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AN GARDA SIOCHANA

Any reply to this communication should be addressed to:

Commissioner, Garda Siochána. Phoenix Park Dublin 8.

and the following number quoted:



OIFIG AN CHOIMISINEARA. BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH.

For the attention of Martin Power.

The Secretary, Department of Justice.

RE : Press Statement - Jim Gibney.



Please find attached copy of Press Release by Jim Gibney, PSF at Bodenstown as promised.

CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT FOR ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER.

COPY TO: SECRETARY MR. O'hUIGINN MR. HUGHES MR. BROSNAN **FUNALAIRE**

James Forcel DFA

Conston & librecs A. I Secretarist.

780060 TEL: 780060

24.Jun.92 9:43 No.001 P.02



The following is the text of a nintement inward to our office. 23/86/92

Appenstant Suesch

R Binn Foto And Chembalria momber Jim Gibney responding to the variaty of symmetic made on his upsech at Budeshiums on October Jose Birts

Mr Olbney saids

"That some consentators were my opeach as a chift in Republican thinking is syldenes of how important a part concernity plays in senying people information on thinking within film felm.

"In this regard the comments of Pre-byterian Hinlater or Roy Hageo are perticularly particularly particularly and I will be conding him a copy of Towards a Lasting Feate".

"Lat me reassure Dr Magoa, among others, that my comments about Scittch withdrawal do not refer to the Protection pection of our community.

"The thrust of my address was to argue for a new Angle-Irish agreement between the London and Dublin governments which accepts the Irish people's right to decide their own future and for meaningfut negotiations, simed at establishing conditions for a labting and soft-socialning pages.

with has been stated many times and should be a matter of public knowledge that should the British government animomic the lang term intention to to withdraw from fretand then then the could provoke a positive response from the IRA and the conditions for peace could be spendily agreed.

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"In my specch I referred to Sine Filis's new decement 'fowards a Lauting Peaco'. The highlights of the document are an achievedgement by republicany of the control role to be played by the Duhlin government and the potential role to be prayed by the government and the potential role to be prayed by the fee and the UN to exclud the disongagement of British from treinnd, whould any difficulties arise.

"The key parts of this document area A British government which makes the chiding of partition its polley abjuctives a public government which has the came position; to operation butween the British and Dubilin governments to bring about their Joint purpose in the shortest possible time combistent with obtaining maximum consult to the process minimising conta of every kind; democracy deaunds with practicality co-operation and A0 21 of northern nationalists consultation nattonat representatives affect u promona of unionicis. In reconciliation.

"The anaflict has none or, long enough, it is now time to anyone in talks in find a poscoful way towards a new Iretand.

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Bodenslown oration by Jim Gibney

It is our lob to develop the struggle for freedom

I've been coming to Bodenstown annually for the last four years and as intermittently as her majesty's administration has permitted me in the years prior to that.

On my yearly calendar of republican events I find it one of the most pleasurable occasions. I enjoy the leisurely walk, serenity of the country-side and the sunny atmosphere which I always associate Bodenstown with but most of all I enjoy meeting people

f haven't seen from one year's end to the next.

I get the impression from those who come along that they feel as I do and so make the annual pilgrimage to this site not only to drink at the font of republicanism but also to renew old friendships formed in the court of the struggle, on the streets, in

prison, or perhaps in the heat of a youthful battle. There are few republican occasions which Instil a sense of reflection, a sense of questioning, not only in terms of "what stage are we at"? in the struggle for independence but also "what are we about"?... and Bodenstown Sunday is one of these; It is so because we stand before Wolfe Tone: a figure who challenged the conservative and established order of his day by embracing new and revolutionary ideas; ideas which centred around the international notions of liberating the oppressed in Ireland's case, Catholic peasants, Presbyterians, tenant larmers and women. His actions and his written legacy force us to examine our actions

and our beliefs. Same years ago at in internal Sinn Fein education seminar in period picked up a telling phrase from a member of the rolestant community who very bravely, took the step of additions us. He tolked about attitudes within the Protestant community towards is and he said high our appeals to them can't be heard above the deadly said of fundaments. That at course is probably still the tase net any for the

Projection community but for the majority of people across this Profession community but to the study of the neighbouring steind because resulting and when they were described beyond techniques of think the phiase can have an experience in the head to the phiase can have an experience of the head to the head peneration of republicans, a quarter of a contract of unbroken resistance to the British occupation of the Six Countles. It is a truly remarkable achievement compared to our own country's previous attempts to gain independence or indeed compared to many other counties who fought for freedom this century.

During that time, for understandable reasons, we have found ourselves buried deep inside our bunkers, occasionally peering out over the edge to observe the vista. Simultaneously we fortified eurselves behind a set of republican beliefs first framed by the man we honour here today. These beliefs have sustained us in our convictions and carried us through the dark days of the etrugglo. For the Republican these have been difficult years. We have spent them in a penurious state and have visited such hardship on our families; we have spent long terms behind bars; we have shouldered the bodies of many comrades to their resting place; we have spent hours on end at meetings and trampod the country-side to hold in place the sinews of struggle, we are constantly surrounded with the human consequences of a bloody and protracted conflict.

Republicans' lives are governed not by the tantrums of the seasons, not by the daily chore of a nine to five job, not even in many cases by the rhythm of family life and the recponcibilities brought on by that. Blood flows in their veins surely, but their brought on by that bead of a distant drum calling them to an heart beats to the sound of a distant drum calling them to an ancient and noble cause. Republicans' lives are in hock to an ideal, to a belief, to a dream, which has eluded many, many previous generation of Irish people.

Against such an Intense, self-effacing background it is important on this Bodenstown Sunday that we ask ourselves, out loud, does this reality mean that republicans have been deafened by the "deadly sound of their own gunfire"? Does this reality mean that republicans are trapped inside a complex web of struggle from which they can't or don't emerge; hostages to an immediate past because of all the pain, suffering and commitment; to past views expressed, trenchantly, which in time solidified into unyielding

principles?
Does this reality mean that republicans are incapable of recognising that there is a different world to the one that existed in the mid-60s or that they ignore the more recent changes sweeping across the globe?

sweeping across the globe?

The answers to such questions cannot be found in the monosyllabic response "No".

The answers are to be found in the evolutionary changes that have taken place in republican thinking over the last ten year. These cover many issues, the most pressing one being the need for peace in our country. We know and accept that the British government's departure must be preceded by a sustained period of peace and will arise out of negotiations. We know and accept that such negotiations will involve the different shades of Irish nationalism, and Irish unionism engaging the British government

either together or separately to secure an all-embracing and

We know and accept that this is not 1921 and that at this stage we don't represent a government in waiting. We're not standing in House; we have no illusions of grandeur. Idealists we are fools we

We have learned to develop our thinking over the years of struggle; we have moved on from simplistic slogans to the our time.

It is outlined in the document 'Towards a Lasting Peace'. This is a serious, considered document; the product of a year's work by provoking document, a practical guide to a new Ireland. We are sector of Irish, British and International opinion.

This document signifies yet another stage in the maturing process of republicans thinking. Its contents give a life to those who would claim that republicans are inflexible or dogmatic. To those who allege such things we say read the document carefully. We accept at this point in time the British government are not ready to seriously consider its proposals. They foolishly belive they can rearrange the furniture in the room slightly and that this can then be represented as a solution to the conflict. That's what the talks at Stormont and London are about. The participants have deluded themselves into believing that they can discuss the political future of this island without republicans. But even before they set out they are sowing the seeds of failure because the underlying motivation is not to grasp the realities of the situation rather it is designed to contain and hold in check the legitimate demand for an independent Ireland. The British under pressure are trying to buy time and unfortunately they are being aided in this by the Dublin government an the SDLP. But this doesn't surprise us nor will it deter us from continuing until the British government yields to the trish people our right to govern

We would remind the participants in these talks that the last 20 years are littered with failed political initiatives because their perpetuate partition, no matter how novel or seemingly centuries-old colonial conflict can be based. British involvement Tone's day, it was so prior to that and it has continued to be so.

Ireland today resembles Ireland in the 1790's; hundreds of political prisoners languish in gaots. British soldiers shoot people on the streets of a small Northern Irish town, Coalistand when they dared protest at being harassed; Loyalist murder gangs prowl the streets at night unhindered, killing and wounding nationalist; Tom King, th British Minister for Defence, involved himself in the murderous activity of a British agent, Brian Nelson. He wrote a reference to the DPP in the north seeking leniency for Nelson. In any other country in the world the revelation behind the Nelson case would have at least led to the resignations of those involved. But because Nelson was targetting republicans and nationalist he Is rewarded.

And what of the Dublin government and the SDLP? How do they respond to such state controlled terror? They issue meaningless statements. And why? Because the British government have coopted them into their offensive against those in this country who struggle for freedam. The Dublin government and the SDLP have surrendered their ability to challenge British rule.

The formula for peace in Ireland is to be found through British disengagement. That has been a corner-stone belief of republicans

for close on two hundred years.

We continue to reassert it today confident that it represents the overwhelming aspiration of the Irish people. This was graphically confirmed a few weeks ago in this state when a survey found that 75% of people favoured an end to partition.

At the same time an economic report which was commissioned by the Dublin government and had the public backing of Albert Reynolds when it was launched called for the setting up of a 'single economic system on the Island', in other words a united keland economy. If this is what the Dublin government really desire then why do they assist the British government in erecting political obstacles to such a development? You cannot have a single economy on an island which is partitioned.

But until such times a those in power come round, for whatever reason, to this reality, then it is our job to develop the struggle for freedom. The pace and manner in which we do so will have an effect on those who are at present reluctant to embrace the

republican analysis.

Much work needs to be done not just to advance the case of Irish freedom but also to halt the offensive by those conservative · elements in Irish society who terrorlsed, the electorate of this state into voting 'Yes' for the Maastricht treaty on the grounds that they faced even more poverty than they are presently experiencing if they voted 'No'; who are using the same type of economic blackmail to force trade unionists to accept lower wage increases, who defend levels of emigration and unemployment in

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this size on the grounds that there isn't enough wealth to put people to work; who anempt to criminalise women forced to have an abortion; who deny women the right to information and travel; who defended the state's confinement of a teenage girl who was sexually violated; who would drive women back into the role of servicing society instead of being treated as equal citizens with men; who would corral us into thinking we should behave as if we have no language of our own or a defineable culture. Where ever people are struggling to advance the quality of their lives there you will find republicans, either with a small or capital 'r. That's how it has been since the time of Tone and the United Irishmen because they drew a line across the conscience of this nation. On one side stood those with progressive views and on the other stood those with conservative views. In its almost tow hundred year history the republican struggle has drawn people to it whose views were republican, nationalist, democratic, feminist and socialist. That's our history, that's why we are here today and that's why we have the capacity to endure the pressures of the struggle for a new Ireland.