn of the 19th century, a Protestant National Association was founded to encourage Protestant participation in the Gaelic and national struggles (Falls 50). These organizations are not only important due to their efforts in the cultural realm, but also because modern Sinn Féin developed from them.

Adams traces the early development of the Republican movement and emphasizes the Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.), the precursor to the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.), after the turn of the 19th century. Denis McCullough, Bulmer Hobson, Sean Mac Diarmada, and Arthur Griffith all play leading roles in the birth of the modern Republican movement and Sinn Féin (Falls 50-51). In this discussion, Adams makes his first mention of Sinn Féin in an electoral situation by stressing that the Irish Parliamentary Party, led by John

Redmond, "was routed by Sinn Féin" in 1918 (Falls 52). He also notes that an unfair distinction in press coverage of the election was even then being made between Sinn Féin's candidates and those of the I.P.P.:

The *Irish News* coverage of the election makes interesting reading, for that paper appears to have acted as an election periodical for the Irish Parliamentary Party. Nowhere in its coverage of the election in the Falls Division [where Eamon de Valera ran as the Sinn Féin candidate against the I.P.P. candidate Joe Devlin] was one republican statement, speech or election manifesto reported and reporting of republican election activity was minimal. Exposure of Joe Devlin went to the other extreme, and pages were filled with details of his sponsors, expansive reports of his meetings, a parade, election addresses and statements (Falls 54).

This censorship, though self-inflicted in this instance, was to continue in the North and South of Ireland to the present day, with governmental restrictions forced on parties' candidates, the press, and the voters themselves enacted as recently as 1985 (Knox 453-454).

Gerry Adams' political convictions arise not only from historical and political sources, but also from personal experience and the experiences of his family. Even though his childhood was somewhat sheltered from the political turmoil of the North, his family tradition was firmly entrenched in the Republican movement. His mother's family, the Hannaways, were well-known and well-respected in Republican circles (Keena 23). His father's family's involvement in the movement began with his grandfather (Falls 62). Adams' father was a member of the I.R.A., and was later imprisoned, as were many other

relatives, in Long Kesh (Keena 23). The Royal Ulster Constabulary's harassment and violence that Adams describes in Falls Memories are known to his family through personal experience. As a youngster, Paddy Adams, Gerry's father, was shot by the R.U.C. and "seriously injured" (Falls 74). It is important, however, to note that Adams does not concentrate on his personal life so much as he does the lives of average, working-class Belfast citizens. Though he mentions his father's injury, it is only in passing, and Adams ensures he does not become the center of the analysis at hand. For instance, he underlines the fact that these were not the first cases of R.U.C. harassment of the nationalist community by citing a song that was popular prior to the Troubles in the 1940s:

I'm a decent wee girl, Maggie Walsh is my name
 I was born in the Loney, the Falls Road, the same
 Sure I went over by Millfield and the peelers were
 there
 They put their hand on my shoulder and then called
 a car.
 It was early next morning about ten o'clock
 Before Judge McCarthy I was placed in the dock
 He put on his eyeglass and to me he did say
 'Is it you Maggie Walsh, that's before me this
 day?
 If it had been your first time sure you might have
 gone free
 But this is your third time on the book, I can see
 One month, I'll give you, you'll be out off the
 way
 For shouting "Home Rule" on St Patrick's Day!
 Sure the warder comes in and he opens your cell
 'Roll up your oul blankets and empty your poe
 And right about turn to the bone yard you go.'
 (Falls 74-75)

Raids by the R.U.C. and the British Army were not new to the Falls Road area (Adams cites a newspaper article from 1797 that describes one), but Adams' first such experience came when he was sixteen. In 1964, the Sinn Féin election office on Divis Street displayed a tricolor flag, which Ian Paisley, the now famous Unionist politician, threatened to tear down. "Further encouragement was supplied by the R.U.C. who sledgehammered their way into the premises and seized the flag" (Falls 132). Though replaced the next day, riots followed. From these events Adams and some of his friends learned that, though they were mere spectators, the R.U.C. made no distinction between active participants in the riots and inactive ones. "Some of us learned quickly that it was as well to be hanged for a stone as a stare," and this experience gave him his first impetus into political activity (Falls 133).

Gerry Adams' Falls Memories is not meant to be a political work, in the traditional sense, but instead, as he calls it, "a book about what it was like here . . . right from the very beginnings" (Falls 6). Just as no Irish literature is divorced from Irish politics, neither is a chronicle of a Belfast neighborhood and its inhabitants. For Adams, this chronicle reveals some important political ideas that underlie and guide his later policies as president of Sinn Féin.

The history of the province of Ulster and the city of Belfast provides its residents not only with a great sense of pride but it also emphasizes the tyrannical nature of British imperial rule and the incompatibility of that rule with the

notion of freedom for any of Ireland's citizens. The lessons learned from the labor struggles in the 19th and 20th centuries prove not only that Irish Protestant and Catholic workers can forge a united bond, but that they **must** if they are to break the yoke of oppression. Protestants, Adams declares, have already played an important role in the Republican movement, and he will later stress the need to include them in the future of a united Ireland as well.

From these historical arguments, it follows logically that education is an essential prerequisite for an Irish Republican, because without it, neither he nor the people from whom he desires support can understand the nature of the nationalist struggle. The loss of the Irish language also becomes central to Adams' concept of nationalism. A people's language and culture are inextricably linked, and the revitalization of Irish, therefore, necessarily aids the revitalization of the Irish culture. Early Irish cultural and nationalist organizations such as The Gaelic League were essential to the development of modern Irish Republicanism.

Electoral politics are also discussed in Falls Memories, though Adams does not examine their role in the movement. The Sinn Féin triumph in the 1918 elections, the deliberate lack of reporting of its candidate, and the R.U.C.'s destruction of the party's tricolor flag and, hence, the attempted destruction of the party and its supporters in 1964, all impressed upon Adams both the difficulty in engendering support for the movement and the necessity of succeeding in

that effort. The 1964 election in which he began participation was, Adams concluded, "geared more to canvassing recruits than votes and in that it undoubtedly succeeded" (Falls 133). Gerry Adams would begin to cultivate and expand these ideas in his early days of involvement in the Republican movement, most specifically while in prison in Long Kesh.

Chapter II

Reflection and Maturation: Cage Eleven

While Falls Memories chronicles Gerry Adams' Belfast childhood, depicting a young man becoming politically aware, Cage Eleven completes the process of political education and maturation as a new leader refines his political theories. The issues in this book are broad and are not intended to be covered in depth. While imprisoned in Long Kesh, Adams began a process of reflection upon the Republican movement, its strategies, and its future. Cage Eleven reflects some of the themes on which he concentrated: prison issues, in particular torture and conditions for Republican prisoners in jails in both Northern Ireland and England; political education for the Republican activist; the role of the Catholic Church in the statelet; and the role of armed conflict and its relationship to the overall Republican movement.

Though the British, without offering proof, allege he was an I.R.A. member and even Chief of Staff in the 1970s, Adams denies the allegations (Keena 7). In March 1972 he was interned without trial on the *Maidstone* prison ship (Cage 12). His arrest and subsequent interrogation and torture were experiences on which Adams would draw in his written descriptions of prison conditions and his appeals for change.

After a food strike that he enthusiastically helped lead brought the end of the prison ship, Adams was transferred to Long Kesh. It is there from 1975 to 1977 that Adams wrote his

Brownie articles, named for the pseudonym under which most were published in Republican News. Most of the chapters of Cage Eleven, published in 1990, are originally Brownie articles. These selections are a mixture of stories of life in the prison and Adams' personal statements on various political ideas and events in Irish political history.

Adams writes intriguing and captivating descriptions, most in a fictional format, of life as a Republican prisoner. Stressing that his family is "by no means unique" (Cage 12), Adams relates that his father, his uncle, and his brothers all spent time in Long Kesh (Cage 11). The Long Kesh prisoners are not merely names; they are relatives, friends, and loved ones of most members of the nationalist community in Northern Ireland.

Adams' prison experiences began in March 1972 when he was picked up by the R.U.C. and interned without trial or charge. He endured repeated brutal beatings during the 36 hour interrogation by R.U.C. officers. Sleep deprivation and threats were also used to coerce Adams into answering their questions. At the end of 36 hours, he admitted his name, but refused the other demands for information, and after 48 hours he was moved from the Palace Barracks to the *Maidstone* (Keena 10-11). He was released from Long Kesh a few months after the transfer to aid in secret truce talks between the I.R.A. and British government officials. Adams' second arrest, in July 1973, was also followed by torture, this time by members of the British Army (Keena 56). His kidneys and genitals were

hit, the backs of his hands were burned by cigarettes, and he was beaten unconscious several times during the session. At one point in the beating, an army doctor examined Adams and announced him fit enough for continued interrogation; the torture began again. As a result, Adams suffered irreversible kidney damage (Keena 57).

The prisoners on the *Maidstone* also told horrendous tales of torture. One man had been hung by his thumbs, with his toes barely touching the floor, while his stomach was jabbed repeatedly until the blood vessels around his navel burst. Others had their genitals squeezed and kicked, while some prisoners were given "truth drugs" (Keena 12). These stories confirmed Adams' belief that his torture had not been an aberration because of his growing position of influence in the Republican movement; rather, such practices are inherent in the Northern Ireland system.

Neither did the harassment and beatings end after the initial interrogation of the prisoners. The British Army soldiers often raided the cages in Long Kesh, and the guards, or screws as they are commonly called, even took to stealing the prisoners' legal property, like the shamrock plants that symbolize the prisoners' Irish identity and their nationalism. "Long Kesh . . . is no place for the Green," Adams' character declares in one selection (Cage 125).

The issues of prison conditions and prisoners' ill-treatment became important ones for Adams and for the movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s. When he was released in

1978, Adams reestablished the Sinn Féin Prisoner of War committee, and he took part in many conferences held on the topic. A rising leader in the movement, Adams was named the party's publicity director and elected to the *Ard Comhairle*¹ upon his release (Keena 80), and he also played a leading role in the hunger strikes of 1980/81. It was Adams who established the Smash H-Block Committee, which was open to all those who supported the prisoners' demands on the "blanket," "no-wash," and "dirty" protests, regardless of their position on the use of force and the I.R.A. (Keena 86). Colm Keena underlines Adams' impact on the Republican movement: "What Adams had announced was a new departure. Up to then Sinn Féin had been an organization isolated in the plethora of political groupings that existed in Northern Ireland" due to their insistence, no matter what the issue, of support for the armed struggle (86-87). The prisoners' protests, and Adams evolving leadership role on the prison issue, began the process of building a new Republican movement: "The republicans were on their way towards extending their field of operation" (Keena 87).

Adams, through his Brownie articles, publicized the details of these substandard prison conditions. Prisoners were formally allowed only one visit per month, with three other visits considered "privileges" granted to them at the whim of the Prison Governor (Cage 16). Strip searches were conducted

¹Central executive

often, and beatings were administered by the guards. Prison food was terrible, and the food parcels sent from loved ones could be stopped at any time and for any reason (Cage 38). After Adams and three other Republican prisoners were caught trying to escape, they were stripped of all their clothes and taken to the punishment cells, where they remained for several days (Keena 63). In one Brownie article, Adams vehemently denounces the British use of solitary confinement, a practice he calls "unpleasant, soul-destroying and mind-bending:"

Solitary confinement was condemned as far back as the end of the nineteenth century by a British Parliamentary Committee. Today in Long Kesh Republican prisoners are held in solitary twenty-four hours a day. They are naked, have no contact with the outside world (newspapers, letters, visits etc. are stopped), no exercise facilities. . . . Imagine the uproar in our newspaper columns and halls of learning if this activity was uncovered in South Africa, Chile or Rhodesia. Yet it is happening now, and only a few hundred yards from where I write (Cage 62).

As mentioned previously, British soldiers conducted raids where prisoners were often beaten. In his biography of Adams, Colm Keena describes these raids:

At times the inmates would be brought out to the wire and put standing against it, spread-eagled, with their legs back from the wire and their hands resting on it. They might be left there for hours on end, a painful experience, particularly on cold dark nights with the prisoners dressed only in their underwear" (59).

Another oft-heard complaint was the lack of regularly supplied clean linen. Often, they received clean sheets once every six weeks (Cage 38). Though not commonly known, this was

one factor in the "dirty" and "blanket" protests by the H-Block prisoners in 1980 and 1981 (Keena 87).

These complaints, and others such as the lack of educational facilities, were put forward to the Prison Governor in the fall of 1974. Because the prison administration refused to consider the requests, food and linen protests were begun. The British Army responded with more vicious and more frequent raids. The prisoners' representatives, or staff, threatened to burn down the camp if the British soldiers came in again to beat the men (Cage 38). And on October 15, they made good on their threat. The camp was devastated by the fire, and the British used rubber bullets and CR gas on the prisoners in the pursuant melee.

It is unclear what part Adams played in the burning of Long Kesh. In Cage Eleven, a prisoner's diary describes the events of the rioting. Though the demands of the prisoners were legitimate, the ultimate end was destruction, a destruction in which they still had to live. Public support, however, was considerable, and the prisoners' demands were publicized to a much wider audience. This experience likely impressed upon Adams the necessity to analyze thoughtfully political violence to ensure that such acts achieve the ends to which they are aimed, with minimal damage to reputation and maximum propaganda impact. This theory is one he proposes in another Brownie article and publicly in the speeches and interviews in the 1970s after numerous I.R.A. "mistakes" (Keena, 159-160, 168). When the prison is made fairly

inhabitable and life is once more routine, the prisoner remarks in his diary: "Your Man started his tunnel. 'At last,' he said. Things are back to normal" (Cage 45).

At the time of publication of Cage Eleven, there were approximately 800 Republican prisoners, most held in Northern Ireland, though some were in English and Free State jails (Cage 12). Conditions for those prisoners held in English jails are the subject of a selection in Cage Eleven that concerns Frank Stagg, a Republican prisoner who died in 1976 while on hunger strike in Wakefield Prison in England. Adams informs his reader that most of the Republican prisoners serving terms in England are held in solitary confinement (Cage 116). The Good Order and Discipline Rule, Rule 43 G.O.D., provides that a prisoner may be put in solitary confinement for an indefinite period of time for any reason deemed valid by the Prison Governor. Furthermore, the confinement cell is always lighted, either by a red light for nighttime or a bright fluorescent one for the day, "making sleep impossible." If feasible, the cell is completely bare during the day since the bedding material is taken out at 7:00 a.m. No heating is provided, leaving the cells cold as well as damp and "very, very dirty" (Cage 121).

In a moving passage, Adams describes how Frank Stagg lived at the time the article was published. Held in a solitary confinement cell, he refused to wear prison clothes. As an inducement to conform, he is given only a blanket, which can be taken away from him at any time. He is given a basin of

hot water to wash himself, but it is taken away immediately afterward. Though there is nothing in the cell to find and the prisoner has not been out of it, the "cell is searched every day. A bare, empty dungeon with a naked man in one corner, but it is searched anyway." More humiliating, strip searches may be conducted. At night, guards continually check the cell a minimum of twice an hour, further increasing sleep deprivation (Cage 122).

For prisoners in England who are not in solitary confinement, other restrictions are enforced. Republican prisoners are denied educational and gym facilities, their mail is sometimes delayed, and their visits are extremely restricted. Visitors must remain behind a grille, with guards constantly present and taking notes. A visit can be stopped if the conversational tone falls close to a whisper, and no physical contact is allowed between the prisoner and his visitor. Furthermore, non-Republican prisoners who associate with Republicans can also fall under these same rules (Cage 123).

Probably the most horrendous torture placed upon these prisoners is the force-feeding of those on hunger strike. One of Cage Eleven's more impressive and gripping non-fiction selections concerns this practice. Adams, who while in Long Kesh went on hunger strike for two weeks to gain political status (Keena 17), details the horror of the procedures involved in force-feeding, based on accounts by Republicans he knew who had experienced it. After the guards sufficiently

immobilize the prisoner, the doctor and an assistant arrive to administer the "feeding."

Various methods will be employed to open Frank's mouth: his nose will be covered to cut off air, or a screw or doctor will bunch his fists and bore his knuckles into the joints on each side of the jaws. A Ryle's tube will be used. This is a very long, thin tube which is pushed through the nose. . . . it is simply a weapon used to force open the jaws. It rubs against the membrane at the back of the nose and, if not coated in lubricant (it seldom is), it causes a searing pain, akin to a red-hot needle being pushed into one's head (Cage 119).

After forcing the jaws of the prisoner open, an instrument similar to a horse's bit is used to hold the 3-foot long paraffin-covered tube that is pushed down the throat and into the stomach. "A funnel is placed on the open end and some water poured in. If the water bubbles they know the tube is in Frank's lungs." Adams notes a Republican prisoner was killed in this manner. The prisoner usually vomits after the liquid is poured due to the stretching of the stomach. Sometimes the doctor will force the vomit back down the tube (Cage 119). If the prisoner is on thirst strike also, he or she may be given food with extra salt, which increases the dehydration (Cage 120).

When the tube is being removed it tears at the back of the throat, more so than before because the liquid paraffin will have worn off on the way down. The last few inches will be ghastly. Frank will get violent pains in his chest. He will choke and, at this point, he will be sicker than before, as the tube coming out triggers off more retching. . . . After "feeding" Frank will find it impossible to stand up, to sit up, or to move in any way (Cage 120).

Adams' account of force-feeding makes it clear why the British Medical Association condemned the practice (Cage 118). It also confirms the Republicans' contentions that the British force-fed prisoners as a propaganda ploy, not as a humane act of kindness.

These accounts admittedly affected Adams, who declares, "My two brief punishment sessions on the boards here, the odd beating-up on Brit raids, and the conditions which my visitors endure have all paled into insignificance beside the plight of our people in England. . . . Prisons in Britain are worse and are, in truth and fact, living hell-holes" (Cage 117).

It was while imprisoned in Long Kesh that Adams began his efforts to alter the movement's direction. In 1975, as Officer-in-Charge (OC) of Cage 11, Adams directed his energies toward his own political education and those of the other men in his cage. Prior to his arrival, the cage, operating along strict military lines, had little interest in political theory and education and "instead of discipline arising out of political commitment, it was drilled into the prisoners by the militaristic regime" (Keena 65), a situation Adams opposed and was determined to change.

"Getting to understand the political situation which has us here in Long Kesh" was an essential activity of the prisoners "and the most time-consuming" (Cage 20). This includes reading Irish history and revolutionary books, learning Irish Gaelic, and reading other Irish nationalist writers, such as James Connolly, Padraig Pearse, and John

Mitchel. The British government also recognized the significance of political education, evidenced by its "criminalization" policy enacted in 1976, whereby political status was removed and the H-Block cells came into existence. When this new act took effect, the prisoners' books were taken away and burned by the guards (Cage 69).

As part of the political educational process, the prisoners organize and conduct their own Sinn Féin *Ard Fheis*. Through expressions of typical political convention rhetoric and also from impassioned political speeches, the attendees vote to establish their own programs. These issues are the very heart of Adams' intended direction for Sinn Féin. Irish cultural education, including the teaching of Irish and Irish history in local schools and the need to disseminate that knowledge to the people, is one of the first items up for discussion, and one on which the prisoners heartily agree.

Joe spoke of the great need for education. . . . ordinary people should be involved in get-togethers with Republicans, and we should explain our attitudes, our tactics, our policy. People should be able to complain and criticize; they should be part of it all. . . . *Education for Republicans, both inside and outside the movement, was the beginning, the kernel, the foundation for everything* (Cage 74; emphasis mine).

In his second published Brownie article, one not included in Cage Eleven, Adams broadens the Republican notion of freedom from British rule to include re-gaining the Irish culture, of which the Irish language is a central piece. "Without our own language, we will be building on sand," Adams declared (Keena 70). Other chapters in Cage Eleven also point

to the centrality of the Irish language. Adams informs the reader that the prison's name, Long Kesh, is from the Irish *Ceis Fhada*, "the long ditch" or "basket" (the prison was built on a bog). When the British renamed the prison The Maze, they unknowingly chose a term that draws its roots from the Irish *An Má*, which means "the plain" (Cage 108).

Support for and communication with other "true" anti-imperialist groups in the world and the need to ally the party with the working class people of the community and their agitation for reform and change are other items on the prisoners agenda (Cage 72-75). Though qualified with "true," the anti-imperialist parties are not identified by name or by nationality. The need to work closely with the nationalist community on issues that affect the daily lives of the people is a theme to which Adams will return and stress as president of Sinn Féin and in his other writings.

What is especially significant in Adams' description of the prisoners' *Ard Fheis* is what is **missing**: the military struggle for independence. Though Adams remains committed to the necessity of armed struggle in the nationalist movement, he does not insist support of the I.R.A. is a requirement or prerequisite for support of Sinn Féin and its political struggle. Adams has shifted the primary emphasis of Sinn Féin from military strategy to a political approach.

Those politicians who claim to be nationalists but who have condemned the armed struggle, Adams feels, have lost their Republican roots. In "Such a Yarn," Adams uses a Celtic

myth to criticize these political rivals. The story concerns Malachi, a great Irish warrior who lived in Dundalk in his castle and had the ability to change form. After his wife promises that she won't show any fear, he transforms into a beautiful blackbird. The spell is broken, however, when a hawk flies near the window, his wife screams, and the blackbird disappears. But Malachi and his warriors sleep, awaiting the trumpet call that will alert them so that they may go into battle and fight the English and force them from Ireland (Cage 65).

One night, a Fianna Fáil minister happens by the entrance to the cavern where Malachi and his warriors await. He stumbles in and awakens one of the warriors, who asks, "Is it time yet?" The minister responds "No, not yet - but it won't be long now." Adams urges the reader, if he happens to be in Dundalk, to go to Malachi's cavern and "Make sure there are no Fianna Fáil ministers in the vicinity. Then stand well back, and scream at the top of your voice: 'C'mon, wake up! Now's the time!'" (Cage 66).

This story criticizes the so-called constitutional nationalist parties not only for abandoning their Republicanism but also, by refusing to fight, sacrificing the fundamental rights of freedom and national self-determination for the Irish people. Adams, on the other hand, intends for the Republican movement to integrate the two strategies and for Sinn Féin to concentrate its work on the political struggle.

The political parties who abandoned their Republican roots and, consequently, their neighbors in the six counties of Northern Ireland, and the government of the Republic of Ireland receive a blistering condemnation by Brownie and by Adams in other works, most specifically in The Politics of Irish Freedom. The Free State's jails are notorious for ill-treatment of its prisoners. A priest, Father Faul, publicly condemned "the regime in Portlaoise Prison . . . [for] disimproving the men and producing hardened and embittered persons" (Cage 63). This result is caused by the same treatment that is conducted in British jails in the northeast: solitary confinement, beatings, and "severe restrictions on visits by relatives, lawyers and clergymen" (Cage 63); these jails "match British brutality, torture to torture" (Cage 124). In a pamphlet published in September 1976, Adams declared that the government in the Republic was also at the root of the cause of the violence in the North (Keena 66).

It is not only the Republic and its politicians who are obstacles to the Republican struggle for independence and a United Ireland, Adams suggests, but the Catholic Church as well. Adams does not let his Catholic faith inhibit his strong condemnation of the Church's political and social roles in Ireland. One of Brownie's cage-mates informs the others that, though many Protestants do not know, Pope Innocent I allied with William of Orange against the Catholic King James. The prisoners are surprised when they are told that "when news of [William's] victory at the Boyne reached Rome a *Te Deum* was

sung at the Vatican, and there were celebrations in the other main Catholic cities, too" (Cage 85). The reason, they are told, is simple: "The Pope and all the rest wanted to curb the power of France," and James Stuart was a French ally (Cage 85). Cedric, another prisoner in the cage, points out the irony of the Pope's support, including financial, of William: after the battle "all religious were banned except the Episcopalian Church" (Cage 86). The Pope had, in effect, sacrificed his followers' faith for the principle of power.

In a piece entitled "Christians for Freedom?", Adams cites the words of Catholic priests to corroborate his arguments that the Catholic Church hierarchy has failed to aid its Irish adherents in their efforts for national freedom: "the Catholic Church has failed miserably to fulfill its role in Ireland" (Cage 101). Adams is aware, however, that Republicans have traditionally been seen as "anti-clerical," which is why he applies the priests own words to back up his claims.

Due to the inability of the common Irish Catholic people to identify with the Church hierarchy and vice-versa, an ever-increasing isolation has developed. The Catholic Church has traditionally played a central role in the shaping of public opinion and, consequently, policies in Ireland. While Adams acknowledges this, he does not condemn that influence in and of itself. In fact, Adams displays the traditionalist and conservative component of the Republican movement by stressing that "surely in our new Ireland . . . our attitudes must be in

step with people's thinking, geared to their spiritual as well as social needs" (Cage 102).

While the Catholic Church loudly condemns the I.R.A. and those who support it, the Irish people must deal with problems much closer to home: primarily poverty, unemployment, and bad housing. As one priest puts it,

Sometimes one would think that as far as the churches are concerned the only problem in Ireland is 'the men of violence'. There has been very little compassion for the many people caught up in the web of physical violence. There has been little effort to show any non-violent way of bringing about change in society" (Cage 103).

These priests see Christianity as a "radical message" and a "revolution of the left" that can help the people to overcome oppression. They also acknowledge that violence is committed by **both** sides. "Institutionalized violence of the kind we have seen in the North is just as bad and has to be eradicated before we can look at the rest," another priest declares (Cage 103). Inhumane prison conditions and torture are roundly condemned by another as violations of the state and of the Church. Finally, a Bishop who called for the British to withdraw from Northern Ireland "was met by a deafening silence from his fellow dignitaries. He spoke alone" (Cage 104).

The institutionalized violence to which the priests refer is the subject of another Brownie article, appropriately entitled "Terrorism." Adams cites the definition of terrorism from the Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1973:

Terrorism means the use of violence for political ends and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public or any section of the public in fear (Cage 60).

Adams argues that those acts that fit in the above definition include acts committed by members of the British army, its government, and members of the R.U.C. and U.D.R. (Ulster Defence Regiment) since they use violence (beatings, threats and intimidation, house searches, for instance) in pursuance of political goals and in so doing, they put a "section of the public," i.e. the nationalist community, "in fear."

As an example, he gives the British government's refusal to release prisoners held for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings. He declares that the real perpetrators have confessed and given details so "precise that there can be no doubting their authenticity" (Cage 60-61). Witnesses also corroborate their involvement. The British "couldn't catch the IRA units involved," Adams asserts. "So they invented 'IRA units' they could catch," and now refuse to release those wrongly imprisoned for the bombings (Cage 61).

The beatings and other torture meted out to the internees and other prisoners are acts that also fit the British government's terrorism definition. Adams demonstrates the British government's hypocrisy when it loudly complains and denounces torturous treatment a British doctor suffered at the hands of Chilean police (Cage 116), while at the same time continuing to conduct the same tortuous acts on the prisoners under its care. The British, in fact, were found guilty of using "scientific 'sensory depreciation' experiments" on

fourteen internees, among them Adams' cousin Liam Hannaway, by the Hague's Court of Human Rights (Keena 49). Furthermore, the British continued the practice of solitary confinement - for days at a time - even though it, too, had been condemned by a British Parliamentary Committee (Cage 62). A Scottish lawyer, Alastair Logan, researched the conditions of Republican prisoners in British jails and strongly denounced their ill-treatment, including the beatings by police during interrogations of which Adams had first-hand experience (Cage 62-63). The Association for Legal Justice, Adams adds, conferred in its condemnation of Republican prisoners' treatment and ill conditions (Cage 62).

Despite all this evidence and all these public denouncements, "no British soldier, RUC man, policeman or screw has ever served a day in prison since 1969 for murder or torture committed while on duty" (Cage 63). The reason, Adams points out, is contained in the very document that defines terrorism: the Emergency Provisions Act specifically **excludes** these people, and applies only "to persons who have attained the age of fourteen and are *not serving members of Her Majesty's regular naval, military or air force*" (Cage 63; emphasis mine). Adams concludes the piece with a hard-hitting, "Would the real terrorists stand up, please?" (Cage 63).

Just as the British should have constraints on their actions, so should those who are involved in the armed struggle for Irish freedom. In the article "In Defence of Danny Lennon," a poignant Brownie article on the death of one

of his cage-mates who was an I.R.A. volunteer, Adams outlines these constraints and his philosophy on the use of force in the Republican struggle and the responsibility to the entire movement of those who participate in the armed struggle. Danny Lennon was shot dead by British soldiers during a car chase (Lennon was carrying a rifle at the time) and crashed into a woman, Anne Maguire, and her four children, of which three were killed (Mrs. Maguire claimed her children were shot dead by the British before the car hit them) (Keena 66).

Adams, while offering his condolences to the family, expresses his understanding that what he says, and what the Republican movement does, may be misunderstood. He emphasizes that those in the movement must take responsibility for its actions and "face any criticism in the knowledge that we are not always in the best position to justify our stand, our philosophy and our activities." He also makes the argument, which he will repeat in later works and speeches, that those in the armed struggle must ensure they do not harm those who are innocent and, consequently, damage the movement's reputation among the community (Cage 135).

We can and we must do our utmost to ensure that everything we do will have the minimum effect on those people with no vested interest in opposing us and we must, on a personal level, ensure that our conduct, our discipline and our attitude will encourage, not discourage continued support for the republican cause (Cage 135).

His argument is powerful and resolute and is aimed directly at the members of the I.R.A. Their actions, essentially, must be in harmony with the political and social

philosophy of the Republican movement. Adams is emphasizing and demanding that the armed segment of the movement be subordinate to the political segment of the movement, largely represented by Sinn Féin.

He continues by declaring that Danny Lennon knew the risks he was taking and "did not willingly involve others in that risk." His fight, Adams maintains, was one in which those children would be free and truly sovereign. "His death, which robbed the Maguire children of their lives, was a contradiction of a life spent fighting for young children such as they" (Cage 136). The armed struggle, for Adams and for the Danny Lennons of the movement, is necessary to achieve the goal of a united and free Ireland for all its citizens. But it need not include injuring those who are innocent and who do not actively seek to oppose them and are not responsible for the horrible conditions which are forced upon the Catholic community. Nevertheless, Adams states,

None of us stands guiltless; only our children are innocent. It remains for us to ensure that we build a society in which they will not be robbed of their innocence. Then and only then will we have the peace that ordinary people everywhere deserve and desire (Cage 137).

Adams' Brownie articles included in Cage Eleven concentrate primarily on the prisoners' conditions and their daily lives, including beatings by guards, British Army raids, and the consequences of their imprisonment on their loved ones. It is the prison issue that helped catapult Adams into a leadership role in the Republican movement, as his reputation

for intelligent analysis and a critical approach to problems grew. He also became known for his moving speeches and talent for persuasion. While in prison, Adams encouraged and shaped the educational process of the prisoners, a process that included a critical assessment of the Republican movement and political discussion about its future direction. That political education and participation is so important is evidenced in the prisoners' *Ard Fheis* and the policies that emerge from it.

Adams also explores the roles of both the Catholic Church and the Republic of Ireland in the conflict and struggle in the North, concluding that they both failed their communities and became not only obstacles in the fight for freedom but part of the problem also. The role of the armed struggle is also briefly discussed, and Adams makes clear his view that political violence must serve political ends.

Falls Memories and Cage Eleven trace the process, from childhood to a young Republican prisoner, through which Adams arrived at his political theories, and they form the basis upon which Adams will build his more complete Republican philosophy. It is in The Politics of Irish Freedom that these themes come together to form his cohesive "personal statement" of modern Irish Republicanism.

Chapter III

Collective Leadership and Republican Philosophy:
The Politics of Irish Freedom

The Politics of Irish Freedom, published in 1986, is Gerry Adams' most comprehensive political work. Adams describes it as a "personal statement" meant only to give readers, especially those uninformed and detached from the situation, the chance to learn about modern Irish Republicanism. What he offers, however, is a more comprehensive definition of the movement, its political and economic philosophy, and his ideas for its future development and direction.

All of the issues covered in Falls Memories and Cage Eleven are included in this work, but in much more detail, and Adams incorporates them into his overall Republican philosophy. The nature of British rule in the 6 county statelet and the forces of sectarianism and discrimination inherent in Northern Ireland combine, Adams asserts, to create conditions that make separation from England necessary for meaningful reform. The horrid conditions endured by Republican prisoners, the British government's botched handling of their subsequent hunger strikes and its violent reaction to the non-violent civil rights movement of the late 1960s solidifies the Republican position of the necessity of immediate British withdrawal and the use of armed conflict to bring it about. Irish Republicanism, however, includes more than the demand to end partition and a defense of the armed struggle to bring

about that goal; it encompasses anti-sectarianism, freedom of religion, pluralism, and the revitalization of Irish culture. Sinn Féin, as the political organization most closely associated with the modern Irish Republican movement, is responsible for garnering support from the nationalist community for its philosophy, and has, under Adams leadership, begun the arduous process of becoming a politically relevant party. It is also the primary driving force of the movement itself.

The fundamental nature of British rule in Ireland, both past and present, Adams argues, is unjust, and this theme is repeated throughout Adams' writings. Adams decries the use of violence by the British in both the establishment of the statelet and its continued maintenance. "By its very nature the British presence is not and never has been a just or peaceful presence and because of this relationships between the Irish and British peoples have been poisoned" (Politics 89).

The statelet of Northern Ireland, Adams continues, was founded on sectarian privilege, and, by extension, the discrimination against another section of the community. As in other historical cases of plantation, the settlers are given rewards, usually in the form of land taken from the dispossessed natives, for their loyalty and continued settlement (Politics 114). In Ireland, these privileges were

extended to the English and Scottish Protestant settlers¹, and, when threat of national independence arose, an area carved from the province of Ulster ensured their numerical majority and their continued place of privilege. Northern Ireland was to be ruled by one party, the Unionist Party, that represented Britain's interests, which were made clear by Lloyd George: "We must make sure that Ulster does not, whether she wills it or not, merge with the rest of Ireland" (Politics 19). The Stormont parliament was established, in the words of Sir Edward Carson, to be "a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people." Adams maintains that not only were the political institutions of the statelet set up to guarantee Protestant ascendancy, but the British also used obviously undemocratic and coercive means to maintain it. The "A", "B", and "C" Specials were "the armed wing of Protestant Unionism . . . uniformed, organised and paid for by the British government" (Politics 19). Ward-rigging, restrictive voting qualifications, the abolishment of proportional representation, and the coercive powers outlined in the Special Powers Act (1922) were other "active means by which the existence of the state was maintained and all opposition was suppressed" (Politics 20-21). Even when other areas of the United Kingdom were granted democratic rights, such as

¹The English settlers were primarily Anglican (Church of England), while the Scottish settlers were Presbyterian. Irish Gaelic has no word for Presbyterian, so the natives used *Albanach*, which means "Scotch," and they used *Sassnach*, meaning "English," to refer to Anglican (Cronin 9).

universal suffrage in 1945, Northern Ireland was specifically excluded (Politics 21).

Adams asserts that this history made clear not only the fact that the minority population had to be continually oppressed for the preservation of the status quo, i.e. Protestant ascendancy, but that Britain was ultimately responsible. Lloyd George's statement only corroborated what many acts of the English Parliament outlined. Contrary to British propaganda that depicts Britain as a unbiased third party, Adams declares, "all relevant Acts exclude any right [of Northern Ireland] to secession" (Politics 19). The British parliament is the supreme authority according to the act establishing the statelet, Stormont was given no real powers, and Britain still influences both North and South of the border (Politics 19, 20, 23). "This utterly undemocratic system was established, is controlled by and is the responsibility of the British government," Adams declares (Politics 89).

Adams' experience with the civil rights movement of the late 1960s further strengthened his belief that the British were intransigent on the issue of Northern Ireland. Adams, a founding member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA), participated in the non-violent movement to gain civil rights for Catholic citizens (Politics 12). This movement, a catalyst for the 1970 split in the Republican movement, was heavily influenced by the civil rights movement for blacks in the United States (Politics 9). Both struggles

employed non-violent methods with the objective of reform and change within the system. But unlike its U.S. precursor, Adams asserts, the movement in Northern Ireland was doomed to failure because the state was irreformable, a fact that the Dublin leadership of the Republican movement neglected to see. Though NICRA's demands were "unremarkable, simple and moderate"² (Politics 34), the British responded violently, banning demonstrations, encouraging sectarian attacks on Catholic neighborhoods, houses, and their persons, and refusing to protect those people from attack, even though the Catholic community initially welcomed the arrival of British troops (Politics 31, 32, 33-34, 54). The British, Adams and others in the Republican movement concluded, could not be seen as an unbiased party to the situation, and "the state had made abundantly clear the fact that it would not and could not implement democratic reforms" (Politics 34).

The civil rights movement also widened the philosophical gap in the Republican movement between the Dublin leadership and Adams and other Northern activists. The Republicans had largely disarmed after the failed border campaign of the 1950s, concentrating on political aspects of the struggle. The Dublin leadership's direction of the civil rights movement, Adams felt, failed to grasp the reality of the nature of the

²NICRA's demands were universal franchise in local elections (1 man, 1 vote); an end to gerrymandered boundaries; the repeal of the Special Powers Act; an end to discrimination against Catholics in housing and unemployment; disbandment of the B-Specials; and the withdrawal of the Unionist bill to outlaw civil rights demonstrations (Politics 13).

statelet and seriously underestimated the reaction by its Unionist rulers (Politics 4, 32, 34-35). The leadership argued that the national question should be put on the backburner, in an effort to gain Protestant and Catholic solidarity, while the primary focus was political democratization of the state (Politics 13-14). Adams and other Republicans "on the ground" disagreed, contending that this theory contained a major flaw: "the 'stages' theory of progressive democratization was conditional in the first place on the state and its supporters being willing to redress the state's own injustices" (Politics 14). They predicted a heavy-handed response from the state and from loyalists and pleaded for preparedness for the coming violence (Politics 32). When that violence came, the leadership found itself unprepared to defend the Catholic areas under siege, and the effects of the movement were as Adams predicted. For instance, by August 1969, 1505 Catholic families and 315 Protestant families had been forced to flee from their homes, constituting the biggest refugee movement in Europe since the second World War ended (Keena 38). Though the civil rights movement asked only for reforms to be made within the Northern Ireland statelet, and not its abolition, the question of national independence inevitably took the front seat (Politics 34).

The republican strategy of organizing politically to achieve democracy within the state, which had involved a turning away from the physical force tradition and a dumping of arms, had run headlong into the reality of the irreformably sectarian state. . . . The republican movement of the 1960s

had proved incapable of responding adequately to events as they evolved in the 6 counties (Politics 34).

The Dublin leadership's philosophy had proved incorrect, and the inevitable split in the Republican movement occurred in 1970, an event Adams calls "a major set-back" (Politics 35). Primarily as a result of the movement's ill-preparedness, the Provisional wing developed an "almost exclusively military road" (Politics x), ignoring any political processes it had developed in the 1960s. But Adams stresses that the failure of the Republican movement in this era was not due only to the lack of military defense; instead "the primary problem was lack of politics, a shortcoming which was to remain even after guns had become plentiful." The emerging Provisional wing was "inadequate . . . [because] it had little or no proper educational process, no formal politicisation courses and there was scant regard paid by the leadership to such needs" (Politics 35). As the title of his book confirms, politics is vital and central to Adams' vision of the modern Irish Republican movement, a vision that he began to make reality during the hunger strikes of 1980/81.

As Cage Eleven emphasized, prison and prison conditions were important components in Adams' political education. After his release from Long Kesh, Adams and the Republican movement placed a greater emphasis on the prisoners' cause. Britain's policy of "criminalisation" was part of an overall propaganda and political strategy designed to depict the situation as a criminal one and deny its political nature. This strategy also

included "Ulsterisation," where the R.U.C. and U.D.R. were placed on the front lines of battle to bolster Britain's professed neutral third-party position. Adams saw both these policies as Britain's effort to avoid responsibility not only for the conflict but also for the horrid, undemocratic state that it sustained (Politics 71).

While Britain claimed the Republican prisoners were "ordinary criminals," Adams stresses the contradiction in the whole array of special legislation that dealt with them as "special category" prisoners.

Special courts had been established, known as the Diplock courts, to deprive those accused of 'special category' or 'scheduled' offenses of trial by jury. Special concentration camps had been constructed to house those convicted of special category offences as well as those interned without trial. To turn around then and deny that these were special category prisoners was to fly in the face of logic and reason (Politics 71-72).

The prisoners began a blanket protest by refusing to wear prison clothes shortly after "criminalisation" officially began in March of 1976. It progressed into a "no-wash" protest in 1978 after prison guards began to attack the prisoners, and in the process kicked their chamber pots and threw them on their beds (Politics 74). The hunger strikes arose only after Adams and members of prison reform groups such as his H-Block/Armagh Committee and the Relatives Action Committee campaigned for political status to be regained and prison conditions to improve (Politics 74-75). Adams and Sinn Féin opposed the hunger strikes because they felt the movement was

not politically prepared and the prison issue was not a top priority at that time (Politics 78).

This inability of political success by the Republicans can be traced partially to Sinn Féin's political inexperience and weak organization arising from the movement's historical conspiratorial nature. Adams was determined to correct this situation, and the Westminster by-election won by Bobby Sands, the first man to go on hunger strike in 1981, gave the Republicans their first opportunity at electoral intervention. This was a turning point in the movement; electoral strategy was now considered a legitimate tactic, and it also "did away with spectator politics," bringing in more people to participate actively in the Republican movement without taking up arms. By far the most important effect of the Republicans' involvement with the hunger strikes was its "educational value" (Politics 86).

The electoral successes during the hunger strikes (two other prisoners were elected to Leinster House, the Republic's legislature, and another Sinn Féin member elected MP after Sands' death), not only hastened the party's electoral maturation, but Adams argued that the votes "exposed the lie that the hunger strikers -- and by extension the IRA and the whole republican movement -- had no popular support" (Politics 80). The British government, by allowing ten young prisoners to die, portrayed itself once again as intransigent and unwilling to make reforms. After the strike was called off,

primarily by the relatives of the remaining strikers, the five reforms³ demanded were slowly put in place (Politics 85).

From his analysis of British rule, the British reaction to the non-violent civil rights movement, and its treatment of the hunger strikers and their demands, Adams concludes that the statelet cannot be reformed, and furthermore, Britain will never voluntarily withdraw. The British, Adams argues, will not leave willingly for a variety of reasons. First, Ireland provides a "considerable marketplace" for British goods, and "its industrial base is dominated from Britain." Second, if control of Ireland is relinquished, the Scottish and Welsh nationalist groups will have a successful example to emulate. Third, "any radicalisation of Irish society becomes a threat to the British establishment" by encouraging that radicalisation in Britain also (Politics 97). This point is echoed by Ken Livingstone, a British Labour leader and outspoken opponent of the British presence in Ireland, in his essay in Ireland After Britain: "We may get to see Ireland giving us the lead in the establishment of a socialist society in these islands" (17). But the most important reason Britain refuses to withdraw is the threat of Ireland as a united and independent nation. "Such an independent Ireland," Adams

³These demands were: the right to wear their own clothing; exemption from prison labor; free association among Republican prisoners; the right to organize recreational and educational programs; and full restoration of remission (Politics 80).

declares, "would pass out of Britain's combined colonial and neo-colonial control" (Politics 97).

Given this reasoning, armed conflict in the struggle for Irish national freedom becomes necessary in order to bring about a British withdrawal. "The tactic of armed struggle is of primary importance because it provides a vital cutting edge. Without it," Adams argues, "the issue of Ireland would not even be an issue" (Politics 64). There is an important distinction, however, in Adams' vision of the role of armed conflict and the historical role it has played in Irish Republicanism. The militaristic tendency has most often been dominant in the movement, and that tendency was always "fairly apolitical" (Politics 7-8). In the 1960s, the movement became politicized and de-militarized, and the split in 1970 formed two groups, one political and anti-republican (the Officials) and the other military (the Provisionals). Adams was instrumental in altering the course of the Republican movement as represented by the Provisionals. He was dismayed that the movement had abandoned the political approach that it developed in the 1960s, and he campaigned for its reinstatement. Today, Adams declares, "there is a realisation in republican circles that armed struggle on its own is inadequate and that non-armed forms of political struggle are at least as important" (Politics 64). Adams is primarily responsible for that attitude.

Part of the broad political strategy, of which armed struggle is an essential component, includes garnering and

maintaining the support of the community. While Adams argues that the I.R.A. functions with a large degree of community support in the 6 counties, and indeed could not function without it, all armed operations must be carefully planned and should continue that support, not undermine it (Politics 67, 63). Adams never denies the "considerable moral problems" of armed conflict (Politics 64). Indeed, he "deeply regret[s]" civilian casualties of I.R.A. actions, stressing that he "has never tried to justify civilian casualties or fatalities of IRA actions." (Politics 52). But he staunchly argues that "IRA volunteers are actually civilians, political people" who believe armed action is a "political necessity," in stark contrast to the "careerists" in a state's established army (Politics 65).

As Adams emphasized in Cage Eleven, political education is the source from which Republicans develop their ideas and their convictions, and it becomes a prerequisite for becoming a Republican. Adams not only stresses the need for such education, but he also underlines the distinction between political construction and destruction.

As volunteers develop their politics, their vision of the goal they are aiming for, as they come to understand the politics of their opponents and the way the struggle needs to develop, then comes an understanding that armed struggle itself is a tactic and that *one cannot shoot or bomb an independent Ireland into existence*. You may be able to bomb and shoot a British connection out of existence, given many other necessary political conditions, but you will not bring anything into existence (Politics 64; emphasis mine).

The armed struggle, therefore, is a tactic that "becomes armed propaganda" (Politics 64). And all propaganda serves a political purpose. From this premise, the armed struggle must always serve its political objective, i.e. withdrawal of British forces from Northern Ireland and a 32 county Ireland. Any action, Adams asserts, that does not serve that purpose is an incorrect action and counterproductive (Politics 52). Once again, Adams has emphasized the primacy of the political objective over the military aspect of the struggle. In his concluding chapter, he sums up this theory in a passage reminiscent of his Brownie column "In Defence of Danny Lennon":

We must place our objectives before the people . . .
[W]e are not always in the best position to justify our stand, our philosophy or our activities. We must therefore ensure that our conduct, our attitudes and our discipline, in the face of a powerful and unscrupulous enemy, will encourage, not discourage, continued support for the objectives we strive for (Politics 167).

The modern Irish Republican movement that Adams has helped shape is much more than the armed struggle, as his commitment to the political approach confirms, and these objectives to which he refers have also been broadened since Adams became involved in the movement. The conspiratorial nature of the movement was born from its military struggle and the necessity of secrecy. But by the mid 1960s, a major critical appraisal of the movement had begun, and the members began to consider, for the first time since the 1930s, "what type of republic was aimed at" (Politics 8). Adams found the

conclusions that emerged from the Republicans' analysis to be critical to the movement's future political strategy.

What came most clearly from these discussions was a recognition that republicans needed to identify their philosophy as being relevant not to the vision of a future Ireland but to the actual Ireland of today, and that they needed to enlist mass support, or at least the maximum support possible, for the republican cause. . . . We could not free the Irish people. We could only, with their support, create conditions in which they would free themselves (Politics 8).

This analysis also determined that the struggle of independence in Ireland was class-based, a notion that partially led Adams and his supporters to advocate a socialist republic as the preferred society of a united Ireland (Politics 7). It is from the Young Ireland movement and Connolly that the movement derives its "radical social dimension," and Adams stresses that "capitalistic ideas, feudalism and the concept of private property . . . have been imported into Ireland, not socialist ideas" (Politics 133, 139). Adams divorces himself and the movement from others who call themselves socialists, such as Hitler's Nazis, Fidel Castro, and Mikhail Gorbachev (Politics 129). For Adams,

Socialism is . . . a definite form of society in which the main means of production, distribution and exchange are socially owned and controlled and in which production is based on human need rather than private profit (Politics 128).

Because this socialism is based on society's control of the economy, Adams maintains, there can be no socialist society without real national independence (Politics 128). Thus, the "acid test" of a real Irish socialist is his

"attitude to the issue of Irish national self-determination," and Adams finds the proclaimed Irish socialists seriously lacking. They may give rhetorical support to independence, but their actions contradict their assertions (Politics 128, 129). Indeed, they reveal their hypocrisy by publicly supporting armed struggles for national liberation in other countries, particularly South Africa, while condemning the I.R.A.'s actions on their own doorstep (Politics 129, 130).

For practical and political reasons, however, Adams stresses that Republicanism "should not at this stage of its development style itself 'socialist-republican'" (Politics 132). Instead, Republicanism "refers to the aim of securing national independence in its broadest sense," and the building of the government and society of a united Ireland is an activity that should involve all Irish people, including Protestants (Politics 131, 123).

Irish Republicanism, Adams declares, "is not and never has been a static concept; it is a living and developing ideology" (Politics 133). An essential part of that ideology is anti-sectarianism. Adams wants to assure the Protestants in the 6 counties that religious freedom is a principle upon which the Republican movement is based and on which Republicans want a united Ireland founded.

There is no way that in terms of religious liberty either Protestants or Catholics have anything to fear from republicans. And there is no way that republicans, in pursuit of a secular or at least pluralist society, want to see any religious hierarchy given a position as of right as part of the state. Republicans want to limit the control of

the churches to things spiritual and to treat everyone as equal before God (Politics 122).

Adams also points out that Republicans have been condemned much more by the Catholic hierarchy than any loyalist paramilitary group (Politics 122).

In a united Ireland, the Protestant community, Adams argues, though it would lose its historical ascendancy position, would gain equality under the law. The Protestant working class, Adams observes, is as poor as the Catholic one, and he proposes a government that would aid both communities (Politics 23). Republicans desire a representative legislature that guarantees liberties and "has no vested interest in disadvantaging anyone" (Politics 123), and Protestants "can have and should have a very big say" in the process of creating a constitution and the new Irish society (Politics 124).

One of the more recent developments in Unionist propaganda is the insistence that Protestants in Northern Ireland are not Irish (Politics 140). Adams wholeheartedly disagrees, mentioning that the English refer to both community members derogatorily as "Paddies" (Politics 124). Protestants also played a valuable role in the first Irish cultural and linguistic groups that sought to revitalize the culture (Politics 143). Even the name for Sinn Féin was chosen by a Protestant woman (Cronin 99).

Culture plays a significant role in Republican ideology, which is the major reason why Unionists distance themselves from it. While culture is apolitical, Adams reasons, the

British tried to exterminate the Irish culture, and as a result, the "restoration of our culture must be a crucial part of our political struggle" (Politics 143-44). The Irish language, as he argued in Cage Eleven, is the central element in this cultural revitalization because it is through language that culture is communicated, maintained, and enhanced. "When the language is lost everything it represents is also lost" (Politics 138). The intent of the Republicans' revitalization effort is not, however, a romantic attempt to go back to the past. It is, instead, an attempt to

recover the best of our traditional values and mould them to the present. Our national culture should reflect the combination of the different influences within the nation: urban and rural, Gaeltacht and Galltacht, northern and southern, orange and green (Politics 139-40).

Again, it is evident in these words that the Republican intent is not to ostracize the Protestant community in a united Ireland, but rather to include it.

Sinn Féin's role in the revitalization of culture is as strong as it is in the other aspects of the movement. The party has erected bilingual or fully Irish Gaelic street signs, organized language classes in social organizations, advocated the establishment of all-Irish nursery schools, and campaigned for increased Irish Gaelic radio and television programs (Politics 145, 147). There are signs that these efforts are succeeding, though it will be many years before a thorough investigation can determine success or failure.

Sinn Féin's leadership of the Republican movement extends to cultural revitalization efforts, campaign on prison reform, and elections. The party is primarily responsible for the movement's political agenda and strategy, but this was not always the case. It was only with its campaign to remove the government's ban on the party, which was lifted in 1974, that the movement began to organize politically and analyze its political strategy (Politics 9). And it was only after the 1985 local elections that Sinn Féin seriously began to develop a political organization capable of supporting its candidates and its constituents, an organization that Adams admits is still weak (Politics 151).

Sinn Féin still faces tough obstacles in its aim of political relevancy and the maintenance and increase of community support. While it is the only party besides The Workers Party to be active in both the Republic and the 6 counties, only Sinn Féin faces censorship by the Republic. Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act prevents radio and television interviews of Sinn Féin members or any others who condone political violence. While these interviews have often taken place with voice-overs, the law nonetheless has had a silencing effect, one which the U.S. Supreme Court might call a "chilling effect." The Republic's Supreme Court recently upheld the law in its March 1993 ruling which allowed the interview of a Sinn Féin member (without a voice-over) on the subject of a strike. Many radio and television personnel reportedly were hoping it would be struck down (Irish Emigrant

no. 322). Further oppressive tactics are used in the Republic by Special Branch units who harass and intimidate potential recruits and new members (Politics 149).

Sinn Féin's members have also been targets of loyalist assassination gangs, and Adams asserts that his party "of all the political parties . . . has suffered most in this regard" (Politics 150). Amid the renewed bombing campaigns in England in 1993, attacks on the party's members continued. In the space of a few days in March 1993, a Sinn Féin member was shot and killed by loyalists as he arrived for work and another Sinn Féin member was a target of a grenade attack on his home. Grenades were also thrown into the homes of three other politicians, one a Sinn Féin councillor, and the other two SDLP councillors. The U.F.F. claimed responsibility for these attacks, as well as an ambush of five Catholic workers in the same week, an action that claimed the lives of two of the targeted men, only one of whom was an actual I.R.A. member (Irish Emigrant no. 321). The combination of repressive measures and assassination attacks have damaged the party's ability to recruit, an activity that Adams has worked diligently to improve.

Prior to the 1970s, recruits joined Sinn Féin largely as a response to repressive measures by the state, such as internment, Bloody Sunday, and loyalist pogroms of Catholics, such as the ones that occurred in 1969. Adams, however, argued that such recruitment encouraged and increased "the lack of unified political consciousness." As a result, Sinn Féin was

perceived by people in the 6 counties as "a poor second cousin to the IRA" (Politics 130). Adams' solution was to institute a more formal political education process for the party's members and to distribute more political documents on the Republican position in the community. The political education of the party's members, however, holds the key. "As Sinn Féin becomes more relevant on a whole range of issues and more competent on the national question, a steady and consistent flow of recruits into our ranks" should result (Politics 130). As revealed in Falls Memories and Cage Eleven, Adams' own political education provided the necessary key to his political participation, his understanding of the problems, and his conviction for the solutions he proposed. It is, then, a logical conclusion to place political education at the forefront of the needs for the modern Republican movement.

Political education, in Adams' view, is more than just the digestion of propaganda material. It involves self-criticism and constant analysis of the movement's goals and strategies. Sinn Féin put this theory into practice in the late 1970s by making the party's *Ard Fheiseanna* open to motions on any issue. Even though this principle presents difficult practical problems, Adams insists that it is vital to the continued participation by the membership and the prevention of the conference turning into a "jamboree" (which also adequately describes the political conventions of the two major U.S. parties), where policies are determined before the

conference by an elite group of politicians and the meeting becomes merely a social event (Politics 162-63).

Adams' theory of leadership is the foundation upon which this view of national conferences is based. The party's membership must support its policies, and, Adams asserts, this support can only arise if the people understand the issues and the reasoning behind the policies enacted (Politics 157). Open discussion and debate, along with the leadership's continual self-assessment, is vital. The leadership of the movement, and of Sinn Féin in particular, "striv[es] for a situation where our membership participates in the decision-making process in the fullest way possible and to the fullest extent" (Politics 155).

Collective leadership is not just an imaginative theory; it is a theory Adams practices. Ken Livingstone succinctly describes Adams unique leadership style:

If you sit and watch Gerry Adams in a group of people, he does not dominate it. He lets other people talk, he hears a consensus emerging, he doesn't try to provide charismatic dominating leadership. . . . [At a Sinn Féin *Ard Fheis*] when somebody had made the point that Gerry Adams wanted to make, he left the queue and returned to his seat (17).

Adams also argues that it is essential that the Republican leadership continually assess its positions and admit its mistakes. Again, political education is the key to making collective leadership work. Unlike other parties whose leaderships "expect their members to accept that their leadership should be permitted to do their thinking for them,"

Sinn Féin demands that the membership be involved in that process (Politics 155).

What makes collective leadership necessary in the Republican movement, more so than in other established political parties like those in the United States, is the nature of the struggle in which Republicans are engaged. The historical secrecy surrounding the movement is one that is steadily being broken and replaced by actions in "an open, non-opportunistic and declared" manner (Politics 153). The revolutionary nature of the struggle is also a factor in the necessity of recruiting and keeping members of the movement. It is far too easy for nationalists in the 6 counties to resort to pessimism and apathy; a membership closely involved in policy decisions encourages continued support and involvement.

In The Politics of Irish Freedom Gerry Adams makes a direct and eloquent statement of modern Irish Republicanism. He argues that the violent and discriminatory nature of both the 6 county state and its British rulers make it impossible to reform, and that only after Britain withdraws can the sectarian scars begin to heal. Armed struggle is a tactic of the Republican movement that should serve political ends.

Adams has concentrated on developing Sinn Féin into a relevant party for the entire 32 counties, instituting a system of political education and moulding the party's leadership into a collective one. He makes clear, however, that there is a long road ahead for Sinn Féin to become a

"mass organiser of the Irish people" (Politics 164). He concludes the book with a brief analysis of the prospects for peace in Ireland, prospects that he calls "hopeful," and which he further details in A Pathway to Peace.

Chapter IV

Republican Strategist for Peace and Justice:
A Pathway to Peace

As Gerry Adams emphasized in The Politics of Irish Freedom, Republicans desire the formation of a new democratic society in a united Ireland, and they recognize that the just society cannot be brought about by armed conflict. As he stated in The Politics of Irish Freedom, "One cannot shoot or bomb an independent Ireland into existence" (64). Adams acknowledges the necessity for a political strategy to achieve the goal of national independence and freedom. A Pathway to Peace, published in 1988, offers a democratic plan that does not rely on, nor require any support of, the armed struggle. Republicans, instead of being "mindless terrorists," a stereotype even the British Army leadership knows to be false¹, are serious political persons who seek a just and peaceful society for all sections of the Irish people, regardless of political or religious affiliation. Adams repeatedly asserts the necessity to protect the rights of unionists in the constitution of a united Ireland and stresses that Republicans wish to include Protestants, not exclude them, in the future Ireland. In contrast to the propaganda that labels Adams a hooligan and fanatical terrorist, A

¹British Army Brigadier J.M. Glover reported that I.R.A. members were not "merely mindless hooligans drawn from the unemployed and unemployable," were not Marxist, and did not target civilians. His report also concluded that they would continue to fight until the British withdraw from the six counties (Cronin 342, 340, 348, 356).

Pathway to Peace proves that Adams not only would prefer an alternative to the armed struggle but that he has offered a valid and realistic plan to achieve what all parties claim to desire: justice and peace in a democratic society.

His proposed solution, Adams admits, is "shaped by my politics," just as his critics' views are shaped by theirs (Pathway 8). The solution offered by constitutional nationalists and the British government, as represented by the 1985 Hillsborough Treaty (also known as the Anglo-Irish Treaty), is inadequate because it denies the Irish people's right of national self-determination by perpetuating and guaranteeing the British colonial hold on six counties of Ireland (Pathway 30, 34). The issue of full national self-determination is a requirement for freedom, Adams claims, and is, therefore, not subject to compromise. For this reason, this book does not propose a particular form of government; it argues instead "only for the right to national self-determination" (Pathway 8).

National self-determination is an idea that has a long history in the Irish Republican movement, deriving from its "Father" Theobald Wolfe Tone and reaffirmed in the 1916 Proclamation (Pathway 40, 7). Because national self-determination is

a nation's right to exercise the political freedom to determine its own social, economic and cultural development without external influence and without partial or total disruption of the national unity or territorial integrity (Pathway 27),

Ireland cannot exercise this right while part of its territory is occupied by a foreign power. This right, an internationally recognized principle, cannot be denied by partition, according to the United Nations (Pathway 86, 87). But because of partition, Britain not only directly controls part of Ireland, but indirectly controls the 26 counties as well through powerful economic and political influence (Pathway 7). The Republic, a neo-colony, Adams argues, may have the symbols of freedom, but the "essence of freedom is still denied us" (Pathway 32, 9). Ireland cannot exercise this fundamental right of national self-determination because it is denied, primarily by partition, the means of doing so.

Given that partition is the source and sole obstacle to the exercise of this indisputable right, it necessarily must be ended. "That should be the single greatest priority of all progressive elements in Ireland and the primary task of the Dublin government," Adams declares. "That this is not the case is a national disgrace" (Pathway 10).

The Hillsborough Treaty provides the most convincing evidence of the lack of commitment by the Republic to the principle of national self-determination. Though its constitution "claims territorial sovereignty" of the entire island, the Republic's leaders chose to sign a document that "formally recognises the loyalist veto," and, by extension, British subversion of national sovereignty (Pathway 67, 14). Even more distressing is the role proscribed by the Treaty that Dublin is to take in the maintenance of partition.

Through cross-border security cooperation, the establishment of an Inter-governmental Conference, and the classification of the Dublin government as the official representative of the nationalist community of the six counties, the Treaty makes Dublin a "junior partner" in the maintenance of partition (Pathway 15, 16; Politics 106). As a result, Irish taxpayers contribute more per capita than do their British counterparts for the maintenance of the border (Pathway 35).

In order to understand how the British would consider allowing Dublin a say in the affairs of the six counties, a notion to which the Unionists were predictably opposed and the primary reason for violent loyalist opposition to the treaty as a whole, the Hillsborough Treaty must be viewed in light of the events prior to its creation. From 1982 to 1986, Sinn Féin garnered from 35% to 42.6% of the nationalist vote in the six counties (Politics xii). This shift in electoral politics, coupled with increased community support for Republicans following the hunger strikes and expanded I.R.A. activity in both the six counties and England, threatened both the constitutional nationalists² and the stability of the statelet. Hillsborough provided a means by which British strategies to maintain partition, decrease Republican support, and stabilize the six counties could be enacted (Politics 105).

²The term "constitutional nationalist" resurfaced at this time in the SDLP's effort to regain electoral support by giving rhetorical endorsement of nationalism (Pathway 52).

The Treaty's primary backers, the constitutional nationalists, represented by the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), and the Dublin government, publicly applauded it as a means to alleviate the "alienation of northern nationalists" (Pathway 19). But, Adams argues, the real objective of the Treaty is to stabilize British interests and is clear in its own preamble that declared its commitment

to a society in Northern Ireland in which all may live in peace, free from discrimination and intolerance, and with the opportunity for both communities to participate fully in the structuring and processing of governments (Pathway 14).

Contrary to the Dublin government's and the SDLP's predictions, Adams' assessment three years after its ratification shows the Treaty did not accomplish the goals claimed by the Irish delegation.

- No change has occurred in the R.U.C.'s operation: torture and harassment of the nationalist community has continued;
- The U.D.R. has not been disbanded;
- Paid-perjurer testimony, known as super-grass, was not halted by the Treaty but instead by international pressure;
- The shoot-to-kill policy, revealed by the Stalker inquiry, continues;
- Cultural repression, such as the ban on Irish in the prisons, still exists;
- Religious discrimination in employment in the six counties continues;
- Republican prisoners are still mistreated;
- Promised U.S. investment in support of the Treaty failed to appear;
- Plastic bullets are still used by the R.U.C. and the British army; and
- Censorship by the Republic aimed at Sinn Féin was imposed after the Treaty (Pathway 19-21).

³For John Stalker's own story of his investigation in the shoot-to-kill policy, see The Stalker Affair (Viking Penguin: New York, NY, 1988).

For the British, however, the Treaty was "an unmitigated success" because it accomplished British objectives: insulation from international criticism of its colonial role in Northern Ireland and "increased and harmonized repressive measures . . . with unprecedented collaboration by Dublin with the British regime" (Pathway 25). Though the six counties are not stabilized, the Hillsborough Treaty has given Britain increased propaganda capacity to portray itself as the unbiased third-party protector of democracy and stability. The Dublin government, on the other hand, "formally relinquished its de jure claim to represent all Irish people, accepting in return . . . a facility whereby it could air its views of the grievances of nationalists in the six counties" (Pathway 35). Given such a situation, with the Republic accepting partition in exchange for a limited say in the affairs of the six counties, the nationalist community of the statelet clearly was betrayed by those now claiming to be their sole representatives. In A Pathway to Peace, Adams attempts to outline a plan for peace that represents the nationalist community's interests, which can only be served in the context of a united Ireland.

The Hillsborough Treaty represents a first phase in the SDLP's "low-risk" approach to resolving the conflict and removing partition, a strategy Adams reveals as ineffective. The constitutional nationalists, of which the SDLP represents the majority in Northern Ireland, believe a gradual and phased removal of partition is in the best interests of the

nationalist community of the six counties. The Treaty, the SDLP argues, will encourage increased communication between the Dublin and London governments, resulting in a merger of strategies, eventual easing of sectarian tensions, and finally Irish re-unification (Pathway 29-30). This approach, Adams claims, denies both the long history of the colonial relationship of Britain and Ireland and British interests in the continued partitioned statelet.

The "low-risk" strategy demands that "Irish re-unification can only come about either by 'consent' or with the 'agreement' of the unionists." As Adams points out, proponents of this approach neglect to define what "unity by consent" means: a simple majority of the entire electorate of the six counties, a simple majority of the unionist or Protestant electorate, a higher percentage of unionist agreement (70%, 90% or 100%), or a six-county population with a nationalist majority (Pathway 43). Though Adams argues that it is almost impossible for nationalists to achieve a majority in the statelet, C-Span reported on August 29, 1992 that Catholics constituted 40% of the population in Northern Ireland. Assuming the rate of expatriation does not increase and there is an absence of genocide and deadly diseases that discriminate against Catholics, the Catholic community could occupy the majority position in the statelet in the next few decades. Re-partition, which has been demanded by some elements in the loyalist community, would then be necessary in order to obtain the original Protestant numerical majority. It

would be extraordinarily difficult for Britain, while contending that it is a neutral third-party consenting to the will of the majority, to re-draw the border of Northern Ireland to protect unionist interests.

Adams does agree, however, with the SDLP's assertion that the loyalists' interests are actually best served by participation in the establishment of a united Ireland. He quotes Jack Bennett to argue that because of the colonial nature of the statelet, no citizen has real political power within that context.

The six county political system denies the right of democratic choice on fundamental matters even to the 'democratic majority' within it. All major decisions affecting their well-being, their future and their status are taken virtually without reference to them. . . . All argument which is based on a reference to the 'wishes of the democratic majority' in the six counties is, therefore, based on a false premise, since it takes a stand in defence of something which they do not have anyway (Pathway 45-46).

Furthermore, Adams argues, partition was not agreed upon by the Irish people. To maintain, as the Hillsborough Treaty does, that the majority in Northern Ireland want to retain partition is not only an assumption, but an invalid argument. There have been no referendums since partition was imposed to determine what the majority really wants. Partition was not a democratic choice; instead, Sinn Féin asserts in its document A Scenario for Peace.

The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1922, the partition of Ireland and the Constitution of the Irish Free State were imposed on the Irish people under the threat of *immediate and terrible war*. They were not submitted to the Irish people for ratification and their

imposition represents a denial to the Irish people of the freedom to exercise their right to self-determination (Pathway 85).

The election of 1918, the document also states, was the last time the will of the Irish people was heard. Sinn Féin ran on the single issue of complete Irish independence, and it won with 69.5% of the vote (Pathway 85).

Adams, again using Bennett's words, contends that the argument supporting the loyalist veto that is based merely on "mechanistic democratic logic" is invalid because it "gets itself tied up in knots, basically because the problem is falsely presented from the start and because the real nature of the problem is over-looked" (Pathway 47). Northern Ireland is a gerrymandered statelet, and the real problem is how to get Britain to withdraw and end partition.

Even if the constitutional nationalists agreed on the definition of "unity by consent" and agreement of the unionists, Adams asserts that persuading the unionists that their interests are best served in the context of a united Ireland, which will not be a Protestant state for a Protestant people, defies logic and "ignores the reality of political power" (Pathway 57). Constitutional nationalists wrongly believe that political power "resides in parliamentary institutions," while the real "essence" of political power, Adams asserts, is "economic and social power" (Pathway 56, 57). As long as Britain upholds the loyalist veto, unionists will not unilaterally and willingly break the link with Britain because they perceive their economic and social

interests are best protected by the maintenance of that link (Pathway 57, 59). Ironically, the Hillsborough Treaty exposes the constitutional nationalists' lack of faith in their own argument. "They depend on the London and Dublin governments," Adams argues "to back their political project with at least the implicit threat of the use of state force against the weaker sectional interests of six county unionism" (Pathway 58).

Ultimately, however, the "low-risk" strategy and its reliance upon the consent of the unionists, Adams contends, is "an excuse for political paralysis in tackling the core problem" (Pathway 43). By accepting the loyalist veto and partition, this strategy and its proponents, the constitutional nationalists, deny the Irish people their right to national self-determination. The constitutional nationalists have become, Adams concludes, apologists for British partition and British colonial interests (Pathway 44).

Because freedom involves more than suffrage, and "it is the right to fulfillment, the right to equality, the right to meaningful employment, the right not to be forced to emigrate, the right not to be poor," the constitutional nationalists' approach, exemplified in the Hillsborough Treaty, cannot guarantee freedom for the Irish people because it denies them the right of national self-determination (Pathway 9). Peace, Adams adds, is more than the absence of war. "It is the existence of conditions of justice and equality which eradicate the causes of war or conflict" (Pathway 26). Thus,

for the same reason - the rejection of national self-determination - their approach fails to deliver or guarantee peace.

Adams offers, primarily to the constitutional nationalists, a strategy that delivers on the promise of peace, justice, and freedom by building on the right to national independence and self-determination. "A Strategy for Irish Constitutionalists" outlines the aims, needs, and basic program for a plan which Sinn Féin proposed during the 1988 Sinn Féin/SDLP talks. This strategy, based on the party's document A Scenario for Peace, Adams felt, would be agreeable to the SDLP leadership (Pathway 64).

The primary aim of any plan to obtain peace in Ireland must be based on the premise of the right to national self-determination and the fact that Britain's partition has denied that right to the Irish people. An effort to "secure maximum national and international political and popular support for a commitment" to this stated principle is a requirement (Pathway 64).

There are two immediate needs of this strategy. First, the British government must be convinced that partition should be ended so that the Irish people can democratically choose their all-Ireland government. Second, unionists must also be persuaded that "their future lies in this context," and the British must be encouraged to help convince them. A national consensus on and commitment to ending partition by all Irish

political parties is also needed to influence the unionist community (Pathway 65).

The plan should include efforts to obtain international support and commitment through diplomatic means; support by Irish expatriates and their descendants, specifically those in the United States, Britain, and Australia; both political and popular support in Britain; influence in international forums; and the initiating of a dialogue with northern Protestants (Pathway 65). This plan must necessarily

assure [Protestants] of full commitment to their civil and religious rights and to persuade them of the need for their participation in building an Irish society based on equality and national reconciliation (Pathway 66).

As Adams has argued in other works, Republicans, by calling for the British to withdraw, do not call "for the forced banishment of those in the north who presently consider themselves to be British subjects." They are necessary for a peaceful and just nation and can contribute to the establishment of the new society and its government. A Scenario for Peace repeats this argument in its call for loyalist participation in its proposed all-Ireland Constitutional Conference:

Republicans have consistently asserted that the loyalist people in common with all other citizens, must be given firm guarantees of their religious and civil liberties and we repeat our belief that, faced with a British withdrawal and the removal of partition, a considerable body of loyalist opinion would accept the wisdom of negotiating for the type of society which would reflect their needs and interests (Pathway 91).

Finally, this proposed strategy calls for a program involving a national and international campaign to mobilize support for these principles and goals. An effort would be made to try to garner British popular support also. The "defence of democratic rights and social and economic rights" must also be an aim for national and international political action, and a democratic organizational structure should be established to oversee implementation of this program (Pathway 66).

The primary thread running through the Sinn Féin proposal to the SDLP leadership is popular support for national independence and re-unification. Adams argues that the British consider Irish re-unification a "passive political aim" because the leaderships of most nationalist parties have failed to demand it seriously (Pathway 67-68). If the leadership does not take this demand seriously, the community cannot be expected to rally in support of it. For instance, the New Ireland Forum's report, which listed three options for resolution of the Irish question, promoted Irish re-unification as the preferred solution. Yet, when then British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher dismissed all three in her famous "Out, out, out" remark, the Irish leaders who formulated the report failed to defend it, "expos[ing] the lack of substance behind the paper positions of the establishment parties in Ireland" (Pathway 67).

The Irish parties' leaderships, therefore, have thus far failed in their responsibility to place national independence

and re-unification as a top priority and provide the necessary "political guidance on how to achieve that objective" (Pathway 69). Adams calls on the leaderships to remedy this situation and achieve "maximum political unity in Ireland, based on the principle of national self-determination" by calling on the Dublin and London governments to agree publicly to talks on British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. Though it is unlikely that the British government would publicly proclaim the intention to withdraw, Adams maintains, if the Dublin government, persuaded and backed by the leaderships of the nationalists parties, were to request talks with London on withdrawal, the British government's proclaimed neutral position would be seen as a propaganda cover designed to thwart responsibility. A refusal by the British most likely would result in international support for the Irish cause (Pathway 70-71). The SDLP's rejection of this proposal, Adams asserts, "shows how little real interest the SDLP leadership have in developing a realistic strategy for re-unification" (Pathway 76). For Adams, support for armed struggle is not required either for this movement or for a nationalist. However, it is clear that dedication to the principle of national independence and self-determination is a prerequisite for nationalist leaders, and he challenges constitutional nationalists to exhibit this dedication.

It is Sinn Féin's contention that a required step toward re-unification includes an alliance of all the Irish political parties who call themselves "nationalist" and a debate among

them on the major issues involved. This proposed course is a logical extension of Adams' theory expounded in his writings of the critical need for political education for the activist and the community. Without such discussion that leads to understanding, the community cannot support fully the activists' policies. "The battle for ideas," Adams declares "is one which must be contested vigorously" (Pathway 76).

Furthermore, this community support must be developed into an all-Ireland mass movement centered on the aim of Irish national self-determination. The movement must be open and democratic, and its demands should be "social, economic and cultural as well as political" (Pathway 77). Such demands include women's rights, Irish neutrality, environmental protection, and the ending of sectarianism, discrimination, forced emigration, and, of course, British occupation (Pathway 81). Adams proposes that this movement adopt a charter, similar to the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress, that would constitute the basis for the demands and policies of the movement (Pathway 80). Though attempts to forge such a movement have failed in the past, Adams asserts that efforts must begin now and should be led by Republicans and socialists (Pathway 78).

Adams acknowledges that these proposals are not ironclad, and he welcomes debate on the issues. But there are principles upon which compromise is impossible because they are fundamental rights and necessary for a peaceful and just society.

The ending of partition, a British disengagement from Ireland and the restoration to the Irish people of the right to exercise self-sovereignty, independence and national self-determination remain the only solution to the British colonial conflict in Ireland (Pathway 89).

Though the SDLP agreed to these principles in its 1988 talks with Sinn Féin, they have yet to offer any real strategy to achieve them. On the other hand, Sinn Féin, Adams argues, has offered a non-violent strategy based on national self-determination that calls for a mass movement to bring about British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. It has called for an all-Ireland Constitutional Conference for the development of a new constitution for a united Ireland, emphasizing the need to include loyalists in the establishment of the new society and ensure their rights in it.

By presenting these proposals, and the basis upon which they were developed, Adams hopes to encourage debate. This book, like the others before it, belies the stereotype that Republicans are mindless terrorists and proves Adams and his writings worthy of serious consideration.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that Gerry Adams has played a major role in the modern Irish Republican movement, specifically in the last decade. In reality, he is a founder of a new political party because it was only in 1974 that Sinn Féin became legal in the six counties. Prior to Adams' leadership, the party totally ignored and neglected the 26 counties and left a nationalist vacuum in both North and South that was partially filled by The Workers Party in the South and the SDLP in the North. Adams' political ideas are at once new and old; he has combined all five of Cronin's strands of Irish nationalism to form a modern Irish Republicanism that will last into the 21st century.

The four books discussed in this study provide a complete foundation for analysis of Adams' political development and beliefs. Falls Memories and Cage Eleven trace his childhood and early years in the Republican movement, interpreting the history of British rule of Ireland and the partitioned statelet in which he was born. From that history and personal experience, he came to the conclusion that the British must withdraw from the six counties and that force, or the threat of force, is the only method to which Britain will respond. The civil rights movement of the late 1960s reinforced his belief that the Northern Ireland statelet was inherently unjust and could not be reformed; a united Ireland was a realistic goal that offered the only hope of ending the

conflict with justice. His experiences as a political prisoner in the British jail Long Kesh (the Maze) provided the basis upon which he would draw educational, political, and electoral lessons. Upon release, Adams' stature in the Republican movement rose as he encouraged electoral intervention, increased community support, and eloquently defended his political ideas.

The 1969/70 split in the Republican movement taught Adams that the baby should not be thrown out with the bathwater: a definite political strategy was needed to lead the movement in the modern political era and the armed struggle was only a part of that larger strategy. Both Cage Eleven and The Politics of Irish Freedom emphasize that the armed struggle, while important in the overall strategy, is clearly subordinate to the political struggle. This is a radical departure from the traditional Republican view prior to the 1960s, which saw Sinn Féin as a support organization for the I.R.A. Even the British have publicly recognized the fundamental transformation in the party. Patrick Mayhew, the British Northern Ireland Secretary, to the dismay of Unionists, stated on December 10, 1992, that the party was not "actively and primarily involved in terrorism" and should remain legal (Tendler 6). Nevertheless, the British government, bowing to Unionist pressure, continues to refuse to allow Sinn Féin to take part in any public discussions on Northern Ireland.

The Politics of Irish Freedom is Gerry Adams' most complex political work and, combined with A Pathway to Peace, portrays Adams as a broad-minded political thinker, not a stereotypical violent radical. He presents his analysis of the history of the Troubles since 1969, the role of the Republicans and the constitutional nationalists, and his vision of a solution to the conflict. Adams' emphasis on anti-sectarianism, the fundamental right of the Irish to govern themselves, and the necessity of armed struggle to bring about a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland arises directly from Tone's United Irishmen. Cultural nationalism is a central force in Adams' Republicanism, and he denies the fairly recent claim by Protestants that they are not Irish. Though the Protestant Ascendancy must be crushed in order for a just society to be born, Protestants themselves need not be.

'Brits Out' is not a call, as is often mischievously suggested, for the forced banishment of those in the north who presently consider themselves to be British subjects. On the contrary we need them because a peaceful, just and united society in Ireland must include them and because the Protestant working class are our brothers and sisters. We do not seek to exclude them (Pathway 11).

Disregarding this fact, Mayhew warned the Protestant community that Serbian-type "ethnic cleansing" of Protestants, not of Catholics as most analysts have long feared, might result if British troops were to withdraw (Tendler & Victor 1).

Gerry Adams has continued to call for informed debate and political talks. Since the Sinn Féin/SDLP talks in 1988, Adams has publicly debated the SDLP's leader, John Hume, in 1992,

and Sinn Féin recently issued a manifesto calling for peace talks with the British and all political parties involved (Gorman, "Adams" 11; London Times "Irish Peace Call" 10). Adams has declared consistently that a negotiated peace cannot come about without participation from Republicans, and he reiterated this point in his debate with Hume. An "inclusive dialogue," he argued, was necessary and demanded by his party's mandate in elections.

Sinn Féin's involvement in electoral politics has been another dramatic shift in the party's strategies. Though not new to electoral contests, Sinn Féin rarely involved itself in electoral intervention (partly because the party was banned in Northern Ireland until 1974). Adams admits that the electoral successes, most notably in the hunger strike era, "have played a major role in changing the nature of Sinn Féin" (Politics 151). Adams was also a key player in the 1986 reversal of the abstentionist policy to Leinster House. Ken Livingstone acknowledges the importance of leadership to Sinn Féin's electoral strategy:

The leadership of Sinn Féin needed a real degree of confidence to start to adopt their electoral strategy given the tradition of orthodox republicanism and the background of Sinn Féin. It was a very high risk (19).

Adams lost his West Belfast seat in Parliament (which he never took, but which provided him with greater access to the international and British media) to the SDLP candidate, Dr. Joe Hendron. Though some have claimed that his defeat proves Sinn Féin's electoral strategy has failed (London Times

"Ballot box" 3), his defeat by only 589 votes on the third attempt surely fails to offer conclusive proof, and Adams had predicted that press restrictions, such as Section 31 of the Republic's Broadcasting Act, and continued loyalist attacks on Sinn Féin workers might hurt in their electoral efforts. Furthermore, Protestants on the Shankill Road were reported to have voted tactically for the SDLP candidate in order to oust Adams. Adams vote total was 16,826, a drop of only 36 votes from his last election. A Sinn Féin spokesperson predictably declared that the SDLP had only "borrowed" the seat, and the party would win it back at the first opportunity (Gorman, "Tactical voting" 7).

Clearly, Sinn Féin has not abandoned its policy toward establishing an electoral strategy. Though the I.R.A. may indeed have stepped up its bombing campaign due to the lack of movement toward British withdrawal (and the increased attacks on Catholic citizens¹), it is unlikely that Sinn Féin will alter its electoral stance. Success in the electoral arena brings about a legitimacy for the Republican movement that the party's leadership desperately seeks. Though U.S. President Bill Clinton made a campaign pledge to allow Adams to visit the country on a fundraising tour, "a move that the British government," James Adams in the London Times declares, "has

¹Loyalist paramilitary groups, like the Ulster Volunteer Force (U.V.F.), the Ulster Defence Association (U.D.A.) and the Ulster Freedom Fighters (U.F.F.), killed more people in 1992 than the I.R.A., and they may outnumber all Republican paramilitary groups (Ford 1).

successfully opposed for years" (1), Adams' parliamentary defeat may give Clinton an excuse to back down under British and Unionist pressure, just as he did on the issue of a special envoy to Northern Ireland. Another Clinton reversal on the issue of Northern Ireland would deal a harsh blow to Sinn Féin's efforts for expanding international support, the kind of support and media attention that served the African National Congress quite well.

Gerry Adams would be the first to disagree with the statement that he is responsible for the Irish Republican movement's political maturation in the last decade. He has made great pains to eliminate the "cult of personality which exists in Irish public life" (Politics 154). His "collective leadership" is intended to take the spotlight off the political leader and place it instead on the political membership. In so doing, the party members take on more responsibility for policy decisions, become better informed and educated about the issues, and pass that knowledge on to their constituents, the nationalist community. All these efforts combine to increase popular support. Again, Ken Livingstone succinctly describes the effect of collective leadership on the movement:

If you have popular support, you don't need to shout that loudly; people will listen. It is also an awareness that things can't be achieved by individuals, and that is a lesson for us all. . . . You have got to have that popular support. I think that is clearly a lot of the thinking that has gone on in Sinn Féin over the last few years; there has been as much a change in style as in policies of the leadership. They have that confidence that wider

support creates, and confidence is a key part of political leadership (18-19).

Gerry Adams has built for the Irish Republican movement a leadership and a political party that will serve Republicans well into the next decade and beyond. Adams' political theories have irreversibly altered the direction of the movement, much like the ideas of his Republican predecessors. The four works discussed in this study belie the stereotype of Irish Republican leaders as mindless terrorists. A selection from The Politics of Irish Freedom, is included in the Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing, Vol. III (pp. 796-803), published in 1991. This inclusion of his writings confirms Gerry Adams as a serious political leader, in the same category as Padraig Pearse, James Connolly, and John Mitchel, all once considered terrorists and now recognized as great leaders of their eras.

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Appendix A

Chronology of Events

- 1170 Ireland's first invasion by Anglo forces.
- 1366 Statutes of Kilkenny, repressive acts against native Irish, enacted. They prevented intermarriage between native Irish and English, prohibited the speaking of Irish Gaelic, prohibited the colonizers from adopting any aspect of the native Irish culture, and The Pale, area around Dublin where Irish were prohibited, was established.
- 1598 - 1607
O'Neill/O'Donnell Ulster Rebellion; plantation of Ulster province begins after "Flight of Earls" out of Ireland in 1607.
- 1641 Irish uprising is defeated.
- 1690 James II defeated by William of Orange at Battle of Boyne. The Twelfth of July becomes a traditional holiday for the northern protestant community to celebrate the occasion by demonstrations and bonfires.
- 1691 Treaty of Limerick between William's forces and Patrick Sarsfield for Irish army signed; it guaranteed no discrimination or persecution of Catholics. The treaty was never enacted, and Catholicism and Presbyterianism were banned.
- 1695 First of the Penal Laws enacted. These laws, which remained in force for 40 years, discriminated against Irish Catholics and aided the seizure of Catholic-owned land.
- 1780 Grattan's Parliament established.
- 1791 United Irishmen founded by Theobald Wolfe Tone in Belfast.
- 1795 Orange Order founded during Catholic and Protestant skirmishes over land. It was revived in the 1880s to defeat Home Rule.
- 1798 United Irishmen's Uprising failed and Tone commits suicide to avoid his execution by the British.
- 1800 Westminster Parliament enacted Act of Union, establishing the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

- 1803 Robert Emmet's uprising failed.
- 1847 Beginning of Great Famine.
- 1848 Young Ireland rising crushed.
- 1867 Fenian rising failed.
- 1905 Sinn Féin founded.
- 1916 Easter Rising ended with Connolly's and Pearse's executions.
- 1918 Sinn Féin election victory in Westminster elections. Victors refused to sit at Westminster and formed the First Dáil in January 1919.
- 1919 I.R.A. founded and launched war for an Irish Republic based on the 1916 Proclamation.
- 1920 Government of Ireland act passed by Westminster.
- 1921 Truce in Black and Tan War begun in 1917.
- 1922 Second Dáil ratified the Treaty and civil war began.
- 1923 I.R.A. unilateral cease-fire ended the Civil War.
- 1926 Fianna Fáil founded by Eamon de Valera when he left Sinn Féin.
- 1939 I.R.A. began its first major bombing campaign on English soil.
- 1956 I.R.A. began the border campaign that was to last until 1962.
- 1968 Civil rights marchers in Derry attacked by the R.U.C. on October 5.
- 1969 The Falls area is invaded by loyalists and the R.U.C. The Battle of the Bogside waged and British troops were deployed in the six counties.
- 1970 Sinn Féin split into Official and Provisional wings. The Provisional I.R.A. called upon by Republican activists to defend the Catholic community.
- 1971 Northern Ireland Prime Minister Brian Faulkner introduced internment without trial.
- 1972 On January 30, 13 unarmed marchers were killed and 29 wounded by British troops on "Bloody Sunday." In March, the Stormont government fell.

- 1974 The Irish Republican Socialist Party (I.R.S.P.) formed from a split in Official Sinn Féin.
- 1976 "Criminisation" and "Ulsterisation" policies began. Peace People formed primarily by the sister of Anne Maguire, the woman who was killed when I.R.A. volunteer Danny Lennon's car crashed into her and her children after he was shot and killed by British troops.
- 1978 Glover report on I.R.A. written.
- 1980 H-Block hunger strike for political status begun in October and ended in December.
- 1981 Bobby Sands began the second hunger strike in March, was elected M.P. in a by-election in April, and died in May. Nine more prisoners died before the strike was ended in October.
- 1983 Gerry Adams elected president of Sinn Féin and won the Westminster M.P. seat for West Belfast, but refused to take it, following the abstentionist policy of the Republican movement.
- 1986 Sinn Féin ended abstentionist policy toward Leinster House, Dublin's parliament.
- 1988 Secret Sinn Féin/SDLP talks held.
- 1992 Adams is defeated by the SDLP candidate for his Westminster seat by 582 votes. Loyalist paramilitaries increased attacks on Catholic citizens and Sinn Féin and SDLP candidates, killing more people in the year than the I.R.A. killed.
- 1993 I.R.A. steps up its bombing campaign in England. Peace Initiative '93 is formed in response to death of an English child by an I.R.A. bomb in Warrington. Sinn Féin predicts its failure due to its one-sided condemnation of violence by the I.R.A.

Appendix B

Glossary

B Specials: A part-time branch of the Ulster Special Constabulary. The A, B, and C Specials were established at the time of partition. The B Specials were the last unit to be disbanded, and they were replaced by the Ulster Defence Regiment (U.D.R.).

Dáil Eireann: The first Dáil Eireann, or parliament of Ireland, was set up in January 1919 by the Sinn Féin candidates who won in the 1918 Westminster general election. The Second Dáil was established by the May 1921 parliamentary election held under the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act (1920). Sinn Féin won 124 of 128 seats in the Dublin parliament, while the Unionist Party won 40 of 52 seats in the North's parliament (Kelley 42).

James Connolly: Socialist leader who founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party in 1896, he was a labor activist and took part in the 1916 Rising and shot on May 12 1916 for his leadership of it.

Easter 1916 Rising: Led by James Connolly and Padraig Pearse, this rising took place on Easter Monday, 1916. The Proclamation was read at the General Post Office in Dublin, and its leaders and their followers in the Irish Citizen Army and Irish Volunteers fought for a week. All seven leaders of the rising were executed by the British.

Fianna Fáil: Founded by Eamon de Valera in 1926, this party continues to remain one of the two main parties in the 26 counties. Its name means "Soldiers of Destiny."

Irish Parliamentary Party (I.P.P.): Main party promoting Home Rule in the 19th century, the party's most famous leaders were Charles Stuart Parnell and John Redmond.

Irish Republican Brotherhood (I.R.B.): First known as the Fenians, this secret organization had as its aim national independence. It became known as the I.R.B. in 1873 and is credited with planning the Easter 1916 Rising.

John Mitchel: One of the founders of the Young Ireland movement that led the 1848 Rising.

New Ireland Forum: The government of the Irish Republic in 1983 called together all constitutional nationalist parties, excluding Sinn Féin, to gather together and consider methods for reunification. Its report, issued in 1984, promoted three possible solutions: a unitary state, a thirty-two county

Ireland, and a federal or confederal arrangement. The Forum's preference was a thirty-two county Ireland. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher dismissed all three options in her infamous "Out! Out! Out!" remark in 1984.

Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA): Founded in 1967 by the Campaign for Social Justice, Republicans, and other groups, the organization is most noted for its role in the non-violent Northern Ireland civil rights movement of the late 1960s.

Orange Order: Formed in 1795 during the Catholic and Protestant land skirmishes, no Catholic nor anyone with a close relative who is Catholic may be a member of the organization. In the 1880s it was revived to defeat Home Rule. The Unionist Party was formed from the Orange Order.

Ian Paisley: Loyalist minister who founded the Free Presbyterian Church in 1951, he is an active Unionist politician in the six counties and has been M.P. for North Antrim since 1970. He founded the Democratic Unionist Party in 1971.

Padraig (Patrick) Pearse: Writer of the 1916 Proclamation, he was executed for his leadership of the Rising. He was President of the Provisional Government that was set up by the leaders of the Rising.

Royal Ulster Constabulary (R.U.C.): The R.U.C. was modeled after the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.), the police force of Ireland until 1922. The R.U.C. became the police force for Northern Ireland after partition. Half of its members were R.I.C. members, while the other half were originally Ulster Volunteer Force (U.V.F.) members that became the Special Constabulary. The U.V.F. was a Unionist paramilitary group founded in 1913 to fight against Home Rule, and was revived in 1966 by a loyalist paramilitary organization. Though originally designed to have a composition of two-thirds Protestants and one-third Catholics, the R.U.C. is about 90 percent Protestant (Farrell 54, 359). The R.U.C. has been blamed for participation in repression of the nationalist community in the six counties since its creation.

Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP): Headed by John Hume, the party calling itself constitutional nationalist opposes the armed struggle. Established in 1970, the SDLP draws its support from the Catholic middle class in the six counties.

Special Powers Act (1922): Fully titled the Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act, this act authorized the Minister of Home Affairs and the R.U.C. to arrest without warrant, imprison without charge, suspend Habeas Corpus, conduct warrant-less searches and seizures, declare curfews, prohibit meetings and

assemblies, deny a trial by jury, arrest and forcibly detain suspicious persons, and deny inquests, as well granting a few other powers. The South African Minister for Justice said in 1963 that he "would be willing to exchange all the legislation of that sort [Coercion Acts] for one clause of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act" (Politics 22).

Ulster Defence Regiment (U.D.R.): Established in 1970, this well-armed part-time police force replaced the B Specials and consists mostly of Protestants, many of whom are involved in Loyalist paramilitary groups.

Ulster Freedom Fighters (U.F.F.): A loyalist paramilitary group that targets Catholics and nationalist politicians for assassination, the group was reportedly founded in 1973.

Ulster Volunteer Force (U.V.F.): A loyalist paramilitary organization established first in 1913 to resist Home Rule, it ended in 1923 after the Civil War. In 1966 it was revived by a loyalist sectarian paramilitary group that continues to target Catholics.

Unionism: Unionism, according to Sean Cronin, "is a negative concept - a defensive mechanism to maintain the *status quo*. It exists to defend the union with Britain" (34). It began as an effort to defeat the Home Rule movement in 1886, and used the motto "Home Rule is Rome Rule" to garner support from the Protestant community. The terms *Unionist* and *Loyalist* broadly refer to an individual who desires to maintain the union with Britain, though a loyalist may not belong to a specific Unionist party.

Appendix C

Proclamation of the Irish Republic Easter Monday, 1916

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional

Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Singed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARK,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.