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Beyond the "republican family": intergenerational memory, biography, and politics in Ireland since 1969

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ABSTRACT

Signalling the longevity of their struggle, Irish republicans active since 1969 frequently highlight family connections among previous generations of militant activists. First, this article interrogates how activists *without* republican lineage narrate their mobilisation and position themselves within the movement. Republicans without familial access to the movement, it is argued, frame their own commitment as uniquely independent, intense, and reflective. The article's second section examines the contentious, metaphorical formulation of "family" within Irish republicanism since the peace process of the 1990s. To maintain internal unity amid strategic reorientation, the Provisional movement leadership invoked a "republican family" within which misgivings and dissent could be contained and overcome. Conversely, Sinn Féin's republican critics rejected the Provisionals' attempts to delimit the "family." Simultaneously, senior Sinn Féin representatives strategically warned the London and Dublin governments of the volatility of the "family": sustaining the peace process, they claimed, required state actors to accommodate an enduringly truculent republican rank-and-file. Drawing upon republican oral histories and written autobiography, this article elucidates how republican families – both literal and metaphorical – have alternately cohered and stabilised the movement. It illuminates a continual contest for intergenerational political legitimacy, and for the right to determine the principles and programme of the republican "family."

KEYWORDS

Irish republicanism; family; activism; strategy; compromise; intergenerational memory

Introduction

Since the Provisional IRA ceasefire of 1997, publications addressing a wide range of audiences have employed oral histories and personal testimonies to illuminate Irish republicanism in the Northern Ireland conflict.[1] After three decades of war, the peace accords of 1998 drastically reduced the level of violence and represented a significant milestone in the transformation of the dominant section of Irish republicanism: the Provisional movement.[2] Before and after the IRA ceasefires of 1994 and 1997, the Provisionals reoriented their strategy towards constitutional politics. The ebb and flow of the peace process since the 1990s remains subject to considerable intra-republican discussion. Individual republican accounts have been formed and framed amid disagreements and divisions. Republican testimonies consequently participate in what Graham

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Dawson has termed a "war over memory"[3]: individual narratives of past activism connect implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, to present-day perspectives on the peace process and broader tactical and strategic shifts within Irish republicanism.[4] The social processes by which individual accounts chart intra-movement debate recall Dawson's valuable concept of "subjective composure." For Dawson, individual narratives appeal to particular, contingent contexts, and bolster a sustainable, stable sense of self.[5] Dawson's application of "narrative imagining" especially concerned traumatic memory, but his concept offers an equally propitious lens for analysing how individuals remember contentious politics and activism more broadly.

In complex, multi-organisational social movement fields such as Irish republicanism, activist itineraries partake in intra-movement contestation for legitimacy and recognition. Analysing republican biographical narratives, Stephen Hopkins identified an activist profile *par excellence*, typified by longstanding Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams. According to Hopkins, Adams's several autobiographical books and innumerable interviews curated an "exemplary" Provisional republican life. Hopkins delineated three salient features: Adams subsumed individual activism within "heroic collective resistance" in a west Belfast community; situated the Provisional IRA campaign as the inevitable response to an irreformable state; and represented the peace process as a consensual movement which increased the eventual likelihood of Irish unity.[6] Adams's autobiography portrayed a popular, internally harmonious Provisional movement continually reshaping and responding to shifting political zeitgeists in the decades following 1970. Throughout, the argument ran, the movement had honoured supposedly timeless republican objectives and principles.

Family background was similarly integral to Adams's autobiography, underpinning his credentials as a legitimate and staunch republican. For Adams, as for so many others, republican heritage indelibly informed political awakening. Both of Adams's parents came from republican families. His grandfather had been active during the War of Independence, and two uncles were interned. Across a substantial autobiographical oeuvre, the former Sinn Féin leader alluded to a family tradition which Hopkins memorably evoked:

> It seems uncontroversial that Adams had absorbed a republican culture in the bosom of his family … There was no conversion to the "good old cause", no epiphany or awakening; instead, he was effectively confirmed in a familial belief system.[7]

Many of the thousands of Irish republicans active in the Northern Ireland conflict from 1969 could similarly point to republican family backgrounds. Across the vast literature on Irish republican mobilisation narratives, the significance of family connections has been a persistent but secondary theme, seldom scrutinised in isolation. Writing in 2017, Robert White and Tijen Demirel-Pegg posited that kinship ties were a crucial factor shaping republicans' allegiance within heterogeneous organisations.[8] Family histories of republican activism featured frequently in White's longitudinal oral history interviews between the 1980s and 2000s. Among White's mid-1980s interview cohort, all but one who reported a republican family background remained politically active when a third set of interviews were recorded in 2005.[9]

The significance of family connections in republican communities is not merely a retrospective assertion. When conflict re-emerged in 1969, militant Irish republicanism was very much a minority tradition in Northern Ireland, subscribed to and supported by

a handful of dedicated individuals and families. Families were the core incubators of the republican tradition and had carried that responsibility often for several generations, sometimes with little external support from the leadership of the movement. In north Belfast's Ardoyne district, for example, all nine members of the McGuigan family were associated with either the Provisional or Official republican movement in the early 1970s (*New York Times*, 11 June 1972).

As Bill Rolston's trailblazing book demonstrated, oral history interviewees' memories of family in contentious politics are sensitive and emotionally charged. Rolston's work with the children of political and paramilitary activists suggested that memories of family in Ireland were particularly fraught.[10] The case of IRA prisoner Frank Stagg demonstrates the power of belonging and familial legacy. Stagg died on hunger strike in Wakefield Prison in February 1976 and his return for burial in his native County Mayo catalysed controversy in Ireland. State authorities determined that contrary to Stagg's own last wishes, he would be buried in a private family grave rather than the republican plot. Ostensibly this diktat was in keeping with the majority of the Stagg family's wishes. But it was also intended to prevented republicans from staging a propagandistic show of strength at the funeral.

To prevent republicans from re-interring Stagg, the family grave was first guarded by police and later reinforced with concrete. Yet republicans tunnelled under the concrete, removed Stagg's coffin, and re-buried it in the nearby republican plot.[11] These dramatic and bitter events revealed not only republicans' determination to honour their dead comrade's wishes, but also to give precedence to the republican fraternity over the biological family. On the occasion of republican activists' deaths, it has long been commonplace for the republican movement and the bereaved families to dispute the funeral obsequies.[12]

Republicans do not have a monopoly on asserting political lineage. On the contrary, several Irish political movements in the twentieth century involved inherited or received traditions and loyalties. As Johnny Fallon has noted, "families with political traditions are not unique to Ireland, but the system of parliamentary democracy and multi-seat constituencies does lend itself to quite a proliferation of them."[13] The tradition of daughters and sons following their relatives into Irish party politics was a consistent feature of twentieth-century Ireland. Especially in Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, party-political descendants of the Civil War of 1922 and 1923, political dynasties remain entrenched. Of the 164 *Teachta Dálaí* in office in 2010, approximately one-quarter could name relatives who had been elected representatives (*Irish Times*, 6 January 2011).

Drawing upon original republican oral histories and written autobiographical testimonies,[14] this article probes synergies and tensions between the family unit and the republican movement. Family backgrounds are a salient repository for Irish republicans asserting the continuity and historical legitimacy of their activism. The first section of this article explores how activists without a republican lineage narrate their mobilisation and position themselves within the movement. Examining case-studies, it argues that activists without familial connections assert a uniquely independent, critical politicisation.

Second, I examine the metaphorical formulation of "family" in the republican movement since the peace process of the 1990s. The Provisional movement invoked a "republican family" to cohere the organisation during intra-republican debates around strategic reorientation – especially since the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. Imbuing kinship with timeless, inclusive, and integratory qualities, Sinn Féin leaders portrayed

a galvanised political unit. Scrutinising how dissenting republicans have challenged the "republican family" as an artificially broad body headed by a strategically unsound leadership, the article yields insights into the implications of intergenerational memory for complex and contentious movements.

Part 1: Republican subjectivities outside a "republican family"

Republican lineage generally commands value in Irish society given its connection to the national story and the struggle that created the Irish Free State in 1922.[15] Traditionally, family histories of republicanism carried kudos within and beyond the republican movement. Lineage became especially weaponised in memories of the movement's split over the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the Civil War. Throughout the twentieth century, families on both sides of the republican divide in 1921 doggedly pursued legitimist claims on the revolutionary period.

Such contested memories were especially significant after conflict resurfaced in Northern Ireland in 1969. In the south, repeated attempts to disassociate the violence in the north from Ireland's older revolutionary nationalism were a common feature of public discourse. In academe, "revisionists" such as Robert Dudley Edwards and T. W. Moody repudiated the perceived dogma and reductionism of Irish republican historiography.[16] In government, successive Dublin administrations distinguished sharply between, on the one hand, the heroic rebels of 1916 and the "old IRA" of the War of Independence, and, on the other, the "terrorists" of the Provisional IRA. As Brian Hanley has noted, school textbook primers on Irish history emphasised this supposed contrast.[17]

Many northern republican families had histories of involvement extending back to the early twentieth century's "revolutionary decade." Testimonies and mobilisation narratives among republicans active since 1969 often begin by describing a republican family background. Implying continuity and steadfast commitment, these narrative patterns orient the subject in the historical tradition. Yet republican family histories have also burdened some activists who are at pains to assert their own autonomy. Their accounts counteract any suggestion that republicans from 1969 automatically and unthinkingly followed their forebears.

Asserting generational specificity has been particularly imperative for Provisionals active in 1969, when their movement reputedly emerged "from the ashes" of a supposedly moribund IRA. Imputing cohesion upon their parents' generation and their own, early Provisionals accentuate distinctions between their younger selves and the previous generation. These formulae recall Karl Mannheim's conception of a "political generation." For Mannheim, those who identified with a "political generation" imagined that those of a comparable age shared identities and understandings of historical processes.[18] Lest mobilisation in a republican family appear mundanely routine or unthinking, narratives often evoke a revolutionary zeitgeist in their own particular generational unit.

Correspondingly, memories of republican insurrection in the late 1960s and early 1970s frequently qualify the importance of family backgrounds. Far from uncritically lionising previous generations, founding Provisionals often portray pre-1969 republicanism as romantic and largely ineffective. For Stephen Hopkins, younger Catholics in Northern Ireland in the 1960s identified themselves as a distinct generational unit.[19] Lest their own

activism be attributed to nostalgia or unthinking impulse, veteran Provisionals often situate their own mobilisation in the objective realities of Belfast and Derry during the escalating crisis of 1969.

Prominent Belfast republican Danny Morrison, born in 1953, had significant family links to earlier phases of the struggle. However, Morrison's testimony accentuated the chronological specificity of his own mobilisation. This narrative implied a novelty and dynamism to republicanism from the 1970s, as distinct from the frustrated campaigns of previous decades. Morrison rooted his involvement less in inheritance than in lived experience of the escalating crisis of the late 1960s: "I would say the politics came from the street, from talking to my coevals and from listening to stuff . . . To me, politics started when I moved to the Falls Road" (Danny Morrison interview with Máirtín Ó Catháin, 18 December 2014).

Whether beneficial or burdensome to republican mobilisation narratives, family credentials were not available to every member of a republican movement which enjoyed the active support of thousands, and the ancillary and tacit support of thousands more. Close attention to notable case-studies illuminates how republicans without militant lineage attested their own political agency and independence.

Interviewed for Kevin Bean's and Mark Hayes's *Republican Voices* (2000), Tommy Gorman, who was born in Belfast in 1945, remembered his family being "basically apolitical."[20] In starker contrast still from Gorman's subsequent republicanism, one brother was a Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) officer until early 1972 while another had served in the British Army.[21] The Divis Street riots of September 1964 formed Gorman's earliest political recollection. Gorman remembered being attacked by an RUC baton in the disorder which followed the police removing the Irish tricolour from Sinn Féin's headquarters. Yet this visceral experience did not immediately prompt his movement towards republicanism. Rather, Gorman's accounts delineate an unfolding interest in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) through the 1960s.

Reflecting three decades later, Gorman presented his decision to join the Provisional IRA in February 1970 as the outcome of an independent, conscious process detached from familial influences or expectations. His progression to republicanism by the age of 24 was much more protracted than, for example, that of Gerry Adams, the son of a former IRA leader. In his testimony, Gorman charted the path between his first adolescent experiences of state repression and his arrival in the nascent Provisional movement. Far from inhibiting his narrative, the absence of familial republicanism enabled Gorman to assert the seriousness and reflectiveness of his thinking before and during mobilisation. That Gorman diverged from his relatives' precedent confirmed his ideological conviction. By the time of his interview, Gorman had served 13 years in prison for republican activities. Studied engagement with alternative political protests in the late 1960s preceded his conclusion that only armed resistance to British rule would suffice. In Gorman's testimony, the absence of a republican family tradition left a space for subjective critical credentials and an exhaustive political analysis.

For republicans without a family background in the movement, retrospectives imply the historical imperative of mobilisation. Angela Nelson's grandfather was a Protestant from the predominantly unionist town of Lisburn, County Antrim: her family had no republican ties. Nelson joined the Provisional IRA in the early 1970s and was later incarcerated. During an extensive Prisons Memory Archive "walking oral history" interview at the former HMP Maze/Long Kesh prison in the early 2010s, Nelson juxtaposed her

family background against her own militancy. Highlighting her family's moderate politics, Nelson accentuated the urgency of the circumstances which propelled her towards joining the Provisional IRA in 1972.

Nelson's retrospective asserted that republicanism was neither a default position nor an automatic impulse in the family home. Correspondingly, her own decision to join the Provisional IRA amplified the degree of subjugation she remembered among Northern Ireland's minority community. Unlike Gorman, Nelson recalled an immediate reaction to British soldiers invading her family home and interning and beating her brother. Nelson was at pains to stress the singularity of her focus on joining the Provisional IRA:

> I knew that day that I would resist British occupation of Ireland. I can say that I joined the republican movement not for any romantic notion of a united Ireland but to protect my people from the brutality from the British Army and the B Specials.[22]

Although without republican family, Nelson did not develop political consciousness in isolation; on the contrary, witnessing relatives' suffering stimulated her decision to take up arms. Yet the absence of a guiding political influence in the family enabled Nelson unsentimentally to recall her politicisation in the early 1970s as inchoate: ideas of "Patrick Pearse or a thirty-two county socialist republic" were unfamiliar: My republicanism didn't develop until I had come into jail. During that time I was an idealist. I just couldn't accept the injustices being done to my people.[23] Exempted from narrating childhood politicisation in familiar terms of a "staunch republican" family, Nelson could admit the instinctive, rudimentary quality of her ideas when she joined the Provisionals.

Former hunger striker Laurence McKeown has framed his trajectory towards the Provisional IRA in similar terms. In a life history interview at an academic conference in 2016, and subsequently published, McKeown reflected, inter alia, on his upbringing and mobilisation. Born in Randalstown, County Antrim, in 1956, McKeown juxtaposed his home environment – "my family wasn't political in any way. They didn't get involved in politics outside" – and the origins of his republicanism. Recalling his father becoming "very excited" while watching news coverage of the late 1960s civil rights protests, McKeown charted his own gradual politicisation to "finally" joining the Provisional IRA in the early 1970s.[24]

Like Gorman, McKeown's narrative spanned several years: recruitment into republican ranks was neither inevitable nor straightforward. Without a familial republican tradition, McKeown's analysis of the escalating crisis drew upon influences outside the home over several years: "I started to become more interested in the debates on television and then people who I had been at school with, who were maybe two or three years older than me, were being imprisoned." Like Nelson, McKeown could identify a "turning point" in his politicisation – specially, experiencing the hostility of local members of the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR):

> There were really two communities . . . It was about one having the power, as in the rifle and the uniform, to wave on the streets and stop me and basically do as they wish as they then did; you could be held for several hours, you could be arrested and taken to the barracks, you could be kicked over a hedge and *at this time I wasn't involved in anything*.[25]

McKeown's recollection of historical grievances with the UDR and what it represented is strikingly intense. That this hostile treatment came from soldiers he knew socially, and with whom he had once played football, amplified the shock. In the absence of republican

relatives, McKeown delineated a narrative of political naiveté dispelled at the barrel of the authorities' gun. That McKeown experienced discrimination even without being "involved in anything" attested the injustice of the northern state and impelled his republican politicisation.

Unusual family backgrounds have long enabled individual republicans to stress the alterity of their pathway and to position themselves critically within the movement. A civil engineering graduate from County Mayo, Mary McGing rose to a position of considerable influence in the middle-ranks of Sinn Féin by the mid-1980s. In an extended interview with Provisional magazine *Iris* in 1984, McGing declared herself the descendant of a Fine Gael family and a "total newcomer" to republicanism. This narrative afforded McGing greater scope to scrutinise critically the movement's orthodoxies than might otherwise have been the case (*Iris: The Republican Magazine*, August 1984).

The diachronic sophistication of McGing's testimony in 1984 illuminated a reflective political analysis. The County Mayo Sinn Féin organiser admitted she had "very little interest in politics" while at university in Galway, and chastised herself for "rather naively" undertaking voluntary work in the developing world several years earlier. Situating republicanism in an international framework, McGing presented her journey towards Sinn Féin as the product of hard experience:

> It was only later I realised that much of this type of voluntary work – however well-intentioned – is in fact paving the way for increased exploitation by multinationals … I realised that only through a *revolutionary* struggle of people to achieve the power to correct their evils and shortcomings in their society … could real progress be made.

Similarly, by declaring her family's Fine Gael allegiance, McGing framed a mobilisation narrative which entailed overcoming adversity within the Provisional movement. Remembering how she "initially … felt there was a certain resentment" within the movement, McGing implied that she had proved herself to her comrades before advancing to join Sinn Féin's national executive, or *ard comhairle*, in 1983: "Before long, though, I established a good working relationship with those I was working with." Having overcome initial obstacles, McGing determined to introduce a new internal education programme to reinvigorate republicanism in the rural west.

McGing's unorthodox route to republicanism empowered her to question conventional wisdom within the movement, and to advance a more overtly feminist agenda on divorce and bodily autonomy than was commonplace in Sinn Féin (*Iris Bheag*, September 1988; *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 8 November 1984).[26] As a party candidate in the Connaught/Ulster constituency in the European elections of 1984, McGing's campaign combined traditional republicanism in rural western Ireland with a radical social position. McGing echoed familiar Provisional Euroscepticism and support for the agricultural and fishing industries in rural County Galway (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 24 May 1984), while also stridently criticising the Catholic Church's political influence in the Ireland and attending feminist meetings in Sligo to demand women's bodily autonomy (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 31 May 1984). McGing challenged the folksy, conservative nationalism sometimes associated with southern republicanism:

> The campaign impressed deeply on me the overriding importance of **credibility**. Romantic nationalism no longer appeals to the electorate, especially women (*Iris: The Republican Magazine*, August 1984).

In more extreme disjunctures between republicans' activism and their early life and background, militants invoked the contrast to attest individual ideological conviction. Born into a wealthy English family in Devon, Rose Dugdale was an Oxford graduate with a PhD from the University of London. Dugdale attended civil rights protests in Northern Ireland after 1968, and in June 1974 was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment for her activities as a member of the Provisional IRA. After her release in 1980, Dugdale remained a prominent Sinn Féin activist, co-running with Jim Monaghan the party's Education Department from 1985. Neither Dugdale nor Monaghan have been close to leadership positions since the late 1980s, but neither have publicly castigated the movement or repudiated its strategic reorientation. To a degree, Dugdale's unusual background has underpinned her own sense of exceptionalism within the movement. Dugdale's rare public statements, coupled with comrades' occasional reminiscences, implicitly remark upon the nature of the movement in general. Interviewed in 2011, Dugdale admitted that some comrades would have considered her "an oddball and a maverick . . . I wasn't the 'typical' republican" (*An Phoblacht*, 9 September 2011).

Dugdale's remarkable trajectory and defiance – on trial in 1974, Dugdale declared herself "proudly and incorruptibly guilty" (*Irish Independent*, 2 May 2014) – has supported an image of intellectual restlessness. Interviewed in 2015, Jim Monaghan recalled working with Dugdale in Sinn Féin's Education Department in the late 1980s. Monaghan portrayed his comrade as a waspish revolutionary uneasy with the party's centralised authority. Monaghan remembered touring Ireland through the late 1980s coordinating events with party branches (*cumainn*). Writing for an internal Provisional discussion journal in 1989, Dugdale proposed modifications to the party's structure, urging activists to increase engagement "in broad front campaigns" locally through grassroots Sinn Féin *cumainn* to "tie in with the party" (*Iris Bheag*, December 1989). Dugdale and Monaghan produced two publications whose memory is especially contested: *Iris Bheag* (1987–1990) and *Questions of history* (1987).[27] Monaghan recalled that these written accounts of republican historiography and discussion caused "ructions" within the movement and Monaghan and Dugdale "came a cropper . . . We were probably a bit more idealistic, but maybe not so practical" (*An Phoblacht*, November 2015).

Past criticisms of the movement's organisational development aside, Dugdale has broadly endorsed Gerry Adams and his supporters throughout the peace process. For Dugdale, the Provisionals' turn to constitutionalism ultimately represents a step towards Irish unity:

> The IRA had achieved its principal aim which was to get your enemy to negotiate with you. They did that with amazing skill and ability and I can't help but respect what was done in terms of the Good Friday Agreement (*An Phoblacht*, 9 September 2011).

Interviewed in 2015, Monaghan was similarly upbeat, albeit not without reservation:

> In one sense, progress has been desperately slow, but on the other hand the difference between the situation in the 1970s and where we are today is extraordinary . . . To have gotten to where we are today is an amazing achievement (*An Phoblacht*, November 2015).

Dugdale's family background is further removed from republican lineage even than those of her 1970s contemporaries, such as Gorman, McKeown, and Nelson. Dugdale also differs inasmuch as media commentators have consciously juxtaposed her upbringing and her

subsequent trajectory. Perhaps consequently, she seldom speaks publicly and has not produced a memoir. Dugdale has refuted attempts to contrast her background and her politics, rebuking an RTÉ radio interviewer in 2012: "I think we should go easy on the heiress stuff" (*Belfast Telegraph*, 6 January 2012). Instead, Dugdale has stressed continuities in her remarkable life, focusing not on the contrast between her childhood and adult life, but on the unifying themes of her activism across several decades. In a rare television interview for Irish-language broadcaster TG4's *Mná an IRA* (2012), Dugdale defined herself not by her background, but by her own decisions since 1968: "I still haven't changed my mind on the things that I came to realise in the early years when I was dealing with student revolution."[28] Inverting the media's narrative, Dugdale optimistically asserted the universality of her political outlook:

> I mean I think fundamentally even if my answers are very trite and very sloganistic, at the same time the essence is there that all of us have to work to bring down capitalism and it is about how to do that, how to build such a movement . . . I do believe it's definitely possible.[29]

The absence of republican family ties enabled activists retrospectively to narrate their mobilisation as the product of critical, reflective politicisation. Republicans with unorthodox backgrounds could accentuate their acuity regarding republicanism's complex internal ecology, tactics, and strategy.

Part 2: The potentials and limitations of the metaphorical "republican family" in transformation

As we have seen, the concept of family constitutes an important bedrock of modern Irish republicanism. "Republican family" also had a metaphorical dimension. The Provisionals' strategic reorientation from the late 1980s prompted Gerry Adams and his supporters to coin the figurative "republican family" – sometimes articulated more capaciously still as the "nationalist people" (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 2 January 1992). These formulations projected a cohesive republican movement during controversial tactical and strategic modifications. In November 1986, Sinn Féin's *ard fheis* (annual conference) voted to drop the party's longstanding abstentionism in the Dublin parliament, Leinster House. As discussions at successive party *ard fheiseanna* revealed, many of abstentionism's defenders regarded the policy as an immutable principle, and not a mere tactic. Immediately after the *ard fheis* vote in November 1986, more than 100 members of the Provisional republican movement resigned in protest and organised around erstwhile Provisional leader Ruairí Ó Brádaigh as Republican Sinn Féin. Reflecting on the historic *ard fheis* and subsequent split, Donegal republican Liam McElhinney, who had comrades on both sides of the argument, lamented the "disagreement among friends within the republican family" (*Derry People & Donegal News*, 8 November 1986).

Sinn Féin's turn to electoralism from the 1980s transformed the "republican family" from a rhetorical aspiration to a political imperative. Seeking to expand electoral support beyond republicanism's traditional base, Sinn Féin representatives increasingly projected themselves as representatives of a "nationalist community" en masse. Standing in the European Parliament election of 1984, the party's Director of Publicity, Danny Morrison, envisioned the day when Sinn Féin could "command majority support within the Nationalist community" (*An Reabhloid: Journal of Peoples Democracy*, June 1984). The following year,

a republican-backed group campaigning against "supergrass" trials – after more than 20 informers had incriminated republican activists – appealed to liberal opinion and "concerned individuals from the nationalist community."[30] The term's virtue lay in its ambiguity, of course. But it can perhaps best be understood as a bridge between traditional republican sympathisers and more moderate nationalists who might not necessarily have endorsed the Provisional IRA's armed struggle, but shared grievances with the status quo and could support Sinn Féin's social, economic, and cultural alternatives.

For the ascendant leadership of Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness, defining a republican "family" was vital when renegotiating the movement's boundaries and strategies. Marshalling the movement's constituency was especially important when Sinn Féin entered historic talks with the moderate nationalists of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) from 1988. Republicans strategists who had formerly castigated the "Stoop Down Low Party" as bourgeois reformists or "castle Catholics" now explored the possibility of a grand alliance.[31] When Adams met SDLP leader John Hume in May 1988, the Sinn Féin president presented the *ard comhairle*'s hopes for a "pan-nationalist consensus on Irish reunification."[32]

However, Adams's overtures to constitutional nationalism were not universally popular within the Provisional movement. For some militants, the Adams-Hume talks portended at best nebulous rhetoric, and at worst disastrous strategic compromise. When Sinn Féin's *ard fheis* of 1988 endorsed "pan-nationalist" alliances, traditionalists and leftists alike warned that a broad front approach risked compromise and ideological incoherence. For Republican Sinn Féin's leaders, pan-nationalism was a sophism propagated by the Provisionals' "ruthless dealers" (*Saoirse*, June 1988). For Tommy McKearney, who had formed an independent left-wing republican network in Long Kesh in 1986, a broad front including Hume and Fianna Fáil Taoiseach Charles Haughey – "working to trade away what little self-determination the Irish people retain" – would result in the "cul-de-sac of ghetto nationalism" (*Congress '86*, Winter 1988). By the early 1990s, dissenters within the movement were becoming increasingly vocal. At Sinn Féin *ard fheiseanna* in 1990 and 1991, party branches in Belfast, Cork, and Dublin conveyed their misgivings.[33] Writing in an internal discussion journal, Sinn Féin's Education Officer in Derry City, Tony Doherty, absolute opposition to the "anti-nationalist ethos … espoused by Hume, Haughey, etc." was fundamental for republicans, for whom the SDLP represented an "arch-enemy" (*Iris Bheag*, December 1990).

Cognisant of the fissiparous potential of strategic reorientation, Adams and the party's strategists asserted the strengths of a movement whose breadth exceeded republicanism's traditional confines. When Sinn Féin's policy document *Towards a lasting peace* (1992) demanded "meaningful talks" and "inclusive dialogue" with state actors, movement unity became increasingly imperative. Interviewed in Sinn Féin's weekly newspaper in October 1992, Adams declared that cross-party and intergovernmental negotiations would test republicans' loyalty to the new strategy. Addressing the movement en masse, Adams implored activists to ignore "establishment media" portrayals of intra-republican "weakness and division" and instead to unite as "republicans, including POWs and their families" alongside "the wider republican family and other anti-imperialists and nationalists" (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 15 October 1992). This capacious formulation conveniently implied an inclusive definition of the Provisionals' ranks, political and military wings alike, alongside grassroots sympathisers.

The Provisional leadership's engagement with peace initiatives and constitutionalism from the peace process of the 1990s catalysed considerable intra-republican debate. From December 1993, republicans discussed the British and Irish governments' Downing Street Declaration. The Declaration's emphasis upon the principle of unionist consent was highly controversial within the Provisional movement, contradicting the traditional republican tenet of all-Ireland self-determination. In republican strongholds of west Belfast, Sinn Féin coordinated public meetings to forge a consensual response. Gerry Adams bullishly asserted that there would be no split in the "republican family" (*Guardian*, 28 January 1994).

The intimacy and equality which was supposed to define the figurative "family" was apt to counter any charge that the negotiations were the business of an elite cabal aloof from the movement's rank-and-file. Within days of the Downing Street Declaration, leading Adams supporters in Sinn Féin, including Tom Hartley and *ard comhairle* representative Jim Gibney, attended a 60-strong internal "republican family" meeting in the traditional stronghold of Carrickmore, County Tyrone, where the senior activists fielded questions from the local grassroots (*Ulster Herald*, 18 December 1993). The language of "family" promoted a broad front in which a range of strategic perspectives could be openly and honestly discussed without compromising the movement's essential integrity.

Through the 1990s, and especially at moments of acute tension in the peace process, "family" was both a literal marker of kinship and a metaphorical expression of allegiance in intra-republican debate. In November 1997, approximately thirty Provisionals in County Louth resigned from the movement, ostensibly in protest at a lack of internal discussion of the Mitchell Principles. Sinn Féin had pragmatically acquiesced in the Principles, which officially committed signatories to exclusively constitutional politics. Analysts close to republican networks in the border county claimed the schism's lines of fracture corresponded broadly to family loyalties (*Observer*, 9 November 1997).

Adams's conceptual "republican family" became subject to considerable criticism, especially among dissenters and leftists who scorned the Provisionals' perceived compromises. Lambasting the republican engagement with the peace process in 1998, radical republicans Joe Craig, John McAnulty, and Paul Flannigan derided the "nationalist family" as an indeterminate invention of the Provisional movement. For Craig, McAnulty, and Flannigan, Sinn Féin's inclusive language belied the political reality: "diplomacy" could not achieve "fundamental change" where the Provisional IRA had "failed."[34]

For some republicans – including those with intense and literal familial ties to the movement – Sinn Féin's "republican family" has become a coercive instrument absorbing incipient misgivings within the movement and marginalising dissent. Niall Farrell's sister Mairéad was a prominent Provisional IRA volunteer killed by the SAS in Gibraltar in 1988. Farrell has complained of feeling "forcibly adopted into this 'family'" (thepensivequill.am/2015/03/on-another-womans-wound.html, accessed 16 March 2015). Farrell's testimony highlights the tensions within Sinn Féin's outwardly consensual commemorative practices.

The party's efforts to incorporate the memory of the IRA's fallen volunteers into Sinn Féin's contemporary trajectory are problematic. Relatives of deceased republicans have evoked disjuncture between past militancy and contemporary constitutionalism. Bernadette Sands McKevitt, whose brother Bobby was the first IRA hunger striker to die in 1981, juxtaposed her brother's objectives and Sinn Féin's role in the peace

process. Speaking as vice-chair of the new "dissident" republican 32-County Sovereignty Committee in 1998, Sands McKevitt insisted: "Bobby did not die for cross-border bodies with executive powers. He did not die for nationalists to be equal British citizens within the Northern Ireland state" (*Irish Times*. 8 January 1998). The rancour which attended intra-republican debates during the peace process indicated the converse of Sinn Féin's kinship metaphor: even families are not immune to permanent schisms and intractable division.

The party's language of "pan-nationalism" and an all-embracing "nationalist community" in the 1980s foregrounded the 1990s rhetoric of the "republican family." For Sinn Féin, blurring the boundary between constitutional nationalism and physical-force republicanism would augment the party's vote. By 1998, Sinn Féin's "republican family" could incorporate nationalists of all stripes in the north. Before Assembly elections in June 1998, Strabane Sinn Féin councillor Jarlath McNulty explicitly conflated nationalism and republicanism in the "wider republican family," imploring "every nationalist and republican" to support the party's candidates (*Strabane Chronicle*, 28 May 1998).

Dissenting republicans who rejected the constitutional turn scorned Gerry Adams's portrayals of a monolithic republican "family." Refuting Sinn Féin's claims to represent mainstream republican opinion, dissenters portrayed Adams's party as just one renegade strand of an increasingly heterogeneous movement. Interviewed on RTÉ Radio 1 in April 1995, Republican Sinn Féin leader Ruairí Ó Brádaigh disputed Adams's claims to represent a singular republican movement. In this schema, Adams and his supporters were attempting to redefine and monopolise republicanism as a peculiar synthesis of electoralism, constitutionalism, and, to a lesser extent, militarism. For Ó Brádaigh

> The Provisionals were speaking only for themselves and people are entitled to know that all of the Republican Movement as it was in the 1980s have not been delivered in this context. There is a substantial section of Republican opinion who haven't gone along with this … (*Saoirse*, April 1995).

Sinn Féin's inclusive metaphors could not incorporate those republicans who had publicly repudiated electoralism and constitutionalism. Moreover, for Ó Brádaigh and his allies, the Provisionals had forfeited the right to determine republican legitimacy (*Western People*, 1 April 1992).

For some of the Provisionals' republican critics, the political significance of kinship and strategy intersected. The McKearney family were well-known in republican circles in east Tyrone: two McKearney brothers, Seán and Pádraig, were killed on active service with the Provisional IRA, in 1974 and 1987 respectively; another brother, Kevin, and his uncle Jack were murdered by loyalist paramilitaries in 1992; another brother, Tommy, served a life sentence for murder; their sister Margaret was subject to an unsuccessful extradition process in 1975 (*Irish Press*, 3 December 1975). Like many others in the movement, the McKearneys could trace republican lineage to the early twentieth century, when a maternal grandfather was Adjutant General in the IRA's North Roscommon Brigade.[35]

In 1999, members of the McKearney family organised a private Easter commemoration at the family graveside in their home village of Moy, County Tyrone. According to Tommy McKearney, between 40 and 50 people joined the private ceremony, which also eulogised Eugene Martin, an IRA volunteer killed alongside Seán McKearney in 1974. McKearney

railed against representatives of Sinn Féin who, "in violation of the families' wishes," had earlier laid wreaths. On "a point of principle," Tommy McKearney had told Provisionals not to hold a parallel event.

With echoes of the controversy surrounding Frank Stagg's reinterment, the McKearneys' Easter commemoration highlighted a power struggle between the literal family and the "republican family" as loci of political authority and legitimacy. Tommy McKearney rejected the Provisionals' acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement: "We are confronted by those calling themselves republicans but who no longer seek to sunder the union and, instead, talk unashamedly of administering British rule in Ireland." Conversely, Sinn Féin Assembly member Francie Molloy criticised the families who had "tried to deny republicans the right to remember their dead" (*Belfast Telegraph*, 5 April 1999). The Provisionals' strategic reorientation exposed fractures in republicans' ranks. Literal and metaphorical conceptions of "republican family" were acutely contested.

While the Sinn Féin leadership extolled to an internal audience its unified "family," simultaneously Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness, and their colleagues accentuated divisions within that "family" during negotiations with the London and Dublin governments. Asserting, and perhaps exaggerating, the potential threat of Sinn Féin's republican critics enabled Adamsites to wring concessions from their interlocutors. From the mid-1990s, senior Sinn Féin representatives implored Home Secretary Michael Howard to negotiate early releases for republican prisoners: concessions were vital, Adams argued, to "sell" the nascent peace process to the militant rank-and-file.[36] Similarly, in September 1996, six months after the Provisionals ended their 17-month ceasefire, Sinn Féin's Northern Ireland Forum representative Martin McGuinness told a British interviewer that unless John Major's government dropped demands for republican decommissioning and offered "confidence-building measures," Sinn Féin's leadership could not ask the Provisional IRA's hard-liners to call a second ceasefire (*New Statesman*, 27 September 1996). Rallying their own movement, Sinn Féin's leaders depicted a broad-based and unified family; addressing the British press and government, republican strategists sought concessions by shrewdly accentuating the family's schismatic potential.

Nevertheless, for republicans who supported the ongoing peace process in the 2000s, recourse to a supposedly united "family" reassured the movement's base. In October 2006, Sinn Féin implored republicans to study the St Andrews Agreement which emerged from multi-party talks. Endorsing the reformed police service in Northern Ireland was especially controversial among republicans, and Sinn Féin representatives again convened meetings to canvas and steer public opinion. Commending the Agreement to the grassroots, two County Donegal Sinn Féin councillors returning from the St Andrews delegation pledged: "The Sinn Féin leadership will now consult with the rest of our party and with the wider republican family" (*Donegal News*, 20 October 2006). The amorphous "family" here connoted not only overt Sinn Féin supporters, but presumably also the Provisional IRA's militants and their networks. The metaphor anticipated robust but constructive discourse among friends.

Sinn Féin's seeming openness to a reformed police and judiciary, and to power-sharing at Stormont, provoked further republican schisms. Disillusioned republicans, including erstwhile Provisionals, formed *éirígí* and the Republican Network for Unity.[37] Dissenters argued that Sinn Féin's hazily-termed "republican family" was a disingenuous attempt to distract from immutable principles. As one "disgusted" County Louth republican

asked: "Who exists in this wider republican family and how can republican participation in a sectarian police force achieve the unity of our country?" (*Drogheda Independent*, 10 January 2007). Subverting Adams's formulation, the Louth correspondent insisted that dissension could not simply be willed out of existence: "There are views from within the republican family, which are the complete opposite to the expressed views of Sinn Féin" (*Drogheda Independent*, 10 January 2007). Contesting the legitimate inheritance of "the family" signalled profound political disagreement.

After Sinn Féin entered the power-sharing Assembly at Stormont in 2007, party representatives carefully demarcated the republican family to exclude "dissidents" who advocated a return to armed struggle. Explicitly positioning militants outside of the broad republican community underpinned Sinn Féin's portrayal of a family unified on key strategic issues. In 2010, when republicans in the self-styled vigilante group Republican Action Against Drugs (RAAD) carried out shootings and pipe bomb attacks in Strabane, County Tyrone, Sinn Féin veteran Pat Doherty bifurcated "republicans" and "dissidents": "there is no place in Irish republicanism for anyone on macho ego trips," Doherty told a commemoration meeting. Highlighting how RAAD's actions in the town had adversely affected relatives of erstwhile Provisional IRA volunteers, Doherty explicitly distinguished between, on the one hand, the Provisional IRA's dead and the "wider republican family," and, on the other, RAAD: "this group can no longer hide under the mantle of republicanism" (*Tyrone Herald*, 27 September 2010).

From Sinn Féin's perspective today, "the republican family" is an inclusive metaphor cohering the militancy of yesteryear alongside the electoral pathway in the present – disbarring only the marginal "dissident" republicans who would persist with armed struggle. In this schema, it is essential for the family's collective memory to lionise the crucial generation of republicans who endorsed both the IRA's armed struggle and the transition to exclusively constitutional politics. The funeral of veteran Belfast republican Bobby Storey in June 2020 occasioned these sentiments in Sinn Féin's ranks. The contextual factor of the Covid-19 pandemic and social distancing restrictions further complicated the memory wars which the passing of leading republicans often stimulates.

Storey's funeral on 30 June 2020 witnessed a large procession and crowds flanking the cortege's route. Across Belfast, thousands of republicans lined the streets to pay their respects to a senior IRA volunteer who served 20 years in jail before becoming Sinn Féin's northern chairman. The logistical and political issues surrounding the funeral prompted voluble criticism from Northern Ireland Secretary Brandon Lewis, while prominent unionists, including Traditional Unionist Voice leader Jim Allister, called for Northern Ireland's Deputy First Minister, Sinn Féin's Michelle O'Neill, to resign (*Belfast Newsletter*, 2 July 2020).

During the Northern Ireland Assembly's scrutiny committee meeting the following day, Sinn Féin MEP Martina Anderson invoked the "republican family" in her defence of the Deputy First Minister. For Anderson, the metaphor underlined the necessity of a mass tribute to Storey. Addressing O'Neill personally, Anderson conflated the literal and figurative versions of political kinship: "Michelle, you had to be there yesterday; the republican family needed you yesterday because you gave comfort and guidance to the Storey family and to the wider republican family" (*Belfast Newsletter*, 2 July 2020). In the pandemic's peculiar circumstances, the language of family supported Anderson's conception of the exceptional need for republican unity at a time of loss. Now, as in the 1990s, Sinn Féin strategists deploy the "family" both to marginalise dissent and galvanise the movement.

Conclusion

As Guy Beiner has argued, folkloric traditions articulating "social memory" – woven through commemorative practice, ballad and literary culture, and storytelling in the *seanchas* tradition – often suffused ideas of nationhood in independent twentieth-century Ireland: the architects of the nascent Irish Free State in the 1920s and 1930s were apt to perceive in folklore "a cultural resource for national identity."[38] When memory is anchored and configured through family connections and traditions, oral cultures remain strong, especially in tribal and rural communities.[39] Fragments of that oral tradition remain in many parts of rural Ireland where family and kinship patterns are strong and linked to a sense of place, recalling Pierre Nora's *lieux de memoire*.[40] Tight-knit republican activists drew upon mutual support to perpetuate their commitment: Kevin Bean and Richard English have tied the republican *gemeinschaft* to a place-based tradition in embattled communities.[41]

Since the resurgence of conflict in Northern Ireland in 1969, many republicans have outlined their family's historical commitment. While a family history in the movement is too commonplace to be especially remarkable, memories of activist forebears assert the historical endurance of the Irish republican tradition. As oral historian Stephen Caunce has noted, interviewees often define themselves "in terms of their genealogy and relationships," producing on occasion a "tangled forest of information."[42] In many contemporary republican testimonies, the mention of ancestors roots the narrative in a clear-sighted and defiant tradition.

Yet republican heritage was alternately beneficial and burdensome for activists after 1969. Especially in light of major schisms in 1921 and 1969, memory of the movement's past was not exclusively celebratory. Reflecting critically upon Cathal Goulding's leftist leadership of the IRA in the 1960s, one Belfast veteran distanced his own revolutionary cohort, mobilising in 1969, from "the older generation . . . downgrading the military side of the IRA" (Francie McGuigan interview with Jack Hepworth, 6 December 2017). When violence erupted in the north, republicans with family histories in the movement were at pains to accentuate the specificity of their generational unit.

Malachi O'Doherty has noted perceptively that "the virtue that is most admired in republican culture is the tenacity of one who never doubts, and who deals with the doubts of others."[43] However, the reality is that doubts *are* held within republican families, and can be aired there. It is not uncommon for a family member to reject traditions to which their siblings, parents, or grandparents have been ardently committed, as Derry republican Eamonn MacDermott testifies. Many republicans discourage younger relatives from pursuing the same struggle, citing the hardships associated with militant activism. Colm Fox noted this point in remembering his uncle Seán towards his republican father in contrast to his brother Paddy, whose "opposition" took the form of a departure from republicanism and an embrace of socialism (Colm Fox interview with Máirtín Ó Catháin, 2 January 2015).

In the testimonies of the minority of activists who reflect on the absence of republican lineage, several patterns are striking. The lack of militant forebears creates a space for individuals to assert their independent-mindedness and the degree of subjugation which stimulated their mobilisation. From the vantage point of hindsight, republicans without a family background in the movement accentuate the critical inquiry which first prompted political awakening. Activists from politically inactive families tend to describe a more

complex pathway towards republicanism. Typically, their testimonies recall early encounters with civil rights protests and a succession of contingent, conjunctural moments which eventually amounted to militancy.

Since ideology was not merely imbibed from relatives, activists' retrospectives emphasise the severity of the repression Catholics faced in Northern Ireland. Visceral lived experiences of state violence, rather than sentimental nationalism percolating the family home, drove Laurence McKeown and Angela Nelson, for example, to join the republican movement. Retrospectives detailing a break with familial tradition to take up arms amplify the historical imperative of mobilisation.

Tracing the metaphorical versions of "republican family" has signalled more specifically internal tensions surrounding the movement's composition and ideological ecology. When Sinn Féin strategists including Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness championed peace initiatives and constitutionalism in the 1990s, they invoked a "republican family" to contain and absorb activists' misgivings concerning the "new departure."[44] Deploying the language of family in an historically fissiparous movement asserted republicanism's essential oneness.

Yet, of course, families are not immune to intractable divisions and irreconcilable splits. Since the 1990s, Sinn Féin has carefully demarcated the "republican family" to exclude those tendencies which have objected to the party's positions on constitutionalism, power-sharing, decommissioning, or policing. Conversely, those republicans who stand outside the Provisional movement invert Sinn Féin's metaphor and contending that Sinn Féin, having disgraced time-honoured principles, represents only one strand of the "republican family."

The contested boundaries of the republican family continues to partake in power struggles within and beyond Sinn Féin today. As Stephen Hopkins's study of republican solidarity cultures has noted, the "bitter contest . . . for control of the historical narrative of the IRA, and the meaning of that recent history" has profound implications for "contemporary strategy and future trajectory of the 'republican family'."[45] In the twenty-first century, "new Sinn Féin" positions itself as the family's gatekeeper and claims its enduring grassroots popularity.[46] When Martina Anderson addressed her party colleague Michelle O'Neill in Stormont in July 2020, her allusions to "the wider republican family" conjured a singular movement uniquely attuned to its core constituencies past and present.

Historically, kinship ties, real and figurative, empowered activists to assert their commitment and their movement's historical continuity. Yet the absence of those forebears also enabled republicans with unorthodox backgrounds to position themselves as especially astute and ideologically reflexive. Similarly, Sinn Féin's "republican family" has steered the movement, largely unified, through decades of profound strategic reorientation. Nevertheless, dissenters and dissidents continue to contest the boundaries of the "family," complexifying republicanism to this day.

Notes

1. See, for example, Taylor, *Provos*; English, *Armed Struggle*; Alonso, *IRA and Armed Struggle*; Spencer, *From Armed Struggle*; White, *Out of the Ashes*; and McGlinchey, *Unfinished Business*.
2. "Provisional movement" broadly signifies both Sinn Féin and the Provisional IRA, as established after the split in the republican movement in 1969 and 1970.
3. Dawson, "Desire for Justice," 267.

4. Hepworth, "'We're Getting the Victory'".
5. Dawson, *Soldier Heroes*, 22–23.
6. Hopkins, "The Life History".
7. Ibid., 266.
8. White and Demirel-Pegg, "Social Movements and Social Movement Organizations," 132.
9. White, "Structural Identity Theory," 354; and White, *Out of the Ashes*, 328.
10. Rolston, *Children of the Revolution*.
11. Gibney, "Frank Stagg's Three Funerals".
12. Dolan, "An Army of Our Fenian Dead".
13. Fallon, *Dynasties*, xii–xiii.
14. The legions of biographical fragments written about republicans in print and broadcast media command examination as a genre of their own, and are beyond the purview of this article, which is concerned specifically with republican *auto*biography and testimony.
15. Boylan, Buckley, and Dolan, *Family Histories*, 11–22.
16. McBride, "Shadow of the Gunman". For a polemical critique of Irish historical "revisionism" and the contested legacies of the revolutionary decade, see Heartfield and Rooney, *Who's Afraid of the Easter Rising?* 10–37.
17. Hanley, *Impact of the Troubles*, 162.
18. Kecskemeti, ed., *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, 276–320.
19. Hopkins, "Ideology and Identity," 204.
20. Bean and Hayes, *Republican Voices*, 29–30.
21. Stevenson, *"We Wrecked the Place,"* 35.
22. stlhibernians.com/freedom_for_all_ireland/my_life_why_i_became_a_republican.pdf, Accessed January 23, 2017.
23. Ibid.
24. Reinisch, "Interview with Former Political Prisoner," 226.
25. Ibid., 226–227 (my italics).
26. McGing was part of the rising feminist consciousness among Provisionals in Ireland after the referendum on abortion in 1983. New branches of Sinn Féin's Women's Department were established in border towns of Monaghan and Dundalk, as well as rural areas in the west. At Sinn Féin's *ard fheis* of 1984, party *cumainn* (branches) successfully lobbied the movement to campaign for a "yes" vote in any future referendum on divorce.
27. Drawing upon contributions from Provisional IRA prisoners and Sinn Féin activists, *Questions of history*, in the words of a contributor who later joined the Irish Republican Socialist Party, constituted "a Marxist analysis and critique of the history of Irish republicanism". Anthony McIntyre contributed to *Questions of history* as a long-serving Provisional IRA prisoner in the late 1980s. Reflecting two decades later as a prominent critic of the Provisional movement, McIntyre situated the document in a tradition of intra-republican dissent. McIntyre claimed that Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams had stymied a proposed second volume since left-leaning Provisional IRA prisoners had "questioned their leader's view of socialism" in 1987. Ferguson, "Behind the Betrayal"; and Alonso, *IRA and Armed Struggle*, 37.
28. *Mná an IRA*. Directed by Martina Durac. Baile na hAbhann: TG4, 2012.
29. Ibid.
30. Stop the Show Trials Committee, *Victims of the "Supergrass" System*.
31. Ryan, *War and Peace*, 16.
32. Sinn Féin, *The Sinn Féin-SDLP Talks*.
33. Sinn Féin, *Political Report 1990–1991*.
34. Craig, McAnulty, and Flannigan, *The Real Irish Peace Process*, 133.
35. English, *Armed Struggle*, 129.
36. Tonge, "They Haven't Gone Away," 674.
37. Hoey, "Dissident and Dissenting Republicanism," 5.
38. Beiner, *Remembering the Year of the French*, 37.
39. Abrams, *Oral History Theory*, 21.
40. Campbell, "'Killing Time'".

41. Bean, *New Politics*; and English, *Armed Struggle*.
42. Caunce, *Oral History and the Local Historian*, 153.
43. O'Doherty, *Trouble with Guns*, 142.
44. Bean, "The New Departure?"
45. Hopkins, "The "Informer"".
46. Maillot, *New Sinn Féin*.

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